





THE
REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE;

BEING

James Millar

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS

FROM THE

SUBVERSION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST

TO THE

ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY

ANDREW CRICHTON.

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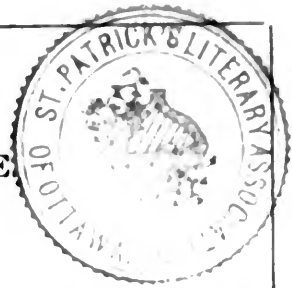
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE VIEW OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE, by M. Koch, has been long known and highly esteemed on the Continent, as a work of incontestable merit, and entitled to hold the first rank among productions of its kind. It occupied the labours and researches of thirty years of the author's life; and had the benefit of receiving, at different intervals, several additions and improvements from his own hand. As a concise, luminous, and accurate summary of general history, it stands unrivalled. The principal events and vicissitudes of more than fourteen hundred years are here condensed within an incredibly small space; bringing, as it were, under one view, the successive changes and destinies of Europe, from the fall of the Roman Empire, in the fifth century, to the restoration of the Bourbons in France. The countries which the different nations from time to time have occupied,—their laws and institutions—their progress from barbarism to refinement—the revival of arts and sciences—the origin of inventions and discoveries—and the wonderful revolutions, both moral and political, to which they gave birth,—are here detailed at once with brevity and perspicuity. The author has restricted himself as it were to the pure elements or essence of useful knowledge, discarding from his narrative every thing that did not minister to solid instruction. His book has been compared to a sort of chart or genealogical tree of history, where only the grand and prominent events have been recorded, stript of all their secondary and subordinate circumstances, which often distract the attention without adding in the least to the interest or elucidation of the subject. His researches have thrown a new light on some of the difficulties and obscurities of the Middle Ages, particularly with regard to Chronology and Geography. His veracity and precision are unimpeachable; and, though his style has been thought inelegant, his candour, judgment, and erudition have never been called in question. Men of all parties and of opposite opinions, both in politics and religion, have united their suffrages in his praise. M. Fontanes, Grand Master of the University of Paris; M. Levesque, Vice-President of the Class of Ancient History and Literature, and M. Dacier, Perpetual Secretary of the Third Class, in the Institute; M. Fourcroy, Director-General of Public Instruction at Paris; M. Frederic Buchholz, of Berlin, who translated the *Tableau* into German; and many others, have spoken of this book in terms of the highest commendation, and obtained it a place in most of the Universities, Schools, and Libraries on the Continent.

The REVOLUTIONS, although an excellent digest of the history and policy of Europe, claims no higher merit than that of an elementary work. It was originally designed for the young entering on their political studies, and is an outline that must be filled up by subsequent reading, and from collateral sources. With regard to the present English edition, the Translator has only to say, that he has endeavoured to give a faithful transcript of his author, and as literal as the idiom of the two languages would admit. He has been more studious of fidelity to his original than elegance of style or novelty of expression. He has prefixed a short sketch of the author's life, abridged from two of his biographers, MM. Schœll and Weiss.

The first Eight Periods bring down the History of Europe to the French Revolution, which is all that our author undertook, or rather lived to accomplish. The period from that event to the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, has been continued by M. Schœll,* the editor of Koch's Works, and author of the *History of the Treaties of Peace, &c.* As the continuation, however, differs a little in some points from the views of the original, and is not so full on others as might be wished, the Translator has introduced such additions and amendments as seemed necessary to complete what was deficient, according as nearly as

* M. Schœll has also interspersed a few explanatory paragraphs, which, in the present volume, the reader will find included within brackets [].

possible with the spirit and design of the author himself. These alterations, as well as the authorities on which they have been made, will be found carefully marked.

LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER W. KOCH.

CHRISTOPHER WILLIAM KOCH, equally distinguished as a lawyer and a learned historian, was born on the 9th of May, 1737, at Bouxwiller, a small town in the seigniory of Lichtenberg, in Alsace, which then belonged to the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. His father, who was a member of the Chamber of Finance under that prince, sent him to an excellent school in his native place, where he received the rudiments of his education. At the age of thirteen, he went to the Protestant University of Strasburg, where he prosecuted his studies under the celebrated Schœpflin. Law was the profession to which he was destined; but he showed an early predilection for the study of history, and the sciences connected with it, such as *Diplomatics*, or the art of deciphering and verifying ancient writs and chartularies, *Genealogy*, *Chronology*, &c. Schœpflin was not slow to appreciate the rising merit of his pupil, and wished to make him the companion of his labours. He admitted him to his friendship, and became the means of establishing him as his successor in that famous political academy, which his reputation had formed at Strasburg, by attracting to that city the youth of the first families, and from all parts of Europe. Koch devoted much of his time to the Canon Law, and soon gave a proof of the progress he had made in that branch of study, by the *Academical Dissertation* which he published in 1761, under the title of *Commentatio de Collatione dignitatum et beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum in imperio Romano-Germanico*. This treatise was a prelude to his *Commentary on the Pragmatic Sanction*, which he published in 1789—a work which excited an extraordinary sensation in Catholic Germany, and procured the author the favourable notice of such prelates as were most eminent for learning and piety.

After taking his academic degree, Koch repaired to Paris in 1762, where he staid a year; honoured with the society of the most distinguished literati in the capital, and frequenting the royal library, wholly occupied in those researches which prepared him for the learned labours in which he afterwards engaged. On his return to Strasburg, he wrote the continuation of the *Historia Zaringo-Badensis*, of which the first volume only was drawn up by Schœpflin. All the others were entirely the work of Koch, though they bear the name of the master who had charged him with the execution of this task. Schœpflin bequeathed to the city of Strasburg, in 1766, his valuable library and his cabinet of antiques, on condition that Koch should be appointed keeper; which he was, in effect, on the death of the testator in 1771. He obtained, at the same time, the title of professor, which authorized him to deliver lectures; for the chair of Schœpflin passed, according to the statutes of the University, to another professor,—a man of merit, but incapable of supplying his place as an instructor of youth in the study of the political sciences. The pupils of Schœpflin were thus transferred to Koch, who became the head of that diplomatic school, which, for sixty years, gave to the public so great a number of ministers and statesmen.

In 1779 the government of Hanover offered him the chair of public German Law in the University of Gottingen, which he declined. Next year the Emperor Joseph II., who knew well how to distinguish merit, complimented him with the dignity of Knight of the Empire, an intermediate title between that of baron and the simple rank of noblesse. About the same period he obtained the chair of Public Law at Strasburg, which he held until that university was suppressed at the French revolution. Towards the end of 1789, the Protestants of Alsace sent him as their envoy to Paris, to solicit from the King and the Constitutional Assembly the maintenance of their civil and religious rights, according to the faith of former treaties. He succeeded in obtaining for them the decree of the 17th of August, 1790,

which sanctioned these rights, and declared that the ecclesiastical benefices of the Protestants were not included among those which the decree of the 1st of November, preceding, had placed at the disposal of the nation. The former decree was moreover extended and explained by an act, bearing date December 1, 1790. Both of these were approved and ratified by the king.

Meantime, the terrors and turbulence of the revolution had dispersed from Strasburg that brilliant assemblage of youth, which the reputation of the professors, and the natural beauties of the place, had attracted from all quarters. These disastrous events interrupted the career of Koch, at a time when he was capable of rendering the most important services to his country. From that moment he devoted himself to public affairs. Being appointed a member of the first Legislative Assembly, he opposed the faction which convulsed the nation, and ultimately subverted the throne. When president of the committee of that assembly, he exerted himself for the maintenance of peace; and in a report which he made in 1792, he foretold the calamities which would overwhelm France, if war should be declared against Austria. The republican faction, by their clamours, silenced the remonstrances of Koch, when, on the 20th of April, he spoke in opposition to a measure which proved so fatal to France. An official letter which he addressed, 10th of August, to the constituted authorities of the Lower Rhine, sufficiently expressed the horror with which that day's proceedings had inspired him. He procured, moreover, the concurrence of his fellow-citizens in a resistance, which he had then some reason to hope would be made a common cause by the other provinces. This letter drew down upon him the persecution of the ruling party. He was immured in a prison, where he languished for eleven months, and from which he had no prospect of escape, except to mount the scaffold. The revolution of the 9th Thermidor restored him to liberty, when he was appointed, by the voice of his fellow-citizens, to the Directory of their provincial department. He endeavoured by all means in his power to defeat the measures that were taken to injure his constituents; and had influence enough, it is said, to prevent the sale of the funds belonging to manufactories and hospitals. He then resumed with pleasure those functions which he had unwillingly accepted; in 1795, he recommenced his professorship of public law, and returned with new zeal to his literary labours, which had been too long interrupted. Six years he spent in these useful occupations; from which, however, he was once more detached by a decree of the senate, which nominated him a member of the Tribunal. This nomination Koch accepted, in the hope of being useful to his Protestant countrymen, and to the city of Strasburg, in obtaining the re-establishment of the reformed religion, and its restoration in the university. He did, in effect, exert himself much in behalf of religion, according to the confession of Augsburg, as well as of the Protestant Academy at Strasburg, which was suppressed at this period.

The Tribunal having been suppressed, Koch declined all places of trust or honour which were offered him; and only requested permission to retire, that he might have a short interval for himself between business and the grave. A pension of 3000 francs was granted him, without any solicitation on his part. In 1808, he returned to Strasburg, where he continued to devote himself to letters, and in administering to the public good. About the end of 1810, the Grand-master of the University of France conferred on him the title of Honorary Rector of the Academy of Strasburg. His health, which had been prolonged by a life of great temperance and regularity and the peace which results from a good conscience, became disordered in 1812, when he fell into a state of languor, which terminated his life on the 25th of October 1813. His colleagues, the professors of Strasburg, erected to his memory a monument of white marble in the church of St. Thomas, near those of Schœpflin and Oberlin, which was executed by M. Ohnmacht, an eminent sculptor in Strasburg. One of his biographers has pronounced the following eulogium on Koch:—"A noble regard for justice and truth, a penetration beyond common, a diligence unrivalled in historical researches, a remarkable talent in arranging and illustrating his subject, an incorruptible integrity of principle, and unclouded serenity of mind, with a zealous desire of rendering his researches, his information, and activity useful to his species—these were the prominent features of the mind and character of this amiable man." In addition to this, it has been remarked, that although professor Koch had not the art of a graceful or even a fluent elocu-

tion, no man ever possessed in a higher degree the talents and qualifications of a public instructor. Like Socrates, he had a manner peculiar to himself. He was not so much a teacher of sciences, as of the means of acquiring them. He could inspire his scholars with a taste for labour, and knew how to call forth their several powers and dispositions. Though a man of the most domestic habits, and a lover of children, Koch never married.

Two lives of this celebrated professor have been written by foreigners. The one is by M. Schweighæuser, junior, a professor at Strasbourg; and the other is prefixed to the new edition of the *Histoire des Traités de Paix*, by M. Schœll, the editor and continuator of several of our author's works. This latter biographer has accompanied his sketch with a descriptive catalogue of all Koch's works, the principal of which are the following:—1. *Tables Généalogiques des Maisons Souveraines du Midi et de l'Ouest de l'Europe*. 2. *Sanctio Pragmatica Germanorum illustrata*. 3. *Abrégé de l'Histoire des Traités de Paix entre les Puissances de l'Europe*. A new edition of this work appeared in 1818, enlarged and continued by M. Schœll down to the Congress of Vienna and the Treaty of Paris, 1815. 4. *Table des Traités entre la France et les Puissances Etrangères, depuis la Paix de Westphalie, &c.* 5. *Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe, &c.* 6. *Tables Généalogiques des Maisons Souveraines de l'Est et du Nord de l'Europe*. This work was published, after the author's death, by M. Schœll. Besides these, Koch left various manuscripts, containing memoirs of his own life, and several valuable papers on the ancient ecclesiastical history and literature of his native province.

A. C.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE work here presented to the public is a summary of the Revolutions, both general and particular, which have happened in Europe since the extinction of the Roman Empire in the fifth century. As an elementary book, it will be found useful to those who wish to have a concise and general view of the successive revolutions that have changed the aspect of states and kingdoms, and given birth to the existing policy and established order of society in modern times.

Without some preliminary acquaintance with the annals of these revolutions, we can neither study the history of our own country to advantage, nor appreciate the influence which the different states, formed from the wreck of the ancient Roman Empire, reciprocally exercised on each other. Allied as it were by the geographical position of their territories, by a conformity in their religion, language, and manners, these states, in course of time, contracted new attachments in the ties of mutual interests, which the progress of civilisation, commerce, and industry, tended more and more to cement and confirm. Many of them, whom fortune had elevated to the summit of power and prosperity, carried their laws, their arts, and institutions, both civil and military, far beyond the limits of their own dominions. The extensive sway which the Romish hierarchy held for nearly a thousand years over the greater part of the European kingdoms, is well known to every reader of history.

This continuity of intercourse and relationship among the powers of Europe became the means of forming them into a kind of republican system; it gave birth to national law and conventional rights, founded on the agreement of treaties, and the usages of common practice. A laudable emulation sprang up among contemporary states. Their jealousies, and even their competitions and divisions, contributed to the progress of civilisation, and the attainment of that high state of perfection to which all human sciences and institutions have been carried by the nations of modern Europe.

It is these political connexions, this reciprocal influence of kingdoms and their revolutions, and especially the varieties of system which Europe has experienced in the lapse of so

many ages, that require to be developed in a general view, such as that which professes to be the object of the present Work.

The author has here remodelled his "View of the Revolutions of the Middle Ages" (published in 1790), and extended or abridged the different periods according to circumstances. In continuing this work down to the present time, he has deemed it necessary to conclude at the French Revolution; as the numerous results of that great event are too much involved in uncertainty to be clearly or impartially exhibited by contemporary writers.*

The Work is divided into eight Periods of time,† according with the principal revolutions which have changed, in succession, the political state of Europe. At the head of each period is placed either the designation of its particular revolution, or that of the power or empire which held the ascendancy at the time. In limiting his treatise solely to the revolutions of Europe, the writer has not touched upon those of Asia and the East, except in so far as they have had an immediate influence on the destinies of Europe. Conscious also that the distinguishing characteristic of an historian is veracity, and that the testimony of a writer who has not himself been an eyewitness of the events he records cannot be relied on with implicit confidence, the author has imposed on himself the invariable rule of citing, with scrupulous care, the principal authorities and vouchers, of each period and country, that have guided him, during his researches, in selecting and examining his materials by the torch of patient criticism. Without this labour and precaution, the Work would have been of no avail as an elementary help to those who were desirous of acquiring a more minute and solid knowledge of history.

* In the edition of 1823, from which the present translation is made, the *Tableau* has been continued by the Editor, M. Schœll, down to the 20th November 1816.—T.

† Nine in the last editions, including the continuation.

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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	Prussian acquisitions		Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, and declared next in succession to that throne
	Treaty between Russia and Poland as then constituted		Arrangement of several Italian duchies
1794	Secret association of Warsaw elects Thaddeus Kosciuszko general of the insurrection		Murat created Grand-Duke of Berg and Cleves
	Revolt of the City of Warsaw		Bernadotte made Prince of Pontecorvo
1794	Suwarow defeats Kosciuszko at Mactzevitz		Berthier created Prince of Neuchâtel
	He carries Praga, the great suburb of Warsaw, by assault		The French enter Frankfurt and levy a contribution
	Klug Stanislaus Augustus retires to Grodno, where he abdicates		Violation of the existing treaties
	Final partition of Poland	1805	Death of Mr. Pitt, also of Mr. Fox in 1806, who had joined Lord Grenville's administration
1796	Death of Catherine II.	1806	Lord Lauderdale negotiates for peace but returns without success
1801	Murder of the Emperor Paul		Treaty signed at Paris between the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon
	The Emperor Alexander of Russia abandons the claim for a free trade by neutral vessels		The Confederation of the Rhine
1792	Assassination of Gustavus III. of Sweden		Maximilian Joseph, King of Bavaria
1766	Reign of Christian VII. in Denmark		Kingdom of Wurtemberg established
			Declaration of the Emperor Francis II., who resigns the empire, and becomes Francis I. of Austria
			Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland
			Frederic William III. sends his ultimatum to Paris
			1806 Prince Hohenlohe totally defeated by Napoleon at Jena
			Duke of Brunswick, defeated by Marshal Davoust at Auerstadt, dies of his wounds
			General Blucher surrenders at Lubec
			Capitulation of Magdeburg
			Frederic Augustus, King of Saxony
			General Bennigsen with the Russian army arrives in Prussia
			1806 Battle of Pultusk
			The English claim a right of blockade
			Napoleon publishes the Berlin Decree, forbidding English merchandise on the continent
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			Negotiations for peace, infructuous
			Convention of Bartenstein preparatory of a new coalition
			1807 Siege of Dantzic
			1807 Battle of Friedland
			Napoleon enters Konigsberg
			1807 Armistice concluded at Tilsit between France, Russia, and Prussia
			Interview of the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon, on a raft in the Niemen
			Spoliation of part of the Prussian dominions
			Convention of Konigsberg
			Wars of Gustavus Adolphus IV. of Sweden
			The King of Saxony put in possession of the Duchy of Warsaw
			Jerome Buonaparte, King of Westphalia, has Brunswick and Hesse, part of Hanover, &c., given him for his kingdom
			1806 Affairs of Spain
			Convention of Fontainebleau
			1807 Marshal Junot enters Spain
			Being joined by a Spanish force he takes Lisbon
			John Prince, Regent of Portugal, with his family sail to Rio Janeiro
			Confiscation of English merchandise in the Hanseatic cities
			English Orders in Council, regulating a blockade of hostile ports
			The decree of Milan
			1808 Napoleon establishes the Continental System, against British trade
			Philip VII. refuses to accede to it
			General Miollis thereupon enters Rome
			Napoleon creates a new French nobility
			1808 Insurrection in Madrid against Godoy
			Abdication of Charles IV.
			Ferdinand VII. King of Spain
			The French under Murat enter Madrid
			Charles IV. cedes his dominions to Napoleon, at Bayonne

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VIEW

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY has very properly been considered as that particular branch of philosophy, which teaches, by examples, how men ought to conduct themselves in all situations of life, both public and private. Such is the infirmity and incapacity of the human mind, that abstract or general ideas make no lasting impression on it; and often appear to us doubtful or obscure,—at least if they be not illustrated and confirmed by experience and observation.

It is from history alone, which superadds to our own experience that of other men and of other times, that we learn to conquer the prejudices which we have imbibed from education, and which our own experience, often as contracted as our education, tends in general rather to strengthen than to subdue or destroy. "Not to know (says Cicero) what happened before we were born, is to remain always a child; for what were the life of man, did we not combine present events with the recollections of past ages?"

There are certain principles or rules of conduct that hold true in all cases; because they accord and consist with the invariable nature of things. To collect and digest these, belongs to the student of history, who may, in this way, easily form to himself a system, both of morals and of politics, founded on the combined judgment of all ages, and confirmed by universal experience. Moreover, the advantages that we reap from the study of history are preferable to those we acquire by our own experience; for not only does the knowledge we derive from this kind of study embrace a greater number of objects, but it is purchased at the expense of others, while the attainments we make from personal experience often cost us extremely dear.

"We may learn wisdom, (says Polybius) either from our own misfortunes, or the misfortunes of others. The knowledge (adds that celebrated historian) which we acquire at our own expense is undoubtedly the most efficacious; but that which we learn from the misfortunes of others is the safest, in as much as we receive instruction without pain, or danger to ourselves." This knowledge has also the advantage of being in general more accurate, and more complete than that which we derive from individual experience. To history alone it belongs to judge with impartiality of public characters and political measures, which are often either misunderstood or not properly appreciated by their contemporaries; and while men

individually, and from their own observation, can see great events as it were but in part, history embraces the whole in all its various details. Thus, for example, we can see but imperfectly all the bearings of that mighty revolution which is now (1793) passing before our eyes; and it will remain for posterity to perceive all its influence and effects, and to judge of its different actors without feelings of irritation or party spirit.

It is a fact universally admitted, that all ranks and professions of men find in history appropriate instruction, and rules of conduct suited to their respective conditions. In occupying the mind agreeably with such a vast diversity of subjects, it serves to form the judgment, to inspire us with the ambition of glory, and the love of virtue. Those especially who devote themselves to the study of politics, or who are destined to the management of public affairs, will discover in history the structure and constitution of governments, their faults, and their advantages, their strength and their weakness; they will find there the origin and progress of empires, the principles that have raised them to greatness, and the causes which have prepared their fall. The philosopher, and the man of letters, will there trace the progress of the human mind, the errors and illusions that have led it astray; the connexion of causes and effects; the origin of arts and sciences, their changes, and their influence on society; as well as the innumerable evils that have sprung from ignorance, superstition, and tyranny.

History, in short, avails more than all precepts to cure us of those mistakes originating in self-love, and national partiality. He who knows no other country than his own, easily persuades himself that the government, manners, and opinions of the little corner of the earth which he inhabits, are the only ones consistent with reason and propriety. Self-love, so natural to man, cherishes this prejudice, and makes him disdain all other nations. It is only by an extensive acquaintance with history, and by familiarizing ourselves with the institutions, customs, and habits of different ages, and of different countries, that we learn to esteem wisdom and virtue, and to acknowledge talents wherever they exist. Besides, when we observe, that, though revolutions are continually changing the face of kingdoms, nothing essentially new ever happens in the world, we cease to be longer the slaves of that extravagant admiration, and that

credulous astonishment which is generally the characteristic of ignorance, or the mark of a feeble mind.

The most important attribute of history is truth, and in order to find this out, it is necessary to examine the materials which serve as the elements and evidences of history, by the test of sound criticism. These materials are of two kinds: 1. *Public Acts and Records*, such as medals, inscriptions, treaties, charters, official papers; and in general, all writings drawn up or published by the established authorities. II. *Private writers*, viz. authors of histories, of chronicles, memoirs, letters, &c. These writers are either contemporary, or such as live remote from the times of which they write.

Public acts and official records are the strongest evidences we can possibly have of historical truth; but as, in different ages, there have been fabricators of pretended acts and writings, it becomes necessary, before making use of any public document, to be assured that it is neither spurious nor falsified. The art of judging of ancient charters or diplomas, and discriminating the true from the false, is called *Diplomatics*;¹ in the same way as we give the name of *Numismatics* to the art of distinguishing real medals from counterfeit. Both of these sciences are necessary ingredients in the criticism of history.

It will not be out of place to subjoin here some rules that may serve as guides in the proper selection of historical documents. 1. The authority of any chartulary or public act is preferable to that of a private writer, even though he were contemporary. These public registers it is always necessary to consult if possible, before having recourse to the authority of private writers; and a history that is not supported by such public vouchers must in consequence be very imperfect. 2. When public acts are found to accord with the testimony of contemporary authors, there results a complete and decisive proof, the most satisfactory that can be desired, for establishing the truth of historical facts. 3. The testimony of a contemporary author ought generally to be preferred to that of an historian, who has written long after the period in which the events have happened. 4. Whenever contemporary writers are defective, great caution must be used with regard to the statements of more modern historians, whose narratives are often very inaccurate, or altogether fabulous. 5. The unanimous silence of contemporary authors on any memorable event is of itself a strong presumption for suspecting, or even for entirely rejecting, the testimony of very recent writers. 6. Historians who narrate events that have happened anterior to the times in which they lived, do not, properly speaking, deserve credit, except in so far as they make us acquainted with the sources whence they have drawn their information. 7. In order to judge of the respective merits of historians, and the preference we ought to give some beyond others, it is necessary to examine the spirit and character of each, as well as the circumstances in which they are placed at the time of writing. Hence it follows—That we ought to distrust an historian who is deficient in critical discernment, who is fond of fables, or who scruples not, in order to please and amuse his readers, to alter or disguise the truth: That as impartiality is an essential quality

in an historian, we must always be on our guard against writers who allow their minds to be warped aside by the prejudices of their nation, their party, or their profession; for, in order to be impartial, the historian must form his judgment on actions themselves, without regard to the actors: That historians who have had a personal concern in the transactions, or been eye-witnesses of the events they describe, or who, writing by the permission or authority of government, have had free access to national archives and public libraries, ought always to be preferred to those who have not enjoyed the same advantages: That among modern historians, he who has written last often deserves more confidence than those who have handled the same subject before him; inasmuch as he has had it in his power to obtain more exact information, to avoid all party spirit, and rectify the errors of his predecessors.

There are several auxiliary sciences which may be said to constitute the very foundation of history; and among these, geography, genealogy, and chronology, hold the first rank. In truth, no fact can be fully established, nor can any narrative possess interest, unless the circumstances relating to the times and places in which the events have happened, as well as to the persons who have been concerned in them, be previously made known, and distinctly explained. It is obvious, therefore, that geography, genealogy, and chronology, are the faithful interpreters and inseparable companions of history.

Geography may be divided into the mathematical, the physical, and the political; according to the different objects which it embraces. Mathematical geography regards the earth, considered as a measurable body. Physical geography has for its object to examine the natural or physical structure of the earth; while political geography illustrates the different divisions of the earth which men have invented, such as kingdoms, states, and provinces. This science is also divided, relatively to the times of which it treats, into ancient, middle-age, and modern geography. Ancient geography is that which explains the primitive state of the world, and its political divisions prior to the subversion of the Roman Empire in the west. By the geography of the middle ages, is understood that which acquaints us with the political state of the nations who figured in history from the fifth century to the end of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth. Modern geography represents to us the state of the world and its political divisions, from the sixteenth century to the present time.

Antiquity has handed down to us the works of several very eminent geographers, the most celebrated of whom are Strabo, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Pausanias, and Stephanus of Byzantium. Among the moderns who have laboured in this department of geography, those more particularly deserving of notice, are Cuvier, Cellarius, Brier, D'Anville, Gosselin, Mannert, and Ukert.

The geography of the middle ages is but little known; and remains yet a sort of desert which demands cultivation. There does not exist a single geographical work which gives a correct representation of that new order of things, which the German nations introduced into Europe after the downfall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century. The literati of France and Germany have thrown

some rays of light on certain parts of these obscure regions; but no nation in Europe can yet boast of having thoroughly explored them.

Of modern authors, too, the most conspicuous as the restorer of geographical science, is Sebastian Munster, a German, who published a voluminous work on cosmography, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The Flemings and the Dutch have been among the earliest cultivators of geography since the revival of letters. Ortelius, Gerard Mercator, Varenius, Jansson, Bleau, and Fischer, are well known by the maps and learned works which they have produced.

Among the number of celebrated French geographers are to be reckoned Sanson, Delisle, Cassini, D'Anville; and more recently Zannoni, Bauche, Mentelle, Barbic du Boage, Malte-Brun, &c. Delisle is the first who submitted geography to the touchstone of astronomical observation. Busching, a German, wrote a work on geography, which has been translated into several languages, and has received various additions and improvements, especially in the hands of the French translators. M. Ritter, a professor at Berlin, published a work in which he gives a new and scientific form to geography.

It was during the latter half of the eighteenth century that the attention of the learned was turned more particularly towards geography, when a series of the most elegant maps appeared in all the principal states of Europe. The wars that sprung from the revolution encouraged several engineers and geographers, both foreigners and Frenchmen, to publish those masterpieces of their art, the charts and plans of the countries that had served as the theatre of hostilities.

Connected with geography is the science of *Statistics*, or the study of the constitution and political economy of states. Two Italians, Sansovino and Botero, about the end of the sixteenth century, were the first that attempted to treat this as a particular science, separate and distinct from geography. The Germans followed nearly in the footsteps of the Italian writers; they introduced statistics into their Universities as a branch of study, and gave it also the name by which it is still known.² It was chiefly, however, during the course of the eighteenth century that the governments of Europe encouraged the study of this new science, which borrows its illustrations from history, and constitutes at present an essential branch of national polity.

GENEALOGY, or the science which treats of the origin and descent of illustrious families, is not less important to the knowledge of history than geography. It teaches us to know and distinguish the principal characters that have acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of the world; and by giving us clear and explicit ideas of the ties of relationship that subsist among sovereigns, it enables us to investigate the rights of succession, and the respective claims of rival princes.

The study of Genealogy is full of difficulties, on account of the uncertainty and fabulous obscurity in which the origin of almost every great family is enveloped. Vanity, aided by flattery, has given birth to a thousand legendary wonders, that fall to pieces at the touch of sound criticism. It is by the light of this science that we learn to distinguish certainties from probabilities, and pro-

babilities from fables and conjectures. Few families who have occupied the thrones of former dynasties, or who now hold pre-eminent rank in Europe, can trace their genealogy beyond the twelfth century. The House of Capet is the only one that can boast of a pedigree that reaches back to the middle of the ninth century. The origin of the royal families of Savoy, Lorraine, Brunswick, England, and Baden, belongs to the eleventh century; all the others are of a date posterior to these.

A single fact in diplomatics has proved sufficient to discredit a multitude of errors and fables, that tradition had engrafted on the legends of the dark ages. From the examinations that have been made of ancient charters and records, there is abundant evidence that, prior to the twelfth century, among families even the most illustrious, the distinction of surnames was unknown. The greatest noblemen, and the presumption is much stronger that common gentlemen, never used any other signature than their baptismal name; to which they sometimes annexed that of the dignity or order with which they were invested. There was therefore little chance of distinguishing families from each other, and still less of distinguishing individuals of one and the same family. It was only towards the end of the eleventh century, and during the era of the crusades, that the use of family names was gradually introduced; and that they began, in their public transactions, to super-add to their baptismal and honorary names, that of the country or territory they possessed, or the castle where they had their residence; and it must have required nearly two hundred years before this practice became general in Europe.

The Germans were the first, after the Reformation, who combined the study of genealogy with that of history. Among their most distinguished genealogists may be mentioned Reinerus Reineccius, Jerome Henninges, Elias Reusnerus, Nicolas Rittershusius, James-William Imhof, and the two Gebhards of Luneburg, father and son. The work of Henninges is much sought after, on account of its rarity; but the genealogical labours of the two Gebhards are particularly remarkable for the profound and accurate criticism they display. The principal writers on this subject among the French are, D'Hozier, Godefroy, Andrew Duchesne, St. Marthe, Father Anselme, Chazot de Nantigny, and M. de St. Allis.

CHRONOLOGY, or the science of computing time, represents facts or events in the order in which they have occurred. The historian ought by no means to neglect to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the exact and precise date of events; since, without this knowledge, he will be perpetually liable to commit anachronisms, to confound things with persons, and often to mistake effects for causes, or causes for effects.

This study is not without its difficulties, which are as perplexing as they are singularly various, both in kind and degree. These embarrassments relate chiefly, 1. To the age of the world; 2. The different forms of the year; 3. The number of years that elapsed from the creation to the birth of Christ; 4. The variety of epochs or periods of reckoning time.

Many of the ancient philosophers maintained that the world was eternal. Ocellus Lucanus, a

Greek philosopher of the Pythagorean sect, attempted to prove this hypothesis, in a treatise entitled *De Universo*, which the Marquis D'Argens and the Abbé Bateaux have translated into French. Aristotle followed in the footsteps of Ocellus. His opinion as to the eternity of the universe is detailed at length in his commentaries on Physics.

Some modern philosophers, as Buffon, Hamilton, Dolomieu, Saussure, Faujas de St. Fond, &c. have assigned to our globe an existence long anterior to the ages when history commences. Their reasoning they support by the conformation of the globe itself, as well as the time that must have necessarily elapsed before the earth, in the progressive operations of nature, could be rendered a suitable habitation for man.

The most ancient account that we have of the origin of the world, and of the human race is derived from Moses. This leader and lawgiver of the Jewish nation lived about 1500 years before Christ; and nearly 1000 before Herodotus, the most ancient profane author whose works have been handed down to our times. According to Moses and the Jewish annals, the history of the human race does not yet comprehend a period of six thousand years. This account seems to be in opposition to that of several ancient nations, such as the Egyptians, Indians, Chaldeans, Tibetians, and Chinese, who carry back their chronology to a very remote date, and far beyond what Moses has assigned to the human race. But it is sufficient at present to remark, that this high antiquity, which vanity has led these nations to adopt as a reality, is either altogether imaginary, or purely mythological, founded on a symbolical theology, whose mysteries and allegories have been but little understood. This primeval epoch is usually filled with gods and demigods, who are alleged to have reigned over these nations for so many myriads of years.

Traditions so fabulous and chimerical will never destroy the authenticity of Moses, who independently of his nativity, and the remote age in which he lived, merits implicit credit from the simplicity of his narrative, and from the circumstance, that there has never yet been discovered on the surface or in the internal structure of the earth, any organic evidence or work of human art, that can lead us to believe that the history of the world, or more properly speaking, of the human race, is antecedent to the age which the Jewish legislator has assigned it.

With regard to the division of time, a considerable period must, no doubt, have elapsed before men began to reckon by years, calculated according to astronomical observations. Two sorts or forms of computation have been successively in use among different nations. Some have employed solar years, calculated by the annual course of the sun; others have made use of lunar years, calculated by the periodical revolutions of the moon. All Christian nations of the present day adopt the solar year; while the lunar calculation is that followed by the Mahometans. The solar year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 48', 45'', 30''' ; the lunar year, of 354 days, 3 hours, 48', 38'', 12'''.

The invention, or more properly speaking, the calculation of the solar year, is due to the ancient Egyptians, who, by the position of their country, as well as by the periodical overflowings and eb-

blings of the Nile, had early and obvious inducements for making astronomical observations. The solar year has undergone, in process of time, various corrections and denominations. The most remarkable of these are indicated by the distinctions, still in use, of the Julian, the Gregorian, and the Reformed year.

Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman empire the solar or Egyptian year, which took, from him, the name of the Julian year. This he substituted instead of the lunar year, which the Romans had used before his time. It was distinguished, on account of a slight variation in the reckoning, into the common and bissextile or leap year. The common Julian year consisted of 365 days; and the bissextile, which returned every four years, of 366 days. This computation was faulty, inasmuch as it allowed 365 days, and 6 entire hours, for the annual revolution of the sun; being an excess every year, of 11', 14'', 30''', beyond the true time. This, in a long course of ages, had amounted to several days; and began, at length, to derange the order of the seasons.

Pope Gregory XIII.,³ wishing to correct this error, employed an able mathematician, named Louis Lilio, to reform the Julian year according to the true annual course of the sun. A new calendar was drawn up, which was called after the name of that pontiff, the Gregorian calendar; and as, in consequence of the incorrectness of the Julian era, the civil year had gained ten days, the same Pope ordered, by a bull published in 1581, that these should be expunged from the calendar; so that, instead of the 5th of October 1582, they should reckon it the 15th.

The Catholic States adopted this new calendar without the least difficulty; but the Protestants in the Empire, and the rest of Europe, as also the Russians and the Greeks, adhered to the Julian year; and hence the distinction between the old and new style, to which it is necessary to pay attention in all public acts and writings since the year 1582 of the Christian era. The difference between the old and new style, which, until 1699, was only ten days, and eleven from the commencement of 1700, must be reckoned twelve days during the present century of 1800; so that the 1st of January of the old year, answers to the 13th of the new.

The *Reformed year* or *Calendar*, as it is called, is distinct from the Gregorian, and applies to the calculation of the year, which was made by a professor at Jena, named Weigel. It differs from the Gregorian year, as to the method of calculating the time of Easter, and the other moveable feasts of the Christian churches. The Protestants of Germany, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland, adopted this new calendar in 1700. Their example was followed in 1752 by Great Britain; and in 1753, by Sweden; but since the year 1776, the Protestants of Germany, Switzerland and Holland, abandoned the reformed calendar, and adopted the Gregorian; and there is, properly speaking, no nation in Europe at this day, except the Russians and the Greeks, which makes use of the Julian calendar, or old style.⁴

But it is not merely the variations that have prevailed as to the form and computation of the year, that have perplexed the science of chronology; the different methods of commencing it have also

been the source of much confusion. The Romans, from the time of Julius Cæsar, began the year on the first of January. The ancient Greeks at first reckoned from the winter solstice, and afterwards from midsummer; the Syro-Macedonians or Seleucidæ, commenced from the autumnal equinox. The sacred year of the Jews began with the first new moon after the vernal equinox, that is, in the month of March; and their civil year began with the new moon immediately following the autumnal equinox, that is, in the month of September.

The same diversity of practice which we observe among the ancients existed also in the middle ages. The Franks, under the Merovingian kings, began the year with the month of March. The Pope began it sometimes at Christmas, or the 25th of December; sometimes on the 1st of January; and sometimes on the 25th of March, called indiscriminately the day of the Annunciation, or Incarnation. Under the Carolingian princes, two methods of beginning the year were generally prevalent in France,—the one fixed its commencement at Christmas, or the 25th of December, and the other at Easter; that is, at the day on which that moveable feast happened to fall. This latter custom prevailed also under the Capetian kings, and it was not suppressed until near the middle of the sixteenth century. Charles IX., by an edict published in 1564, ordered, that in France the year should henceforth commence on the 1st of January. Previously to this edict, it sometimes happened, from the variable date of Easter, that the same month was found to occur twice in one and the same year. For example, the year 1358 having begun on the 1st of April, on which Easter day happened to fall, did not terminate until the 20th of April following, that is, on the eve preceding Easter. There were consequently in this year nearly two complete months of April. Since the reign of Charles IX., it has continued the invariable practice in France to begin the year on the 1st of January.

In England the year used to commence on the 25th of March, and the old style was there observed until 1753; when, by virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in 1752, the beginning of the year was transferred to the 1st of January. It was decreed also, at the same time, that, in order to accommodate the English chronology to the new style, the 3d of September 1752 should be reckoned the 14th of the same month.

It is easy to conceive the perplexity and confusion that must have been introduced into chronology, as much by the difference of styles as by the different methods of commencing the year. Nothing is more probable, than that we should here find mistakes and contradictions which, in reality, have no existence; and the more so, as the writers or recorders of public acts, who employ these different styles, or date the beginning of the year variously, never give us any intimation on the subject; and all reckon promiscuously from the year of Christ's nativity, without informing us whether they follow the old or the new style—whether they commence the year in the month of January or March, at Easter or at Christmas.

Modern chronologists have found much embarrassment in calculating the number of years that elapsed between the creation and the birth of

Christ. Father Petau, one of the most learned men in this science, admits that this point of chronology is to be established rather by probable conjectures than solid arguments. There have even been reckoned, according to Fabricius, about a hundred and forty different opinions respecting the epoch of Christ's nativity. Some fix this era in the year of the world 3616, while others carry it back to the year 6484. This great discordance of opinions arises from the contradictions found to exist between the three principal texts of the Old Testament. The Hebrew text, for instance, to which most chronologists give the preference, fixes the deluge in the year of the world 1536; while, according to the Samaritan text, it happened in 1307; and, according to the Septuagint, in 2242. The system at present most accredited is that of Archbishop Usher, an Irish prelate, who, founding his calculation on the Hebrew text, fixes the date of Christ's nativity in the year of the world 4000.

A variety of epochs prevailed at different times; as most nations, both ancient and modern, who had governments and laws of their own, adopted chronological eras that were peculiar to themselves. The ancient Greeks had their Olympiads, and the Syro-Macedonians the era of the Seleucidæ. The Romans calculated by consulships, which became the era of their public acts; and besides these, their historians used to reckon from the foundation of the city, which goes back 752 years before Christ, or 3249 after the creation. The era of Dioclesian, introduced in honour of that emperor, and sometimes also called the era of the martyrs, began in the year 284 after Christ, and was for a long time used in the West. But, without stopping here to enumerate the different eras of antiquity, we shall rather restrict ourselves at present to the pointing out of those that belong more properly to modern history, viz. 1. The era of the modern Greeks. 2. Of the modern Jews. 3. Of the Spaniards. 4. The Hegira, or Mahometan era. 5. The Dionysian, or Christian era.

The era of the modern Greeks is known by the name of the Mundane era of Constantinople. It begins 5508 years before the birth of Christ. The first year of the incarnation thus falls in the year of the world 5509; and, consequently, the year 1823 of the Christian era answers to the year 7331 of the Mundane era of Constantinople. Under this system, two kinds of years are in use, the civil and the ecclesiastical. The former commences with the month of September, the other has begun sometimes on the 21st of March, and sometimes on the 1st of April. This era is followed, even at this day, by the Greek church. The Russians, who adopted it from the Greeks, along with the Christian religion, made use of it even in their civil acts, until the reign of Peter the Great. That emperor, in 1700, abolished the Mundane era of Constantinople, and substituted in its place the Christian era, and the Julian calendar or old style.

The modern Jews have likewise a mundane era; as they reckon from the creation of the world. It commences on the 7th of October of the Julian year, and reckons 3761 years before Christ. The year 3762 of the world is the first of the Christian era, according to the Jews; and the year 1823 answers to the year 5583 of their mundane era.

In Spain, the era began with the year of Rome 714, 38 years before the birth of Christ; being the time when the triumvirate was renewed between Cæsar Octavianus, Mark Antony, and Lepidus. The Spaniards, wishing to give Octavianus some testimony of their satisfaction on being comprehended within his province, began a new era with this event,^a which prevailed not only in Spain and Portugal, but also in Africa, and those parts of France which were subject to the dominion of the Visigoths. It is of great importance to know that the Spaniards and Portuguese constantly employed this era in their annals and public acts, so late as the 14th and 15th centuries, when they substituted the Christian era in its place.

The era which the Mussulman nations follow is that of Mahomet, called the Hegira, or the Flight of the Prophet. It began on the 16th of July 622 A. C., and is composed of lunar years. In order to find out in what year of the vulgar era any given year of the Hegira falls, it is necessary first to reduce the lunar into solar years, and then add the number 622. For example, the year 1238 of the Hegira answers to the year 1823 of the vulgar, or Christian era. It began on the 18th of September 1822, and ended on the 7th of the following September.

Dionysius, or Denys the Little, a Roman Abbé, who lived in the time of the Emperor Justinian, about the year of Christ 530, was the author of the vulgar era, which afterwards received a more perfect form from the hands of the venerable Bede, an English monk, about the year 720. Before that time, the Latins, or Christians of the West, employed the era of the Consuls, or that of Dioclesian. Denys the Little, imagining it would be more convenient for the Christians to reckon their time from the birth of Christ, applied himself with great industry to calculate the number of years that had elapsed from the Incarnation to his own times. Modern chronologists have remarked, that both Denys and Bede were mistaken in their calculations; but a difference of opinion prevails on this subject, as may be seen in the learned work of Fabricius. There are some of these chronologists who date the birth of Christ thirty-four years earlier, while others find a difference of but one year, or at most four, between the true epoch of the nativity, and that adopted by Denys. This disagreement of the modern chronologists has given rise to the distinction between the *true era* of the birth of Christ, and the *Vulgar or Dionysian era*, which the general usage has now consecrated and established.

In France, this era was not introduced until the eighth century. We find it employed, for the first time, in the acts of the Councils of Germany, Liptines, and Soissons, held in the years 742-3-4, under Pepin, surnamed the Short. The Kings of France never used it in their public acts, until the end of the ninth century; and the Popes only since the eleventh.

In order to compare the different eras, and to facilitate the process of reducing the years of one into those of another, a scheme has been proposed called the Julian period. The invention of this is due to Joseph Scaliger, a professor at Leyden, and well known by his chronological works. He gave it the name of *Julian*, because the Julian year served as the basis of it. It is composed of the

several periods of the cycles of the sun, the moon, and the indictions multiplied by each other.

The *cycle of the sun* is a period, or revolution of twenty-eight solar years; at the end of which the same order of years returns, by a kind of circle or cycle. Its use is to indicate the days on which each year commences, and the Dominical Letters. These are the first seven letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, which are employed to indicate the seven days of the week, more particularly the Sabbath (*dies Dominica*). At the end of twenty-eight years, of which this cycle is composed, there returns a new order or series of years, so similar to the preceding, that the Dominical letters again answer exactly to the same days.

The *cycle of the moon* comprises nineteen lunar years, twelve of which are called common, and the remaining seven intercalary; these yield a product of 6939 days 18 hours, according to the calculation of the ancients;^b and are equal to nineteen Julian or solar years. By means of this cycle always recurring, the new moons fall again on the same days and the same hours on which they had happened nineteen years before; so that, for all the new moons, the cycle which is to come is entirely similar to the preceding. The cipher which indicates the year of the cycle is called the *golden number*, because they used to write it in characters of gold in the ancient calendars, where it was employed to mark the times of the new moons.

The *cycle of indictions* is a cycle which recurs every fifteen years; and which, like those already mentioned, was frequently employed in charters and public records. The origin of these indictions is generally referred to a contribution or cess appointed, for fifteen years, by the Romans, and afterwards renewed for the same period. They began in the reign of Constantine the Great, that is, about the year of Christ 313, and are distinguished into three kinds; 1. that of Constantinople, which was employed by the Greek Emperors, and began on the 1st of September; 2. that which was termed the Imperial, or Caserean indiction, the use of which was limited to the West, and which began on the 25th of September; and, 3. the Roman or Pontifical indiction, which the Popes employed in their bulls. This last began on the 25th of December, or the 1st of January, according as the one or the other of these days was reckoned by the Romans the first of the new year.

The cycle of the sun, comprising twenty-eight years, and that of the moon nineteen, when multiplied together, give a product of 532, which is called the Paschal cycle, because it serves to ascertain the feast of Easter. The product of 532, multiplied by 15, the cycle of indictions, amounts to the number 7980, which constitutes the Julian period. Within the compass of this period may be placed, as it were, under one view, these different eras and epochs, in order to compare and reconcile them with each other; adopting, as their common term, the nativity of Christ, fixed to the year 4714 of the Julian period.

History has been divided, according to the different subjects of which it treats, into Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, and Philosophical History. Civil and political history is occupied entirely with events that relate to mankind, as distributed into

societies, and united together by governments, laws, and manners. Ecclesiastical history is confined to those events that properly belong to religion. Literary history treats more particularly of the origin, progress, and vicissitudes of the arts and sciences. Lastly, philosophical history, which is but a branch or sub-division of literary history, illustrates the different systems of philosophy that have flourished in the world, both in ancient and modern times.

Another division of history, according to its extent, is that of Universal, General, and Particular History. Universal history gives a kind of outline or summary of the events of all the nations that have figured on the earth, from the remotest ages to the present time.

By general history, is understood that which treats of the revolutions that have happened in the world, whether of great states or confederate powers, or of several nations combined together, by various and complicated interests. Thus, there may be a general history of France, or of Great Britain, a general history of the United Provinces, a general history of Europe, &c. Particular history embraces, in detail, the events of a particular people, or province, or city, or illustrious individual.

Finally, in regard to the time of which it treats, history is distinguished into Ancient and Modern, and that of the Middle Ages. Ancient history is that of the nations who flourished from the time of the creation to the fifth century; while the history of the middle ages has, for its object, the revolutions that took place from the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century. What is now termed modern history, is that which retraces the events of the last three centuries.

This division, which applies more particularly to the history of Europe, is founded on the great revolutions which this part of the world experienced in the fifth and fifteenth centuries. The revolution of the fifth century ended in the subversion of the Roman empire in the West, and gave birth to the principal states in modern Europe; while that of the fifteenth century, which dates its commencement from the destruction of the Eastern empire, brought along with it the revival of literature and the fine arts, and the renovation of civil society in Europe.

Although ancient history does not enter into the plan of the following work, nevertheless it appeared necessary to give here a brief sketch of it to the reader, with the view of connecting the order of time, and the chain of the great events that have occurred from the remotest ages to the present day. We have divided it into three periods, the first of which embraces 3000, the second 1000, and the third 500 years.

The first period, which comprises thirty centuries, is almost wholly fabulous. The notices of it that have been transmitted to us are very imperfect. The order of time cannot be established on any solid foundation. Even the authenticity of the famous Parian marbles has been called in question as spurious; and there is no other chronology that can guide our steps through this dark labyrinth of profane history. The only literary monuments that are left us of these remote and obscure ages, are the books of Moses and the Jews. Herodotus, the earliest profane historian, wrote more than

a thousand years after Moses, and about 450 before Christ. He had been preceded several centuries by Sanchoniathon the Phœnician; but the work of this latter historian is lost, and there exist only a few scattered fragments of it in Porphyry and Eusebius.

It appears, therefore, that of the 4500 years that fall within the compass of ancient history, the first thirty centuries may, without inconvenience, be retrenched. Amidst the darkness of those ages, we discover nothing but the germs of societies, governments, sciences, and arts. The Egyptians, the Israelites, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, or Chaldeans, made then the most conspicuous figure among the nations of Asia and Africa.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans were the first who cultivated astronomy. Egypt was long the nursery of arts and sciences. The Phœnicians, without any other guide than the stars, boldly traversed unknown seas, and gave a vast extent of intercourse to their commerce and navigation. They founded many celebrated colonies, such as Carthage in Africa, and Malaga, and Cadiz on the shores of Spain.

The history of Europe, which is utterly unknown during the first two thousand years, begins to exhibit in the third millenary a few slight notices of ancient Greece. A multitude of petty states had then taken root; most of which, as Argos, Athens, and Thebes, had been founded by colonies from Egypt. The Greeks, in imitation of the Phœnicians, applied themselves to arts, navigation, and commerce. They established numerous colonies, not only on the coasts of Asia Minor, but on those of Italy and Sicily. That in Lower Italy, or Calabria, was known by the name of Magna Græcia.

It was during the second period of ancient history, or in the fourth millenary, that great and powerful monarchies arose; which contributed to the progress of arts and civilisation, and the perfection of society. These are commonly reckoned five, viz., the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman; all of which successively established themselves on the ruins of each other.

The history of the first two monarchies is enveloped in mystery and doubt. Of the ancient Egyptians, nothing now remains but their pyramids, their temples, and obelisks,—monuments which can only attest the power and grandeur of the ancient sovereigns of Egypt.

As to the Assyrian antiquities, the contradictions that we find between the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias, cannot fail to make us reject, as fabulous, the details of the latter, respecting the magnificence of Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, the supposed monarchs of Assyria and Babylon. Nothing certain is known of this empire, or the conquests of these kings, beyond what we find recorded in the annals of the Jews. Salmanser, King of Assyria, subdued the kingdom of Samaria or Israel, about the year of the world 3270; and Nebuchadnezzar, one of his successors, conquered that of Judah and Jerusalem, about the year 3403.

The Persian monarchy was founded by Cyrus, who put an end to the dominion of the Assyrians and Babylonians, by taking the city of Babylon,

about the year of the world 3463. The Persian empire, when at its greatest height, under Darius Hystaspes, comprehended all that part of Asia which stretches from the Indus to the Caspian Sea, and from the Euxine to the shores of the Mediterranean. Egypt in Africa, and Thrace in Europe, were subject to its laws. After a duration of nearly two centuries, it was finally destroyed by the Macedonians in the year 3672.

Greece, which was at first divided into several petty kingdoms, changed its condition towards the commencement of the fourth millenary; when its principal cities, till then governed by kings, formed themselves into detached republics. An enthusiasm for liberty spread over all Greece, and inspired every bosom with the love of glory. Military bravery, as well as arts, and talents of all kinds, were fostered and encouraged by public games, the principal of which were the Olympic. Two cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, fixed upon themselves for a time the eyes of all Greece. Solon was the legislator of the former, and Lycurgus of the latter. To these two republics all the rest succumbed, either as allies, or by right of conquest. Athens has rendered herself immortal by the victories which she gained over the Persians, at the famous battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea; fought A. M. 3512, 3522, and 3523.

The ascendancy which these victories procured the Athenians over the rest of the Greek states, excited the jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and became the principal cause of the famous civil war which arose in 3572, between these two republics, and which is known by the name of the Peloponnesian war. This was followed by various other civil wars; and these disasters contributed greatly to exhaust the Greeks, and to break that union which had been the true source of their prosperity and their glory. Philip, King of Macedon, had the address to turn these unhappy divisions to his own advantage, and soon made himself master of all Greece. The battle of Chæronea, which he gained over the Athenians about the year of the world 3646, completed the conquest of that country.

Alexander the Great, son of Philip, afterwards attacked the Persian empire, which he utterly overthrew, in consequence of the three victories which he gained over Darius Codomannus, the last of the Persian kings, at the passage of the Granicus in 3668, at Issus in 3669, and near Arbela in 3672.

The monarchy founded by Alexander fell to pieces after his death. From its wreck were formed, among others, by three of his generals, the three kingdoms of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt; all of which were conquered in succession by the Romans, A. M. 3835, 3936, and 3972. Greece itself had been reduced to a Roman province, after the famous sack of Corinth, and the destruction of the Achæan league, A. M. 3836, or 144 years before Christ.

The empire of the Greeks was succeeded by that of the Romans, which is distinguished from all its predecessors, not more by its extent and duration, than by the wisdom with which it was administered, and the fine monuments of all kinds which it has transmitted to posterity. The greatness of this empire was not, however, the achievement of a single conqueror, but the work of ages.

Its prosperity must be chiefly ascribed to the primitive constitution of the Republic, which inspired the Romans with the love of liberty, and the spirit of patriotism,—which animated them to glory and perseverance, and taught them to despise dangers and death. Their religion, likewise, served as a powerful engine to restrain and direct the multitude, according to the views and designs of the government.

The earlier part of the Roman history may be divided into three periods. The first of these represents Rome under the government of kings; from the time of its foundation, about the year of the world 3249, to the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, and the establishment of the Republic, in 3493. The second extends from the establishment of the Republic, in the year of Rome 245, to the first Punic war, in the year of the City 490, and of the world 3738. The third commences with the first Punic war, and terminates at the battle of Actium, which put an end to the Republican government, and re-established monarchy under Augustus, in the year of Rome 723.

During the first of these periods, the Romans had to sustain incessant wars with their neighbours, the petty states of Italy. They subdued the whole of that peninsula in course of the second period; and it was not till the third, that they carried their arms beyond their own country, to conquer the greater portion of the then known world. The first two periods of the Roman history are full of obscure and uncertain traditions. In those remote ages, the Romans paid no attention to the study of letters. Immersed entirely in the business of war, they had no other historical records than the annals of their pontiffs, which perished in the sack of Rome, at the time of its invasion by the Gauls, in the year of the City 365.

The most ancient of their historians was Fabius Pictor, who wrote his Annals in the sixth century after the foundation of Rome, or about the time of the second Punic war. These Annals, in which Fabius had consulted both tradition and foreign authors, are lost; and we possess no information on these two periods of Roman history, except what has been left us by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Titus Livius, who both wrote in the reign of Augustus, and whose narratives often resemble a romance rather than a true history.

The cultivation of letters and arts among the Romans did not, properly speaking, commence until the third period; and after they had had intercourse with civilized nations, as the Carthaginians and Greeks. It was not until 484 years after the building of the city that they struck their first silver coinage; and ten years afterwards, they equipped their first fleet against the Carthaginians. It is at this period, also, that truth begins to dawn upon their history, and to occupy the place of fable and tradition. Besides their native historians, Titus Livius, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus, several Greek authors, as Polybius, Plutarch, Appian of Alexandria, Dion Cassius, &c. have furnished useful memorials on this period. The history of Polybius, especially, is a work of the highest merit. The statesman will there find lessons on politics and government, and the soldier instructions in the art of war.

A long series of foreign wars put the Romans in possession of the Isles of the Mediterranean,

Spain, Northern Africa, Egypt, Gaul, Illyria, Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, and all Asia, as far as the Euphrates. The destruction of the powerful republic of Carthage was the grand cast of the die that decided the empire of the world in favour of the Romans.

Carthage was a colony which the ancient Phenicians had founded on the coast of Africa, near the modern city of Tunis, in the year of the world 3110, and 130 before the founding of Rome. In imitation of their mother country, the Carthaginians rendered themselves famous by their merchandise and their marine. The extent to which they carried their commerce, and the force necessary for its protection, rendered their arms everywhere victorious. They gradually extended their conquests along the shores of Africa, in Spain, and the islands of the Mediterranean.

The attempts which they had made to get possession of Sicily was the occasion of embroiling them in a war with the Romans. For nearly two hundred years, Rome and Carthage disputed between them the empire of the world; and it was not until these two mighty rivals had, more than once, made each other tremble for their independence, that the Carthaginians yielded to the yoke of the conqueror. Their capital, after a siege which lasted nearly three years, was completely laid in ruins by the famous Scipio Æmilianus, the scholar of Polybius. No monument of the Carthaginians now remains to point out the ancient splendour of that republic. Their national archives, and all the literary treasures they contained, perished with the city, or were destroyed by the Romans. The destruction of Carthage happened in the year of Rome 608, and of the world 3836, the same year that witnessed the sack of Corinth.

The fall of Carthage, and more especially the conquest of Greece, Egypt, and the Asiatic kingdoms, occasioned a wonderful revolution in the manners and government of the Romans. The riches of the East, the arts and institutions of the vanquished nations, brought them acquainted with luxuries they had never known, which soon proved the fatal harbingers of vice. Their patriotism and love of liberty insensibly declined, and became extinct: powerful and ambitious citizens fomented insurrections and civil wars, which ended in the subversion of the republican government, and the establishment of monarchy.

Two triumvirates appeared in succession. The first consisted of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, and was dissolved in consequence of the civil war that arose among the triumvirs. Cæsar, having conquered Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, in the year of Rome 706, became master of the empire, under the title of perpetual dictator. This new elevation of fortune he did not long enjoy; he was assassinated in the senate by a band of conspirators, at the head of whom was Brutus, in the year of Rome 710, and 42 before the birth of Christ.

A second triumvirate was formed between Mark Antony, Cæsar Octavianus, and Lepidus. Many thousands of illustrious Romans, and among others Cicero, were at this time proscribed, and put to death by order of the triumvirs. Jealousy having at length disunited these new tyrants, Octavianus stript Lepidus of his power, and defeated Mark Antony in the famous naval battle which took

place near the promontory of Actium, in the year of Rome 723. Antony having been assassinated in Egypt, immediately after his defeat, Cæsar Octavianus became sole master of the empire, which he afterwards ruled with sovereign authority under the name of Augustus.

At this time the Roman empire comprehended the finest countries of Europe and Asia, with Egypt and all the northern part of Africa. It was bounded on the west by the Rhine and the Danube, and on the east by the Euphrates. The successors of Augustus added the greater part of Britain to the empire. Trajan carried his victorious arms beyond the Danube; he conquered the Dacians, who inhabited those countries known at present under the name of Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia. In the East this prince extended the limits of the empire beyond the Euphrates, having subdued Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia, Colchis and Iberia (or Georgia); but the conquests of Trajan were abandoned by his successors, and the empire again shrank within the bounds prescribed by Augustus.

This empire, which extended from north to south nearly six hundred leagues, and more than a thousand from east to west, viz. from the 24° to the 56° of latitude, comprised a total of 180,000 square leagues. The population, during its most flourishing state, may be estimated at about 120,000,000,—a population which equals that of modern Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Turkey.

The government which had been introduced was an absolute monarchy, only clothed with the forms of the ancient republic. Under the popular titles of consul, tribune of the people, general, grand pontiff, censor, &c., the prince united in himself all the various attributes of supreme power. The senate indeed enjoyed extensive prerogatives; the legislative power, which had been reserved at first for the people, was afterwards transferred to this body; but as the military were wholly subordinate to the prince, and as he had also at his command a numerous guard, it is easy to perceive that the authority of the senate was but precarious, and by no means a counterpoise to that of the prince.

A government so constructed could not insure the welfare and happiness of the people, except under princes as humane as Titus, as just and enlightened as Trajan and the Antonines; or so long as the forms introduced by Augustus should be respected. It could not fail to degenerate into arbitrary power, under tyrants such as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian; and the senate must then have been but a servile instrument in the hands of the prince, employed by him to facilitate the means of satiating his passions and his tyranny.

The maxims of absolute power soon became the fashionable and favourite doctrine. Civilians began to teach publicly that all the authority of the senate and the people was transferred to the prince; that he was superior to the laws; that his power extended to the lives and fortunes of the citizens; and that he might dispose of the state as his own patrimony. These encroachments of despotism, joined to the instability of the imperial throne, the decay of military discipline, the unbridled licence of the troops, the employing whole

corps of barbarians in their wars, must all be reckoned among the number of causes that hastened the downfall of the Roman empire.

Constantine the Great was the first of the emperors that embraced Christianity, and made it the established religion of the state in 324. He quitted the city of Rome, the ancient residence of the Cæsars, and fixed his capital at Byzantium, in 330, which took from him the name of Constantinople. Anxious to provide for the security of his new capital, he stationed the flower of his legions in the East, dismantled the frontiers on the Rhine and the Danube, and dispersed into the provinces and towns the troops who had heretofore encamped on the borders of these great rivers. In this way he secured the peace and tranquillity of the interior, and infused, for a time, a new vigour into the government; but he committed a great mistake in giving the first example of making a formal division of the state between his sons, without regard to the principle of unity and indivisibility which his predecessors had held sacred. It is true, this separation was not of long continuance; but it was renewed afterwards by Theodosius the Great, who finally divided the empire between his two sons in the year 395; Arcadius had the eastern, and Honorius the western part of the empire. This latter comprehended Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Northern Africa, Rhetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyria. It was during the reign of Honorius, and under the administration of his minister Stilico, that the memorable invasion of the barbarians happened, which was followed shortly after by the destruction of the Western Empire.

It is with this great event, which gave birth to a variety of new states and kingdoms, that the following History of the Revolutions of Europe commences. It is divided into nine sections or periods of time, according to the successive changes which the political system of Europe experienced from the fifth to the nineteenth century.

In the *first*, which extends to the year 800, the barbarians, who invaded the Western Empire, formed new states in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; and produced a complete revolution in the government, laws, manners, letters, and arts of Europe. It was during this period that the Franks gained the ascendancy over the other European nations; that the Popes laid the groundwork of their secular power; that Mahomet founded a new religion in Asia, and an empire which extended through Africa into Spain.

In the *second* period, which extends from 800 to 962, a vast empire was erected, and again dismembered, after enjoying a short-lived splendour. From its wreck were formed new kingdoms, which have served as the basis for several states of modern times. Others were established by the Normans, Russians, and Hungarians.

In the *third* period, which terminates with the year 1072, Germany became the preponderating power, and began to decline, through the abuse of the feudal system. The House of Capet mounted the throne of France; and the Normans achieved the conquest of England. The Northern nations, converted to Christianity, began to make some

figure in history: the monarchy of Russia became great and powerful; while the Greek empire, or that of the Romans, fell into decay.

During the *fourth* period, which ends with the year 1300, the Roman Pontiffs acquired an immense sway. This is also the epoch of the Crusades, which had a powerful influence on the social and political state of the European nations: The darkness of the middle ages began gradually to disappear; the establishment of communities, and the enfranchisement of the serfs, gave birth to new ideas of liberty. The Roman jurisprudence was restored from the neglect and oblivion into which it had fallen, and taught in the universities: Italy was covered with a multitude of republics, and the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies, and of Portugal were founded: The inquisition was established in France, and Magna Charta in England: The Moguls in the East raised, by their conquests, a powerful and extensive empire.

The *fifth* period, which ends at the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, witnessed the decline of the Pontifical jurisdiction: Learning and science made some progress, and various important discoveries prepared the way for still greater improvements: Commerce began to flourish, and extend its intercourse more widely: the European states assumed their present form; while the Turks, an Asiatic race, established their dominion in Europe.

The *sixth* period, from 1453 to 1648, is the epoch of the revival of the belles lettres, and the fine arts; and of the discovery of America: It is also that of the Reformation of religion accomplished in Germany; the influence of which has extended over all the countries in the world. It was likewise during this period that Europe was desolated by religious wars, which eventually must have plunged it again into a state of barbarism. The peace of Westphalia became the basis of the political system of Europe.

In the *seventh* period, from 1648 to 1713, this federal system was turned against France, whose power threatened to overturn the political balance of Europe. The peace of Utrecht set bounds to the ambition of its aspiring monarchs, while that of Oliva adjusted the contending claims of the North.

The European states, delivered from the terror of universal dominion, began to think the establishment of it an impossibility; and losing conceit of the system of political equipoise, they substituted in its place maxims of injustice and violence.

The *eighth* period, which comes down to 1789, is an epoch of weakness and corruption, during which the doctrines of a libertine and impious philosophy led the way to the downfall of thrones and the subversion of social order.

[The consequences of this new philosophy bring us to the *ninth* period, during which Europe was almost entirely revolutionized. The present history terminates with the year 1815, which forms a natural division in this revolutionary epoch; the final results of which can be known only to posterity.]

PERIOD I.

FROM THE INVASION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST BY THE BARBARIANS, TO THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 400—800.

THE Roman empire had, for many years, been gradually tending towards its downfall. Its energies were exhausted; and it required no great efforts to lay prostrate that gigantic power which had already lost its strength and activity. The vices of the government, the relaxation of discipline, the animosities of faction, and the miseries of the people, all announced the approaching ruin of the empire. Divided by mutual jealousies, enervated by luxury, and oppressed by despotism, the Romans were in no condition to withstand the numerous swarms of barbarians from the North, who, unacquainted with luxury, and despising danger and death, had learned to conquer in the ranks of the Imperial armies.

Several of the Emperors, guided by a short-sighted policy, had received into their pay entire battalions of foreigners; and, to recompense their services, had assigned them settlements in the frontier provinces of the empire. Thus the Franks obtained, by way of compensation, territories in Belgic Gaul; while similar grants were made in Pannonia and in Thrace to the Vandals, Alans, Goths, and other barbarians. This liberality of the Romans, which was a true mark of weakness, together with the vast numbers of these troops which they employed in their wars, at length accustomed the barbarians to regard the empire as their prey. Towards the close of the year 406, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans, sounded the tocsin of that famous invasion which accelerated the downfall of the Western empire. The example of these nations was soon followed by the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Alemanni,¹ the Franks, the Huns, the Angles, the Saxons, the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards. All these nations, with the exception of the Huns, were of German origin.

THE VANDALS, it appears, were originally settled in that part of northern Germany which lies between the Elbe and the Vistula. They formed a branch of the ancient Suevi, as did also the Burgundians and the Lombards. After the third century, and under the reign of the Emperor Probus, we find them, with the Burgundians, engaged in warring against the Romans on the Rhine. In the time of Aurelian (272) they established themselves in the Western part of Dacia, that is, in Transylvania, and a part of modern Hungary. Oppressed in these districts by the Goths, they obtained from Constantine the Great settlements in Pannonia, on condition of rendering military service to the Romans. They remained in Pannonia until the commencement of the fifth century, when they set out on their emigration towards Gaul. It was on this occasion that they associated themselves with the Alans, a people originally from Mount Caucasus and ancient Scythia; a branch of which, settled in Sarmatia near the source of the Borysthènes or Dnieper, had advanced as far as the Danube, and there made a

formidable stand against the Romans. In their passage through Germany, the Vandals and the Alans joined a body of the Suevi, who also inhabited the banks of the Danube, eastward of the powerful nation of the Alemanni. United in this rude confederacy, they entered Gaul, plundering and destroying wherever they went. Mayence, Worms, Spire, Strasbourg, and many flourishing cities of Gaul, were pillaged by these barbarians.

THE GOTUS,² the most powerful of these destructive nations, began to rise into notice in the third century, after the time of the Emperor Caracalla. They then inhabited the country between the Vistula, the Dniester, the Borysthènes, and the Tanais or Don. It is not certain whether they were originally from these regions, or whether, in more remote times, they inhabited Scandinavia, from which, according to Jornandes, a Gothic author, they emigrated at an early period. It is however certain that they were of German extraction; and that, in the third and fourth centuries, they made the Cæsars tremble on their thrones. The Emperor Aurelian was compelled (274) to abandon the province of Dacia to their dominion.

This nation, the first of the German tribes that embraced the Christian religion,³ was divided, in their ancient settlements beyond the Danube, into two principal branches. They who inhabited the districts towards the east and the Euxine Sea, between the Dniester, the Borysthènes, and the Tanais, were called Ostrogoths; the Visigoths were the branch which extended westward, and occupied ancient Dacia, and the regions situated between the Dniester, the Danube, and the Vistula. Attacked in these vast countries by the Huns (375), some were subjugated, and others compelled to abandon their habitations. A part of the Visigoths then fixed their abode in Thrace, in Mæsia, and the frontiers of Dacia, with consent of the emperors; who granted also to the Ostrogoths settlements in Pannonia. At length the Visigoths, after having twice ravaged Italy, sacked and plundered Rome, ended their conquests by establishing themselves in Gaul and in Spain. One branch of these Goths appears to have been the Thuringians, whom we find in the fifth century established in the heart of Germany, where they erected a very powerful kingdom.

THE FRANKS were probably a confederacy which the German tribes, situated between the Rhine, the Maine, the Weser, and the Elbe, had formed among themselves, in order to maintain their liberty and independence against the Romans. Tacitus, who wrote about the commencement of the second century, did not know them under this new name, which occurs for the first time in the historians of the third century. Among the German tribes who composed this association we find the Chauci, the Sicambri, the Chamavi, the Cherusci, the Bructeri, the Catti, the Ampsivarii, the Ripuarii, the Salli, &c.⁴ These tribes, though com-

bined for the purposes of common defence, under the general name of Franks, preserved, nevertheless, each their laws and form of government, as well as their particular chiefs, and the names of their aboriginal tribes. In the fourth, and towards the beginning of the fifth century, the whole country lying within the Rhine, the Weser, the Maine, and the Elbe, was called *Francia*.

Another confederation of the German tribes was that of the *ALEMANNI*; unknown also to Tacitus. It took its origin about the commencement of the third century. Their territories extended between the Danube, the Rhine, the Necker, the Maine, and the Lahn. On the east, in a part of Franconia and modern Suabia, they had for their neighbours and allies the *SUEVI*, who, after having long formed a distinct nation, were at length blended with the Alemanni, and gave their country the name of Suabia. The Alemanni rendered themselves formidable to the Romans, by their frequent inroads into Gaul and Italy, in the third and fourth centuries.

THE *SAXONS*, unknown also to Tacitus, began to make a figure in history about the second century, when we find them settled beyond the Elbe, in modern Holstein, having for their neighbours the *ANGLES*, or English, inhabiting Sleswick Proper. These nations were early distinguished as pirates and freebooters; and, while the Franks and the Alemanni spread themselves over the interior of Gaul, the Saxons infested the coasts, and even extended their incursions into Britain. The Franks having penetrated into Gaul with their main forces, the Saxons passed the Elbe, and in course of time occupied, or united in alliance with them, the greater part of ancient France, which took from them the name of Saxony. There they subdivided themselves into three principal branches,—the *Ostphalians* to the east, the *Westphalians* to the west, and the *Angrians* or *Angri-varians*, whose territories lay between the other two, along the Weser, and as far as the confines of Hesse.

THE *HUNS*, the most fierce and sanguinary of all the nations which overran the Roman empire in the fifth century, came from the remote districts of northern Asia, which were altogether unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans. From the descriptions which the historians of the fifth and sixth centuries have given us of them, we are led to believe that they were Kalnuks or Monguls originally. The fame of their arms had begun to spread over Europe so early as the year 375 of the Christian era. Having subdued the Alans, and crossed the Tanais, they subverted the powerful monarchy of the Goths, and gave the first impulse to the great revolution of the fifth century, which changed the face of all Europe. The Eastern empire first felt the fury of these barbarians, who carried fire and sword wherever they went, rendered the emperors their tributaries, and then precipitated themselves on the West under the conduct of the famous Attila.³

Several of the nations we have now enumerated divided among themselves the territories of Gaul. This province, one of the richest and most important in the Western empire, was repeatedly overrun and devastated by the barbarous hordes of the fifth century. The Visigoths were the first that formed settlements in it. On their arrival, under the command of King Atulf, or Adolphus

(412), they took possession of the whole country lying within the Loire, the Rhine, the Durance, the Mediterranean, and the Alps. Toulouse became their capital and the residence of their kings.

THE *BURGUNDIANS*, a people, it would appear, originally from the countries situated between the Oder and the Vistula, followed nearly in the track of the Visigoths; as we find them, about the year 413, established on the Upper Rhine and in Switzerland. After the dissolution of the empire they succeeded in establishing themselves in those parts of Gaul known by the names of the Sequanois, Lyonois, Viennois, and Narbonnois, viz. in those districts which formed, in course of time, the two Burgundies, the provinces of Lyonois, Dauphiny, and Provence on this side of the Durance, Savoy, the Pays de Vaud, the Valais, and Switzerland.⁴ These countries then assumed the name of the Kingdom of the Burgundians.

THE *ALEMANNI* and the *SUEVI* became flourishing nations on the banks of the Upper Rhine and the Danube. They invaded those countries in Gaul, or the *Germania Prima* of the Romans, known since under the names of Alsace, the Palatinate, Mayence, &c.; and extended their conquests also over a considerable part of Rhetia and Vindelicia.

At length the Franks, having been repulsed in different encounters by the Romans, again passed the Rhine (430), under the conduct of Clodion, their chief; made themselves masters of the greater part of Belgic Gaul, took possession of Tournay, Cambrai, and Amiens; and thus laid the foundation of the new kingdom of France in Gaul. The Romans, however, still maintained their authority in the interior of that province, and the brave *Ætius*, their general, made head against all those hordes of barbarians who disputed with him the dominion of Gaul.

It was at this crisis that the *HUNS* made their appearance on the theatre of war. The fierce Attila, a man of great military talents, after having overthrown various states, conquered Pannonia and different provinces of the Eastern empire on the right bank of the Danube, undertook his famous expedition into Gaul. Marching along the Danube from Pannonia, at the head of an invulnerable army,⁷ he passed the Rhine near the Lake of Constance, pillaged and ravaged several places, and spread the terror of his arms over all Gaul. The Franks and the Visigoths united their forces with those of the Roman general, to arrest the progress of the barbarian. A bloody and obstinate encounter took place (451) on the plains of Chalons-sur-Marne, or Mery-sur-Seine, according to others. Thierry King of the Visigoths, and more than a hundred and sixty thousand men, perished on the field of battle. Night separated the combatants; and Attila, who found his troops too much exhausted to renew the combat, resolved to retreat. The following year he made a descent on Italy, and committed great devastations. This proved his last expedition; for he died suddenly on his return, and the monarchy of the Huns expired with him.

The defeat of the Huns did not re-establish the shattered and ruinous affairs of the Romans in Gaul. The Salian Franks,⁸ under their kings Meroveus and Childeric I., the successors of Clodion, extended their conquests more and more;

ill at length Clovis, son of Childeric I., put an end to the dominion of the Romans in that country, by the victory which he gained in 486, at Soissons, over Syagrius, the last of the Roman generals, who died of a broken heart in consequence of this defeat. The Alemanni afterwards having disputed with him the empire of the Gauls, he routed them completely (496) at the famous battle of Tolbiac or Zulpich;⁸ seized their estates, and soon after embraced Christianity. Emboldened by his new creed, and backed by the orthodox bishops, he attacked the Visigoths, who were of the heretical sect of Arius, defeated and killed their king, Alaric II., in the plains of Vouglé, near Poitiers (507), and stripped them of all their possessions between the Loire and the Pyrenees.¹⁰ Gaul became thus, by degrees, the undisputed possession of the Franks. The descendants of Clovis added to their conquests the kingdom of the Burgundians (534), which they totally overthrew.

These same princes increased their possessions in the interior of Germany, by the destruction of the powerful kingdom of the Thuringians (531), comprising those vast countries between the Werra, the Aller, the Elbe, the Saal, the Mulda, and the Danube; and which are now known under the names of Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, the Upper Palatinate,¹¹ &c. This kingdom they divided with their allies the Saxons, who obtained the northern part of it, situated between the Unstrut and the Saal.

While the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Franks, and the Alemanni, were disputing with each other the conquest of Gaul, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans, turned their ambitious views towards Spain. After having settled some years in Gaul, these tribes passed the Pyrenees (409) to establish themselves in the most fertile regions of Spain. The Vandals seized Bœtica, and a part of Gallicia; the Suevi seized the rest of Gallicia; while the Alans took possession of Lusitania and the province of Carthageua. The Alans afterwards submitted to the sway of Gonderic, King of the Vandals (420), while the Suevi preserved their native princes, who reigned in Gallicia and Lusitania; this latter province having been abandoned by the Vandals (427) when they passed into Africa.

Meanwhile new conquerors began to make their appearance in Spain. The Visigoths, pressed by the Romans in Gaul, took the resolution of carrying their arms beyond the Pyrenees. Under the conduct of their King, Adolphus, they made themselves masters of the city of Barcelona (in 415). Euric, one of the successors of this prince, took from the Romans (472) all that yet remained of their possessions in Spain; and Leovigild, another of their kings, completed the conquest of all that country (584), by reducing the kingdom of the Suevi. The monarchy of the Visigoths, which in its flourishing state comprised, besides the continent of Spain, Septimania or Languedoc in Gaul, and Mauritania Tingitana in Africa, maintained its existence until the commencement of the eighth century; when, as we shall afterwards see, it was finally overthrown by the Arabs.

Northern Africa, one of the finest possessions of the Romans, was wrested from them by the Vandals. Count Boniface, who had the government of that country, having been falsely accused at the court of the Emperor Valentinian III., and be-

lieving himself ruined in the esteem of that prince, invited the Vandals over to Africa; proposing to them the surrender of the provinces intrusted to his command. Genseric was at that time king of the Vandals. The preponderance which the Visigoths had acquired in Spain induced that prince to accept the offer of the Roman General; he embarked at the port of Andalusia (427), and passed with the Vandals and the Alans into Africa. Meantime Boniface, having made up matters amicably with the Imperial court, wished to retract the engagements which he had made with the Vandals. Genseric nevertheless persisted in his enterprise. He carried on a long and obstinate war with the Romans; the result of which turned to the advantage of the barbarians. Genseric conquered in succession all that part of Africa pertaining to the Western empire, from the Straits of Cadiz as far as Cyrenaica, which was dependent on the empire of the East. He subdued likewise the Balearic Isles, with Sardinia, Corsica, and a part of Sicily.

The writers of that age who speak of this invasion agree in painting, in the most lively colours, the horrors with which it was accompanied. It appears that Genseric, whose whole subjects, including old men and slaves, did not exceed eighty thousand persons, being resolved to maintain his authority by terror, caused, for this purpose, a general massacre to be made of the ancient inhabitants of Africa. To these political severities were added others on the score of religion; being devoted with all his subjects to the Arian heresy, he as well as his successors became the constant and implacable persecutors of the orthodox Christians.

This prince signaled himself by his maritime exploits, and by the piracies which he committed on the coasts of Italy and the whole Roman empire. Encouraged, as is supposed, by the Empress Eudoxia, who wished to avenge the death of her husband Valentinian III., he undertook an expedition into Italy (455), in which he made himself master of Rome. This city was pillaged during fifteen days by the Vandals, spoiled of all its riches and its finest monuments. Innumerable statues, ornaments of temples, and the gilded cupola of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, were removed in order to be transported to Africa; together with many thousands of illustrious captives. A vessel laden with the most precious monuments of Rome perished in the passage.

The dominion of the Vandals in Africa lasted about a hundred years. Their kingdom was destroyed by the Emperor Justinian, who reunited Africa to the empire of the East. Gelimor, the last king of the Vandals, was conquered by Belisarius (534), and conducted by him in triumph to Constantinople.

BRITAIN, inaccessible by its situation to most of the invaders that overran the Western empire, was infested in the fifth century by the northern inhabitants of that island—the free Britons, known by the name of Caledonians or Picts, and Scots. The Romans having withdrawn their legions from the island (410), to employ them in Gaul, the Britons, abandoned to their own strength, thought proper to elect a king of their own nation, named Vortigern; but, finding themselves still too weak to resist the incursions of the Picts and Scots,

who, breaking over the wall of Severus, pillaged and laid waste the Roman province, they took the imprudent resolution of calling in to their succour the Angles, Saxons, and Jutlanders, who were already distinguished for their maritime incursions. A body of these Anglo-Saxons arrived in Britain (450) in the first year of the reign of the Emperor Marcian, under the command of Hengist and Horsa. From being friends and allies, they soon became enemies of the Britons; and ended by establishing their own dominion in the island. The native islanders, after a protracted struggle, were driven into the province of Wales, where they succeeded in maintaining their independence against their new conquerors. A number of these fugitive Britons, to escape from the yoke of the invaders, took refuge in Gaul. There they were received by the Franks into Armorica and part of Lyonnais, to which they gave the name of Brittany.

The Anglo-Saxons founded successively seven petty kingdoms in Britain, viz., Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, Northumberland, East Anglia, and Mercia. Each of these kingdoms had severally their own kings; but they were all united in a political association, known by the name of the Heptarchy. One of the seven kings was the common chief of the confederacy; and there was a general convention of the whole, called *wittena-gemot*, or the assembly of the wise men. Each kingdom was likewise governed by its own laws, and had its separate assemblies, whose power limited the royal authority. This federal system continued till the ninth century, when Egbert the Great succeeded in abolishing the Heptarchy (827), and raised himself to be king over all England.

In the midst of this general overthrow there were still to be seen in Italy the phantoms of the Roman emperors, feebly supporting a dignity which had long since lost its splendour. This fine country had been desolated by the Visigoths, the Huns, and the Vandals, in succession, without becoming the fixed residence of any one of these nations. The conquest of that ancient seat of the first empire in the world was reserved for the Heruls and the Rugians. For a long time these German nations, who are generally supposed to have emigrated from the coasts of the Baltic Sea, had been approaching towards the Danube. They served as auxiliaries to the Romans in Italy, after the example of various other tribes of their countrymen. Being resolved to usurp the dominion of that country, they chose for their king Odoacer, under whose conduct they seized Ravenna and Rome, dethroned Romulus Momyllus Augustulus, the last of the Roman emperors (476), and put an entire end to the empire of the West.

The Heruls did not enjoy these conquests more than seventeen years, when they were deprived of them in their turn by the Ostrogoths. This nation then occupied those extensive countries on the right bank of the Danube, in Pannonia, Illyria, and Thrace, within the limits of the Eastern empire. They had rendered themselves formidable to the Romans in that quarter by their frequent incursions into the very heart of the empire. The Emperor Zeno, in order to withdraw these dangerous neighbours from his frontiers, encouraged their king, Theodoric, as is alleged, to undertake the conquest of Italy from the Heruls.

This prince immediately penetrated into the country: he defeated the Heruls in several actions; and at length forced Odoacer to shut himself up in the city of Ravenna (489), where, after a siege of three years, he fell into the hands of the conqueror, who deprived him at once of his throne and his life.

Theodoric deserves not to be confounded with the other barbarous kings of the fifth century. Educated at the court of Constantinople, where he passed the years of his youth, he had learned to establish his authority by the equity of his laws, and the wisdom of his administrations. He ruled an empire which, besides Italy, embraced a great part of Pannonia, Rhetia, Noricum, and Illyria.

This monarchy, formidable as it was, did not exist beyond the space of sixty years: after a sanguinary warfare of eighteen years, it was totally subverted by the Greeks. The Emperor Justinian employed his generals, Belisarius¹⁸ and Narses, in recovering Italy and Sicily from the hands of the Goths. This nation defended their possessions with determined obstinacy. Encouraged by Totila, one of their last kings, they maintained a protracted struggle against the Greeks, and with considerable success. It was during this war that the city of Rome was pillaged afresh, and at length (547) dismantled by the Goths. Totila sustained a complete defeat at the foot of the Apennines in Umbria (552), and died of the wounds which he had received in the action. His successor Teias was by no means so fortunate in military affairs. In a bloody battle which he fought with Narses, in Campania (553), he was vanquished and slain. His dominions passed into the hands of the Greeks, with the exception of that part of Rhetia and Noricum which the Alemanns occupied, and which, during the war between the Greeks and the Goths, had become the possession of the Franks.¹⁹

A new revolution happened in Italy (568), by the invasion of the Lombards. This people, who originally inhabited the northern part of Germany on the Elbe, and formed a branch of the great nation of the Suevi, had at length fixed themselves in Pannonia (527), after several times changing their abode. They then joined with the Avars, an Asiatic people, against the Gepide, who possessed a formidable dominion in ancient Dacia, on the left bank of the Danube. This state was soon overturned by the combined forces of the two nations, and the whole territories of the Gepide passed (555) under the dominion of the Avars. The Lombards also abandoned to them their possessions in Pannonia, and went in quest of new settlements into Italy. It was in the spring of 568 that they began their route, under the conduct of their King Alboin, who, without coming to regular combat with the Greeks, took from them, in succession, a great number of cities and provinces. Pavia, which the Goths had fortified with care, was the only town that opposed him with vigorous resistance; and it did not surrender till after a siege of three years, in 572. The Lombard kings made this town the capital of their new dominions, which, besides Upper Italy, known more especially by the name of Lombardy, comprehended also a considerable part of the middle and lower districts, which the Lombards gradually wrested from the Greeks.

The revolution, of which we have just now

given a summary view, changed the face of all Europe; but it had a more particular influence on the fate of ancient Germany. The Germanic tribes, whose former boundaries were the Rhine and the Danube, now extended their territories beyond these rivers. The primitive names of those nations, recorded by Tacitus, fell into oblivion, and were replaced by those of five or six grand confederations, viz., the Franks, Saxons, Frisians, Alemanni, Suabians, and Bavarians¹⁴, which embraced all the regions afterwards comprehended under the name of Germany.

The Alemanni, and their neighbours the Suabians, occupied, along with the Bavarians, the greater part of what is called Upper Germany, on both sides of the Danube as far as the Alps. The Franks, masters of a powerful monarchy in Gaul, preserved, under their immediate dominion beyond the Rhine, a part of ancient France, together with the territories of which they had deprived the Alemanni¹⁵ and the Thuringians. In short, in all Lower Germany, no other names were to be found than those of the Thuringians, Saxons, and Frisians; and as to the eastern part, situated beyond the Saal and the Elbe, as it had been deserted of inhabitants by the frequent emigrations of the German tribes, and by the total destruction of the kingdom of the Thuringians, it was seized in turn by the Slavi, or Slavonians, a race distinguished from the Germans by their language and their manners.

This nation, different colonies of which still occupy a great part of Europe, did not begin to figure in history until the fourth century of the Christian era. Jornandes, a Gothic writer of the sixth century, is the first author who mentions them. He calls them *Slavi*, or *Slavini*; and distinguishes them into three principal branches, the Venedi, the Slavi, and the Antes, whose numerous tribes occupied the vast countries on the north of the Euxine Sea, between the Viatula, the Niester, the Nieper, &c. It was after the commencement of the sixth century that these nations emigrated from their ancient habitations, and spread themselves over the east and south of Europe. On the one side they extended their colonies as far as the Elbe and the Saal; on the other they crossed the Danube, and penetrated into Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyria; occupying all those countries known at this day under the names of Hungary, Sclavonia, Servia, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Carniola, Carinthia, Stiria, and the march of the Venedi. The history of the sixth century presents nothing more memorable than the bloody wars which the emperors of the East had to maintain against the Slavians of the Danube.

Those colonies of them who first distinguished themselves on the Elbe, the Havel, the Oder, and in the countries situated to the north of the Danube, were the Czechs, or Slavi of Bohemia; the Sorabians inhabiting both sides of the Elbe, between the Saal and the Oder, in the countries now known under the names of Misnia, Saxony, Anhalt, and Lower Lusace; the Wilkians, or Welatabes, and the Abotrites, spread over Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg proper; and, lastly, the Moravi, or Moravians, settled in Moravia, and in a part of modern Hungary. We find, in the seventh century, a chief named Samo, who ruled over many of these nations. He fought

successfully against the armies of King Dagobert. It is supposed that this man was a Frank merchant, whom several of these Slavian tribes had elected as their chief.

There is one thing which, at this period, ought above all to fix our attention, and that is the influence which the revolution of the fifth century had on the governments, laws, manners, sciences, and arts of Europe. The German tribes, in establishing themselves in the provinces of the Western empire, introduced along with them the political institutions by which they had been governed in their native country. The governments of ancient Germany were a kind of military democracies, under generals or chiefs, with the prerogatives of kings. All matters of importance were decided in their general assemblies, composed of freemen, having the privilege of carrying arms and going to war.¹⁶ The succession to the throne was not hereditary; and, though it became so in fact in most of the new German states, still, on the accession of their princes, they were attentive to preserve the ancient forms, which evinced the primitive right of election that the nation had reserved to itself.

The political division into cantons (*gau*), long used in ancient Germany, was introduced into all the new conquests of the German tribes, to facilitate the administration of justice. At the head of every canton was a judiciary officer, called *Grav*, in Latin *Comes*, who held his court in the open air, assisted by a certain number of assessors or sheriffs. This new division caused a total change in the geography of Europe. The ancient names of the countries were everywhere replaced by new ones; and the alterations which the nomenclature of these divisions underwent in course of time created no small embarrassment in the study of the history and geography of the middle ages.

Among the freemen who composed the armies of the German nations we find the *grandees* and nobles, who were distinguished by the number of men-at-arms, or freemen, whom they carried in their train.¹⁷ They all followed the king, or common chief, of the expedition, not as mercenaries or regular soldiers, but as volunteers who had come, of their own accord, to accompany him. The booty and the conquests which they made in war they regarded as a common property, to which they had all an equal right. The kings, chiefs, and *grandees*, in the division of their territories, received larger portions than the other military and freemen, on account of the greater efforts they had made, and the greater number of warriors who had followed them to the field. These lands were given them as property in every respect free; and, although an obligation was implied of their concurring in defence of the common cause, yet it was rather a sort of consequence of the territorial grant, and not imposed upon them as a clause or essential condition of the tenure.

It is therefore wrong to regard this division of lands as having given rise to fiefs. War was the favourite occupation, the only honourable rank, and the inalienable prerogative of a German. They were soldiers, not of necessity or constraint, but of their own free will, and because they despised every other employment, and every other mode of life. Despotism was, therefore, never to be ap-

prehended in a government like this, where the great body of the nation were in arms, sat in their general assemblies, and marched to the field of war. Their kings, however, soon invented an expedient calculated to shackle the national liberty, and to augment their own influence in the public assemblies, by the number of retainers which they found means to support. This expedient, founded on the primitive manners of the Germans, was the institution of fiefs.

It was long a custom among the ancient Germans, that their chiefs should have, in peace as well as in war, a numerous suite of the bravest youths attached to their person. Besides provisions, they supplied them with horses and arms, and shared with them the spoil which they took in war. This practice subsisted even after the Germans had established themselves in the provinces of the Western empire. The kings, and, after their example, the nobles, continued to entertain a vast number of companions and followers; and, the better to secure their allegiance, they granted them, instead of horses and arms, the enjoyment of certain portions of land, which they dismembered from their own territories.

These grants, known at first by the name of *benefices*, and afterwards of *fiefs*, subjected those who received them to personal services, and allegiance to the superiors to whom they held them. As they were bestowed on the individual possessor, and on the express condition of personal service, it is obvious that originally fiefs or benefices were not hereditary, and that they returned to the superior when the reason for which they had been given no longer existed.

The laws and jurisprudence of the Romans were in full practice through all the provinces of the Western empire when the German nations established themselves there. Far from superseding or abolishing them, the invaders permitted the ancient inhabitants, and such of their new subjects as desired it, to live conformably to these laws, and to retain them in their courts of justice. Nevertheless, without adopting this system of jurisprudence, which accorded neither with the rudeness of their manners, nor the imperfection of their ideas, they took great care, after their settlement in the Roman provinces, to have their ancient customs, to which they were so peculiarly attached, digested and reduced to writing.

The Codes of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks, those of the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Bavarians, the Anglo-Saxons, the Frisians, the Alemans, and the Lombards, were collected into one body, and liberty given to every citizen to be governed according to that code of laws which he himself might choose. All these laws wore the impress of the military spirit of the Germans, as well as of their attachment to that personal liberty and independence which is the true characteristic of human nature in its primitive state. According to these laws, every person was judged by his peers; and the right of vengeance was reserved to the individuals, or the whole family, of those who had received injuries. Feuds, which thus became hereditary, were not however irreconcilable. Compromise was allowed for all private delinquencies, which could be expiated, by paying to the injured party a specified sum, or a certain number of cattle. Murder itself might be expiated

in this manner; and every part of the body had a tax or equivalent, which was more or less severe, according to the different rank or condition of the offenders.

Every freeman was exempt from corporal punishment; and, in doubtful cases, the law obliged the judge to refer the parties to single combat, enjoining them to decide their quarrel sword in hand. Hence, we have the origin of the *Judgements of God*, as well as of *Challenges* and *Duels*.¹⁸ These customs of the German nations, and their singular resolution in persisting in them, could not but interrupt the good order of society, encourage barbarism, and stamp the same character of rudeness on all their conquests. New wants sprung from new enjoyments; while opulence, and the contagion of example, taught them to contract vices of which they had been ignorant, and which they did not redeem by new virtues. Murders, oppressions, and robberies, multiplied every day; the sword was made the standard of honour, the rule of justice and injustice; cruelty and perfidy became everywhere the reigning character of the court, the nobility, and the people.

Literature, with the arts and sciences, felt above all the baneful effects of this revolution. In less than a century after the first invasion of the barbarians there scarcely remained a single trace of the literature and fine arts of the Romans. Learning, it is true, had for a long time been gradually falling into decay, and a corrupt taste had begun to appear among the Romans in works of genius and imagination; but no comparison can be made between the state of literature, such as it was in the West anterior to the revolution of the fifth century, and that which we find there after the conquests of the German nations.

These barbarians, addicted solely to war and the chase, despised the arts and sciences. Under their destructive hands, the finest monuments of the Romans were levelled to the ground; their libraries were reduced to ashes; their schools and seminaries of instruction annihilated. The feeble rays of learning that remained to the vanquished were unable to enlighten or civilize those enemies to knowledge and mental cultivation. The sciences, unprotected and unprotected by those ferocious conquerors, soon fell into total contempt.

It is to the Christian religion alone, which was embraced, in succession, by the barbarous destroyers of the empire, that we owe the preservation of the mutilated and venerable remains which we possess of Greek and Roman literature.¹⁹ The clergy, being the authorized teachers of religion, and the only interpreters of the sacred writings, were obliged by their office to have some tincture of letters. They thus became, over all the East, the sole depositaries of learning; and for a long series of ages there were none in any other rank or profession of life that occupied themselves with science, or had the slightest acquaintance even with the art of writing. These advantages, which the clergy enjoyed, contributed in no small degree to augment their credit and their influence. Everywhere they were intrusted with the management of state affairs; and the offices of chancellor, ministers, public notaries, and in general all situations where knowledge of the art of writing was indispensable, were reserved for them; and in this way their very name (*clericus*) became as it were the

synonym for a man of letters, or any person capable of handling the pen. The bishops, moreover, held the first rank in all political assemblies, and in war marched to the field in person, at the head of their vassals.

Another circumstance that contributed to raise the credit and the power of the clergy was, that the Latin language continued to be employed in the Roman provinces which had been subjected to the dominion of the German nations. Every thing was written exclusively in the Roman tongue, which became the language of the church, and of all public acts; and it was long before the German dialects, which had become universally prevalent, could be reduced to writing. The corrupt pronunciation of the Latin, and its mixture with foreign idioms and constructions, gave birth, in course of time, to new languages, which still retain evidence of their Roman origin, such as the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French and English languages. In the fifth and following centuries, the Teutonic language, or that spoken by the conquerors of Gaul, was called *lingua Franca*: this was distinguished from the *lingua Romana*, or the language spoken by the people; and which afterwards gave rise to the modern French. It appears, therefore, from what we have just stated, that the incursion of the German tribes into the provinces of the West was the true source of all the barbarity, ignorance, and superstition, in which that part of Europe was so long and so universally buried.

There would have been, therefore, every reason to deplore a revolution, not less sanguinary in itself than disastrous in its consequences, if, on the one hand, it had not been the instrument of delivering Europe from the terrible despotism of the Romans; and, on the other, if we did not find, in the rude institutions of the German conquerors, some germs of liberty, which, sooner or later, were sure to lead the nations of Europe to wiser laws, and better organized governments.

Among the states which rose on the ruins of the Roman empire, that of the Franks acquired the preponderance; and, for several ages, it sustained the character of being the most powerful kingdom in Europe. This monarchy, founded by Clovis, and extended still more by his successors, embraced the whole of Gaul except Languedoc, which belonged to the Visigoths.²⁰ The greater part of Germany also was subject to it, with the exception of Saxony, and the territories of the Slavi. After it had fallen into decay, by the partitions and civil wars of the descendants of Clovis, it rose again, solely however by the wisdom and ability of the mayors of the palace, who restored it once more to its original splendour.

These mayors, from being originally merely grand-masters of the court, rose by degrees to be prime ministers, governors of the state, and ultimately to be kings. The founder of their greatness was Pepin d'Heristal, a cadet of the dynasty of the Carolingians, which succeeded that of the Merovingians, towards the middle of the eighth century. Under the Merovingian princes, the sovereignty was divided between two principal kingdoms, viz. that of Austrasia, which comprehended Eastern France, being all that part of Gaul situated between the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the Rhine; as well as the German provinces

beyond the Rhine, which also made a part of that monarchy. The whole of Western Gaul, lying between the Scheldt, the Meuse and the Loire, was called Neustria. Burgundy, Aquitain, and Provence, were considered as dependencies of this latter kingdom.

Dagobert II., King of Austrasia, having been assassinated (in 678), the King of Neustria, Thierry III., would in all probability have reunited the two monarchies; but the Austrasians, who dreaded and detested Ebroin, Mayor of Neustria, elected a mayor of their own, under the nominal authority of Thierry. This gave rise to a sort of civil war between the Austrasians and the Neustrians, headed by Pepin d'Heristal, Mayor of Austrasia, and Bertaire, Mayor of Neustria, who succeeded Ebroin. The battle which Pepin gained at Testry, near St. Quentin (687), decided the fate of the empire; Bertaire was slain, and Thierry III. fell into the power of the conqueror. Pepin afterwards confirmed to Thierry the honours of royalty, and contented himself with the dignity of Mayor, and the title of Duke and Prince of the Franks; but regarding the throne as his own by right of conquest, he vested in himself the sovereign authority, and granted to the Merovingian Prince nothing more than the mere externals of majesty, and the simple title of king. Such was the revolution that transferred the supreme authority of the Franks to a new dynasty, viz. that of the Carolingians, who, with great moderation, still preserved, during a period of sixty-five years, the royal dignity to the Merovingian princes, whom they had stripped of all their power.²¹

Pepin d'Heristal being dead (714), the partisans of the ancient dynasty made a last effort to liberate the Merovingian kings from that dependence under which Pepin had held them so long. This prince, in transferring the sovereign authority to his grandson Theodwald, only six years of age, had devolved on his widow, whose name was Plectrude, the regency and guardianship of the young mayor.

A government so extraordinary emboldened the factious to attempt a revolution. The regent, as well as her grandson, were divested of the sovereignty, and the Neustrian grandees chose a mayor of their own party named Rainfroy; but their triumph was only of short duration. Charles Martel, natural son of Pepin as is supposed, having escaped from the prison where he had been detained by the regent, passed into Austrasia, and then caused himself to be proclaimed duke, after the example of his father. He engaged in a war against Chilperic II. and his mayor Rainfroy; three successive victories which he gained, viz. at Stavelo, Vinci near Cambray, and Soissons, in 716—17—18, made him once more master of the throne and the sovereign authority. The duke of Aquitain having delivered up King Chilperic to him, he confirmed anew the title of royalty to that prince; and shortly after raised his glory to its highest pitch, by the brilliant victories which he gained over the Arabs (733—737), in the plains of Poitiers and Narbonne.

Pepin le Bref (or the Short), son and successor of Charles Martel, finding his authority established both within and without his dominions, judged this a favourable opportunity for reuniting the title of royalty to the power of the sovereign. He managed to have himself elected King in the Ge-

neral Assembly of the Franks, which was convened in the Champ-de-Mars, in the neighbourhood of Soissons. Childeric III. the last of the Merovingian kings, was there deposed (751), and shut up in a convent. Pepin, with the intention of rendering his person sacred and inviolable, had recourse to the ceremony of coronation; and he was the first king who caused himself to be solemnly consecrated and crowned in the cathedral of Soissons, by St. Boniface, first archbishop of Mayence.²² The example of Pepin was followed soon after by several princes and sovereigns of Europe. The last conquest he added to his dominion was the province of Languedoc, which he took (759) from the Arabs.

The origin of the secular power of the Roman pontiffs commences with the reign of Pepin. This event, which had so peculiar an influence on the religion and government of the European nations, requires to be detailed at some length.

At the period of which we write, there existed a violent controversy between the churches in the East, and those in the West, respecting the worship of images. The Emperor Leo, the Isaurian, had declared himself against this worship, and had proscribed it by an imperial edict (726). He and his successors persisted in destroying these objects of idolatry, as well as in persecuting those who avowed themselves devotees to this heresy. This extravagant zeal, which the Roman pontiffs blamed as excessive, excited the indignation of the people against the Grecian Emperors.²³ In Italy, there were frequent rebellions against the imperial officers that were charged with the execution of their orders. The Romans especially took occasion, from this, to expel the duke or governor, who resided in their city on the part of the emperor; and they formally erected themselves into a republic (730), under the pontificate of Gregory II., by usurping all the rights of sovereignty, and, at the same time, reviving the ancient names of the senate and the Roman people. The Pope was recognised as chief or head of this new republic, and had the general direction of all affairs, both at home and abroad. The territory of this republic, formed of the duchy of Rome, extended, from north to south, from Viterbo as far as Terracina; and from east to west, from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber. Such was the weakness of the Eastern empire, that all the efforts of the emperors to reduce the Romans to subjection proved unavailing. The Greek viceroy—the Duke of Naples, who had marched to besiege Rome, was killed in battle, together with his son; and the exarch himself was compelled to make peace with the republicans.

This state of distress to which the Grecian empire was reduced afforded the Lombards an opportunity of extending their possessions in Italy. Aistolphus their king attacked the city of Ravenna (751), where the exarchs or governors-general of the Greeks had fixed their residence; and soon made himself master of it, as well as the province of the exarchate,²⁴ and the Pentapolis. The exarch Eutychius was obliged to fly, and took shelter in Naples.

This surrender of the capital of Grecian Italy emboldened the Lombard king to extend his views still further: he demanded the submission of the city and duchy of Rome, which he considered

as a dependency of the exarchate. Pope Stephen II. became alarmed, and began to solicit an alliance with the Greek empire, whose distant power seemed to him less formidable than that of the Lombards, his neighbours; but being closely pressed by Aistolphus, and finding that he had no succour to expect from Constantinople, he determined to apply for protection to the Franks and their king, Pepin.

The Franks, at that time, held the first rank among the nations of Europe; their exploits against the Arabians had gained them a high reputation for valour over all the West. Stephen repaired in person to France, and in an interview which he had with Pepin, he found means to interest that prince in his cause. Pepin did not yet regard himself as securely established on a throne which he had so recently usurped from the Merovingian princes; more especially as there still existed a son of Childeric III., named Thierry, and a formidable rivalry in the puissant dukes of Aquitaine, who were cadets of the same family. He had no other right to the crown than that of election; and this title, instead of descending to his sons, might perhaps serve as a pretext for depriving them of the sovereignty. Anxious to render the crown hereditary, he induced the Pope to renew the ceremony of his coronation in the Church of St. Denis; and at the same time, to consecrate his two sons, Charles and Carloman. The Pope did more; he disengaged the King from the oath which he had taken to Childeric, and bound all the nobility of the Franks, that were present on the occasion, in the name of Jesus Christ and St. Peter, to preserve the royal dignity in the right of Pepin and his descendants; and lastly, that he might the more effectually secure the attachment of Pepin and his sons, and procure for himself the title of being their protector, he publicly conferred on them the honour of being patricians of Rome.

So great condescension on the part of the Pope could not but excite the gratitude of Pepin. He not only promised him succour against the Lombards, he engaged to recover the exarchate from their hands, and make a present of it to the Holy See; he even made him a grant of it by anticipation, which he signed at the Castle of Chiersi-sur-l'Oise, and which he likewise caused to be signed by the princes his sons.²⁵ It was in fulfilment of these stipulations that Pepin undertook (755—56) two successive expeditions into Italy. He compelled Aistolphus to acknowledge himself his vassal, and deliver up to him the exarchate with the Pentapolis, of which he immediately put his Holiness in possession. This donation of Pepin served to confirm and to extend the secular power of the Popes, which had already been augmented by various grants of a similar kind. The original document of this singular contract no longer exists; but the names of the places are preserved which were ceded to the pontifical hierarchy.²⁶

In the conclusion of this period, it may be proper to take some notice of the Arabs, commonly called Saracens,²⁷ and of their irruption into Europe. Mahomet, an Arab of noble birth, and a native of Mecca, had constituted himself a prophet, a legislator, and a conqueror, about the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era. He had been expelled from Mecca (622)

on account of his predictions, but afterwards returned at the head of an army; and having made himself master of the city, he succeeded, by degrees, in subjecting to his yoke the numerous tribes of Arabia. His successors, known by the name of Caliphs, or vicars spiritual and temporal of the prophet, followed the same triumphant career. They propagated their religion wherever they extended their empire, and overran with their conquests the vast regions both of Asia and Africa. Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Barca, Tripoli, and the whole northern coasts of Africa, were won from the Greek empire by the Caliphs; who at the same time (651) overthrew the powerful monarchy of the Persians; conquered Charasm, Transoxiana, and the Indies, and founded an empire more extensive than that of the Romans had been. The capital of the Caliphs, which had originally been at Medina, and afterwards at Cufa, was transferred (661) by the Caliph Moavia I. to Damascus in Syria; and by the Caliph Almanzor, to Bagdad in Irak-Arabia, (766) which was founded by that prince.

It was under the Caliphate of Walid (711), that the Arabs first invaded Europe, and attacked the monarchy of the Visigoths in Spain. This monarchy had already sunk under the feebleness of its kings, and the despotic prerogatives which the grandees, and especially the bishops, had arrogated to themselves. These latter disposed of the throne at their pleasure, having declared it to be elective. They decided with supreme authority in the councils of the nation, and in all affairs of state. Muza at that time commanded in northern Africa, in name of the Caliph Walid. By the authority of that sovereign, he sent into Spain one of his generals, named Tariq, or Tarec-Abenzara, who, having made a descent on the coasts of Andalusia, took his station on the hill which the ancients called Calpe, and which has since been known by the name of Gibraltar (Gibel-Tariq), or the hill of Tariq, in commemoration of the Arabian general.

It was in the neighbourhood of the city Xeres de la Frontera, in Andalusia, that Tariq encountered the army of the Visigoths, commanded by their king Roderic. The battle was decisive, as the Visigoths sustained a total defeat. Roderic perished in the flight; and Muza, the Arabian governor, having arrived to second the efforts of Tariq, the conquest of all Spain followed as a consequence of this victory.²⁸ Septimania, or Languedoc, which then made a part of the Visigothic monarchy, passed at the same time under the dominion of the Arabs.

These fierce invaders did not limit their conquests in Europe to Spain and Languedoc; the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, Corsica, part of Apulia and Calabria, fell likewise under their dominion: they infested the sea with their fleets, and more than once carried terror and desolation to the very gates of Rome. It is probable even that all Europe would have submitted to their yoke, if Charles Martel had not arrested the career of their victories. He defeated their numerous and warlike armies in the bloody battles which were fought near Poitiers and Narbonne (732-737), and at length compelled them to shut themselves up within the province of Languedoc.

The unity of the empire and the religion of Mahomet did not long remain undivided. The

first dynasty of the Caliphs, that of the Omniades, was subverted; and all the princes of that family massacred by the Abassides (749), who seized the caliphate.²⁹ A solitary descendant of the Omniades, named Abdalahman, grandson of the fifteenth Caliph Hachem, was saved in Spain, and fixed his residence at Cordova; and being acknowledged as Caliph by the Mussulmans there, he detached that province from the great empire of the Arabians (756).

This revolution, and the confusion with which it was accompanied, gave fresh courage to the small number of Visigoths, who, to escape the Mahometan yoke, had retired to the mountains of Asturias. Issuing from their retreats, they retaliated on the Infidels; and towards the middle of the eighth century, they laid the foundation of a new Christian state, called afterwards the kingdom of Oviedo or Leon. Alphonso I., surnamed the Catholic, must be regarded as the first founder of this new monarchy.³⁰

The Franks, likewise, took advantage of these events to expel the Arabs from Languedoc. Pepin took possession of the cities of Nismes, Maguelonne, Agde, and Beziers (752), which were delivered up to him by a noble Goth, named Osmond. The reduction of Narbonne was by no means so easy a task. For seven years he continued to blockade it; and it was not until 759 that he became master of the city, and the whole of Languedoc.

The loss of Spain, on the part of the Abassides, was soon after followed by that of Northern Africa. Ibrahim-Ben-Aglab, having been sent thither as governor by the Caliph of Bagdad, Haroun Alrashed (800), he found means to constitute himself sovereign prince over the countries then properly termed Africa; of which Tripoli, Cairoan, Tunis, and Algiers, formed a part. He was the founder of the dynasty of the Aglabites;³¹ while another usurper, named Edris, having conquered Numidia and Mauritania, called by the Arabs *Mogreb*, founded that of the Edrissites. These two dynasties were overturned (about 908) by Aboul Cassem Mohammed, son of Obeidallah, who claimed to be descended from Ali, by Fatima daughter of the prophet; he subjected the whole of Northern Africa to his yoke, and took the titles of *Mahadi* and Caliph. From him were descended the Caliphs, called Fatimites, who extended their conquests to Egypt, and laid there the foundation of Kaherah, or Grand Cairo (968), where they established the seat of their caliphate, which, in the twelfth century, was destroyed by the Ayoubides.

The irruption of the Arabs into Spain, disastrous as it was, did not fail to produce effects beneficial to Europe, which owes its civilisation partly to this circumstance. The Abassidian Caliphs, aspiring to be the protectors of letters and arts, began to found schools, and to encourage translations of the most eminent Greek authors into the Arabic language. Their example was followed by the Caliphs of Cordova, and even by the Fatimites, who held the sovereignty of Egypt and Northern Africa. In this manner a taste for learning was communicated to all the Mahometan states. From Bagdad it passed to Cairo; and from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile, it spread itself as far as the Tagus. Mathematics,³² Astronomy, Che-

mistry, Medicine, Botany, and *Materia Medica*, were the sciences which the Arabians affected chiefly to cultivate. They excelled also in poetry, and in the art of embodying the fictions of imagination in the most agreeable narratives. Rhazes, Averroes, Avicenna, are among the number of their celebrated philosophers and physicians. Elmacin, Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Bohadin, as historians, have become famous to all posterity.

Thus Spain, under the Mahometans, by cultivating many sciences little known to the rest of Europe, became the seminary of the Christians in the West, who resorted thither in crowds, to prosecute in the schools of Cordova the study of

learning and the liberal arts.⁸³ The use of the numerical characters, the manufacture of paper, cotton, and gunpowder, were derived to us from the Arabians, and especially from the Arabians of Spain. Agriculture, manufactures, and navigation, are all equally indebted to the Arabians. They gave a new impulse to the commerce of the Indies; from the Persian Gulf they extended their trade along the shores of the Mediterranean, and to the borders of the Black Sea. Their carpets, and embroideries in gold and silver, their cloths of silk, and their manufactures in steel and leather, maintained for years a celebrity and a perfection unknown to the other nations of Europe.

PERIOD II.

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO OTHO THE GREAT. A.D. 800—962.

THE reign of Charles the Great forms a remarkable epoch in the history of Europe. That prince, who succeeded his father Pepin (768), eclipsed all his predecessors, by the superiority of his genius, as well as by the wisdom and vigour of his administration. Under him the monarchy of the Franks was raised to the highest pinnacle of glory. He would have been an accomplished prince, and worthy of being commemorated as the benefactor of mankind, had he known how to restrain his immoderate thirst for conquest.

He carried his victorious arms into the centre of Germany; and subdued the warlike nation of the Saxons, whose territories extended from the Lower Rhine, to the Elbe and the Baltic sea. After a sanguinary war of thirty-three years, he compelled them to receive his yoke, and to embrace Christianity, by the peace which he concluded with them (803) at Saltz on the Saal. The bishoprics of Munster, Osnaburg, Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, owe their origin to this prince. Several of the Slavonian nations, the Abotrites (789), the Wilzians (805), the Sorabians (806), the Bohemians (811), &c., acknowledged themselves his tributaries; and by a treaty of peace which he concluded with Hemming, King of Jutland, he fixed the river Eyder, as the northern limit of his empire against the Danes. Besides these, the powerful monarchy of the Avars,¹ which comprehended all the countries known in modern times by the names of Austria, Hungary, Transylvania, Sclavonia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, was completely subverted by him (791); and he likewise despoiled the Arabians of all that part of Spain which is situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro (796), as also of Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles. In Spain he established military commanders, under the title of *Margraves*.

Of these conquests, the one that deserves the most particular attention is that of Italy, and the kingdom of the Lombards. At the solicitation of Pope Adrian I., Charles undertook an expedition against the last of the Lombard kings. He besieged that prince in his capital at Pavia; and having made him prisoner, after a long siege, he

shut him up in confinement for the rest of his days, and incorporated his dominions with the monarchy of the Franks. The Dukes of Benevento, who, as vassals of the Lombard kings, then occupied the greater part of Lower Italy, were at the same time compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the conquerors, who allowed them to exercise their hereditary rights, on condition of their paying an annual tribute. The only places in this part of Italy that remained unsubdued, were the maritime towns, of which the Greeks still found means to maintain the possession.

In order to secure the conquest of this country, as well as to protect it against the incursions of the Arabians, Charles established several marches and military stations, such as the marches of Friuli, Tarento, Turin, Liguria, Tetti, &c. The downfall of the Lombards put an end to the republican government of the Romans. During the blockade of Pavia, Charles having gone to Rome to be present at the feast of Easter (774), was received there with all the honours due to an Exarch and Patrician; and there is incontestable proof that he afterwards received, under that title, the rights of sovereignty over Rome and the Ecclesiastical States.

The Patrician dignity, instituted by Constantine the Great, ranked, in the Greek empire, next after that of emperor. It was of such consideration, that even barbarian kings, the destroyers of the ancient Roman empire in the West, became candidates for this honour at the Court of Constantinople. The exarchs of Ravenna were generally invested with it, and exercised under this title, rather than that of exarch or governor, the authority which they enjoyed at Rome. Pope Stephen II. had, twenty years before, conferred the patriciate on Pepin and his sons; although these princes appear never to have exercised the right, regarding it merely as an honorary title, so long at least as the kingdom of the Lombards separated them from Rome and the States of the Church. Charles no sooner saw himself master of that kingdom, than he affected to add to his titles of King of the Franks and Lombards that of Patrician of the Romans; and began to exercise over

Rome and the Ecclesiastical States those rights of supremacy which the Greek emperors and exarchs had enjoyed before him.

This prince returned to Rome towards the end of the year 800, in order to inquire into a conspiracy which some of the Roman nobility had concerted against the life of Pope Leo III. The whole affair having been discussed in his presence, and the innocence of the Pope clearly established, Charles went to assist at the solemn mass which was celebrated in St. Peter's Church on Christmas day (800.) The Pope, anxious to show him some public testimony of his gratitude, chose the moment when the prince was on his knees at the foot of the grand altar, to put the imperial crown on his head, and caused him to be proclaimed to the people Emperor of the Romans.

From this affair must be dated the revival of the Roman Empire in the West,—a title which had been extinct for three hundred years. The emperors of the East who, during that interval, had continued exclusively in the enjoyment of that title, appeared to have some reason for opposing an innovation which might eventually become prejudicial to them. The contest which arose on this subject between the two emperors, was at length (803) terminated by treaty. The Greek emperors recognised the new dignity of Charles (812); and on these conditions they were allowed to retain those possessions, which they still held by a feeble tenure in Italy.

In thus maintaining the imperial dignity against the Greek emperors, Charles added nothing to his real power; he acquired from it no new right over the dismembered provinces of the Western empire, the state of which had, for a long time past, been fixed by specific regulations. He did not even augment his authority over Rome, where he continued to exercise the same rights of superiority under the title of emperor, which he had formerly done under that of patrician.

This prince, whose genius soared beyond his age, did not figure merely as a warrior and a conqueror; he was also a legislator, and a zealous patron of letters. By the laws which he published under the title of *Capitularies*, he reformed several abuses, and introduced new ideas of order and justice. Commissioners, nominated by himself, were charged to travel through the provinces, to superintend the execution of the laws, listen to the complaints of the people, and render justice to each without distinction and without partiality. He conceived likewise the idea of establishing a uniformity of weights and measures throughout the empire. Some of the laws of that great man, however, indicate a disposition tinged with the barbarism and superstition of his age. The *Judgments of God* are expressly held by him to be legal tests of right and wrong, and the greater part of crimes expiable by money. By a general law, which he passed in 779, introducing the payment of ecclesiastical tithes, and which he extended to the vanquished Saxons (791), he alienated the affections of that people; and the code which he dictated on this occasion, is remarkable for its atrocity; which their repeated revolts, and frequent returns to paganism, cannot justify.

As to his patronage and love of letters, this is attested by the numerous schools which he founded, and the encouragements he held out to them; as

well as the attention he showed in inviting to his court, the most celebrated learned men from every country in Europe. He formed them into a kind of academy, or literary society, of which he was himself a member. When at an advanced age, he received instruction in rhetoric, logic, and astronomy, from the famous Alcuin, an Englishman, to whom he was much attached. He endeavoured also to improve his vernacular tongue, which was the Teutonic, or *lingua Franca*, by drawing up a grammar of that language, giving German names to the months and the winds, which had not yet received them; and in making a collection of the military songs of the ancient Germans. He extended an equal protection to the arts, more especially architecture, a taste for which he had imbibed in Italy and Rome. Writers of those times speak with admiration of the palaces and edifices constructed by his orders, at Ingelheim, near Mentz, at Nimeguen, on the left bank of the Waal, and at Aix-la-Chapelle. These buildings were adorned with numerous paintings, as well as marble and mosaic work, which he had brought from Rome and Ravenna.

The empire of Charlemagne, which may bear a comparison as to its extent with the ancient Empire of the West, embraced the principal part of Europe. All Gaul, Germany, and Spain as far as the Ebro, Italy to Benevento, several islands in the Mediterranean, with a considerable part of Pannonia, composed this vast empire, which, from west to east, extended from the Ebro to the Elbe and the Raab; and from south to north, from the duchy of Benevento and the Adriatic Sea to the River Eyder, which formed the boundary between Germany and Denmark.

In defining the limits of the empire of Charlemagne, care must be taken not to confound the provinces and states incorporated with the empire with those that were merely tributary. The former were governed by officers who might be recalled at the will of the prince; while the latter were free states, whose only tenure on the empire was by alliance, and the contributions they engaged to pay. Such was the policy of this prince, that, besides the marches or military stations which he had established on the frontiers of Germany, Spain, and Italy, he chose to retain, on different points of his dominions, nations who, under the name of tributaries, enjoyed the protection of the Franks, and might act as a guard or barrier against the barbarous tribes of the east and north, who had long been in the habit of making incursions into the western and southern countries of Europe.

Thus the dukes of Benevento in Italy, who were simply vassals and tributaries of the empire, supplied, as it were, a rampart or bulwark against the Greeks and Arabians; while the Sclavonian nations of Germany, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, though feudatories or vassals of France, were governed, nevertheless, by their own laws, and in general did not even profess the Christian religion.

From this brief sketch of the reign of Charlemagne, it is easy to perceive that there was then no single power in Europe formidable enough to enter into competition with the empire of the Franks. The monarchies of the north, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and those of Poland and Russia, were not then in existence; or had not emerged from the thick darkness that still covered

those parts of continental Europe. England then presented a heptarchy of seven confederate governments, the union of which was far from being well consolidated. The kings of this confederacy were incessantly engaged in war with each other; and it was not until several years after Charlemagne, that Egbert the Great, king of Wessex, prevailing in the contest, constituted himself king of all England in 827.

The Mahometan part of Spain, after it was separated from the great empire of the Caliphs, was engaged in perpetual warfare with the East. The Omniades, sovereigns of Cordova, far from provoking their western neighbours, whose valour they had already experienced, showed themselves, on the contrary, attentive to preserve peace and good understanding with them. The Greek emperors, who were continually quarrelling with the Arabs and Bulgarians, and agitated by factions and intestine commotions, could no longer be an object of suspicion or rivalry to the monarchy of the Franks.

Thus did the empire of Charlemagne enjoy the glory of being the ascendant power in Europe; but it did not long sustain its original splendour. It would have required a man of extraordinary talents to manage the reins of a government so extensive and so complicated. Louis-le-Debonnaire, or the Gentle, the son and successor of Charles, did not possess a single qualification proper to govern the vast dominions which his father had bequeathed to him. As impolitic as he was weak and superstitious, he had not the art of making himself either loved or feared by his subjects. By the imprudent partition of his dominions between his sons, which he made even in his lifetime, he planted with his own hand those seeds of discord in his family which accelerated the downfall of the empire. The civil wars which had commenced in his reign continued after his death. Louis, surnamed the German, and Charles the Bald, combined against their elder brother Lothaire, and defeated him at the famous battle of Fontenay in Burgundy (841), where all the flower of the ancient nobility perished. Louis and Charles, victorious in this engagement, obliged their brother to take refuge in Italy. They next marched to Strasbourg, where they renewed their alliance (842), and confirmed it by oath at the head of their troops.²

These princes were on the point of dividing the whole monarchy between them, when, by the interference of the nobility, they became reconciled to their elder brother, and concluded a treaty with him at Verdun (843), which finally completed the division of the empire. By this formal distribution, Lothaire retained the imperial dignity, with the kingdom of Italy, and the provinces situated between the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, the Scheld, the Rhine, and the Alps. Louis had all Germany beyond the Rhine, and on this side of the river, the cantons of Mayence, Spire, and Worms; and, lastly, all that part of Gaul which extends from the Scheld, the Meuse, the Saone, and the Rhone, to the Pyrenees, fell to the lot of Charles, whose division also comprehended the March of Spain, consisting of the province of Barcelona, and the territories which Charlemagne had conquered beyond the Pyrenees.

It is with this treaty, properly speaking, that

modern France commences, which is but a department of the ancient empire of the Franks, or monarchy of Charlemagne. For a long time it retained the boundaries which the conference at Verdun had assigned it; and whatever it now possesses beyond these limits, was the acquisition of conquests which it has made since the fourteenth century. Charles the Bald was in fact then the first King of France, and it is from him that the series of her kings commences. It was, moreover, under this prince that the government of the Neustrians, or Western Franks, assumed a new aspect. Before his time it was entirely of a Frankish or German constitution; the manners and customs of the conquerors of Gaul everywhere predominated; their language (the *lingua Franca*) was that of the court and the government. But after the dismemberment of which we have spoken, the Gauls imported it into Neustria, or Western France; the customs and popular language were adopted by the court, and had no small influence on the government. This language, which was then known by the name of the *Roman* or *Romance*, polished by the refinements of the court, assumed by degrees a new and purer form, and, in course of time, became the parent of the modern French. It was, therefore, at this period, viz., the reign of Charles the Bald, that the Western Franks began, properly speaking, to be a distinct nation, and exchanged their more ancient appellation for that of *French*, the name by which they are still known.

At this same period Germany was, for the first time, embodied into a monarchy, having its own particular kings. Louis the German was the first monarch of Germany, as Charles the Bald was of France. The kingdom of Louis for a long time was called Eastern France, to distinguish it from the western kingdom of that name, which henceforth exclusively retained the name of France.

The empire of Charlemagne, which the treaty of Verdun had divided, was for a short space reunited (884) under Charles, surnamed the Fat, younger son of Louis the German, and King of Germany; but that prince, too feeble to support so great a weight, was deposed by his German subjects (887), and their example was speedily followed by the French and the Italians. The vast empire of the Franks was thus dismembered for ever (888), and besides the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy, it gave birth to three new states—the kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Navarre.

The kingdom of Lorraine took its name from Lothaire II., younger son of the Emperor Lothaire I., who, in the division which he made of his estates among his sons (855), gave to this Lothaire the provinces situated between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld, known since under the name of Lorraine, Alsace, Treves, Cologne, Juliers, Liege, and the Low Countries. At the death of Lothaire II., who left no male or legitimate heirs, his kingdom was divided by the treaty of Procaspis (870) into two equal portions, one of which was assigned to Louis the German, and the other to Charles the Bald.³ By a subsequent treaty, concluded (879) between the sons of Louis, surnamed the Stammerer, King of France, and Louis the Young, King of Germany, the French division of Lorraine was ceded to this latter prince, who thus

united the whole of that kingdom. Arnulph, King of Germany, and successor of Charles, bestowed the kingdom of Lorraine on Swentibald, his natural son, who, after a reign of five years, was deposed by Louis, surnamed the Infant, son and successor of Arnulph. Louis dying without issue (912), Charles the Simple, King of France, took advantage of the commotions in Germany to put himself in possession of that kingdom, which was at length finally reunited to the Germanic crown by Henry, surnamed the Fowler.

Two new kingdoms appeared under the name of Burgundy, viz., Provence, or Cisjuran Burgundy, and Transjuran Burgundy. The founder of the former was a nobleman named Boson, whose sister Charles the Bald had espoused. Elevated by the king, his brother-in-law, to the highest dignities in the state, he was created, in succession, Count of Vienna, Duke of Provence, Duke of Italy, and Prime Minister, and even obtained in marriage the Princess Irmeugarde, daughter of Louis II., Emperor and King of Italy. Instigated by this princess, he did not scruple to raise his ambitious views to the throne. The death of Louis the Stammerer, and the troubles that ensued, afforded him an opportunity of attaching to his interest most of the bishops in those countries intrusted to his government. In an assembly which he held at Mantaille in Dauphiné (879), he engaged them by oath to confer on him the royal dignity. The schedule of this election, with the signatures of the bishops affixed, informs us distinctly of the extent of this new kingdom, which comprehended Franche-Comté, Maçon, Chalons-sur-Saone, Lyons, Vienne and its dependencies, Agde, Viviers, Uzes, with their dependencies in Languedoc, Provence, and a part of Savoy. Boson caused himself to be anointed king at Lyons, by the archbishop of that city. He maintained possession of his usurped dominions, in spite of the combined efforts which were made by the kings of France and Germany to reduce him to subjection.

The example of Boson was followed soon after by Rodolph, governor of Transjuran Burgundy, and related by the female side to the Carolingians. He was proclaimed king, and crowned at St. Maurice in the Valais; and his new kingdom, situated between Mount Jura and the Penine Alps, contained Switzerland, as far as the River Reuss, the Valais, and a part of Savoy. The death of Boson happening about this time, furnished Rodolph with a favourable opportunity of extending his frontiers, and seizing a part of the country of Burgundy.

These two kingdoms were afterwards (930) united into one. Hugo, king of Italy, exercised at that time the guardianship of the young Constantine, his relation, the son of Louis, and grandson of Boson. The Italians, discontented under the government of Hugo, and having devolved their crown on Rodolph II., king of Transjuran Burgundy, Hugo, in order to maintain himself on the throne of Italy, and exclude Rodolph, ceded to him the district of Provence, and the kingdom of his royal ward. Thus united in the person of Rodolph, these two kingdoms passed to his descendants, viz. Conrad, his son, and Rodolph III., his grandson. These princes are styled, in their titles, sometimes *Kings of Burgundy*; sometimes

Kings of Vienne or Arles; sometimes *Kings of Provence and Allemagna*. They lost, in course of time, their possessions beyond the Rhone and the Saone; and in the time of Rodolph III., this kingdom had for its boundaries the Rhine, the Rhone, the Saone, the Reuss, and the Alps.

Navarre, the kingdom next to be mentioned, known among the ancients under the name of *Vasconia*, was one of the provinces beyond the Pyrenees which Charlemagne had conquered from the Arabs. Among the counts or wardens of the Marches (called by the Germans *Margraves*) which he established, the most remarkable were those of Barcelona in Catalonia, Jacea in Arragon, and Pampeluna in Navarre. All these Spanish Marches were comprised within Western France, and within the division which fell to the share of Charles the Bald, on the dismemberment of that monarchy among the sons of Louis the Gentle. The extreme imbecility of that prince, and the calamities of his reign, were the causes why the Navarrese revolted from France, and erected themselves into a free and independent state. It appears also, that they were implicated in the defection of Aquitain (853), when it threw off the yoke of Charles the Bald. Don Garcia, son of the Count Don Garcia, and grandson of Don Sancho, is generally reckoned the first of their monarchs, that usurped the title of *King of Pampeluna* (858). He and his successors in the kingdom of Navarre possessed, at the same time, the province of Jacea in Arragon. The Counts of Barcelona were the only Spanish dependencies that, for many centuries, continued to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Kings of France.

On this part of our subject, it only remains for us to point out the causes that conspired to accelerate the downfall of the empire of the Franks. Among these we may reckon the inconveniences of the feudal system,—a system as unfitted for the purposes of internal administration, as it was incompatible with the maxims that ought to rule a great empire. The abuse of fiefs was carried so far by the Franks, that almost all property had become feudal; and not only grants of land, and portions of large estates, but governments, dukedoms, and counties, were conferred and held under the title of fiefs. The consequence of this was, that the great, by the allurements of fiefs or benefices, became devoted followers of the kings, while the body of the nation sold themselves as retainers of the great. Whoever refused this vassalage was despised, and had neither favour nor honour to expect.* By this practice, the liberty of the subject was abridged without augmenting the royal authority. The nobles soon became so powerful, by the liberality of their kings, and the number of their vassals they found means to procure, that they had at length the presumption to dictate laws to the sovereign himself. By degrees, the obligations which they owed to the state were forgotten, and those only recognised which the feudal contract imposed. This new bond of alliance was not long in opening a door to licentiousness, as, by a natural consequence, it was imagined, that the feudal superior might be changed, whenever there was a possibility of charging him with a violation of his engagements, or of that reciprocal fidelity which he owed to his vassals.

A system like this, not only overturned public

order, by planting the germs of corruption in every part of the internal administration; it was still more defective with regard to the external operations of government, and directly at variance with all plans of aggrandisement or of conquest. As war was carried on by means of slaves or vassals only, it is easy to perceive that such armies not being kept constantly on foot, were with difficulty put in motion; that they could neither prevent intestine rebellion, nor be a protection against hostile invasion; and that conquests made by means of such troops must be lost with the same facility that they are won. A permanent military, fortresses and garrisons, such as we find in modern tactics, were altogether unknown among the Franks. These politic institutions, indispensable in great empires, were totally repugnant to the genius of the German nations. They did not even know what is meant by finances, or regular systems of taxation. Their kings had no other pecuniary resource than the simple revenues of their demesnes, which served for the maintenance of their court. Gratuitous donations, the perquisites of bed and lodging, fines, the tierce of which belonged to the king, rights of custom and toll, added but little to their wealth, and could not be reckoned among the number of state resources. None but tributaries, or conquered nations, were subjected to the payment of certain imposts or assessments; from these the Franks were exempted; they would have even regarded it as an insult and a blow struck at their national liberty, had they been burdened with a single imposition.

It is obvious, that a government like this, so disjointed and incoherent in all its parts, in spite of the advantages which accrued to it from nourishing a spirit of liberty, and opposing a sort of barrier against despotism, was nevertheless far from being suitable to an empire of such prodigious extent as that of the Franks. Charlemagne had tried to infuse a new vigour into the state by the wise laws which he published, and the military stations which he planted on the frontiers of his empire. Raised, by the innate force of his genius, above the prejudices of the age in which he lived, that prince had formed a system capable of giving unity and consistency to the state, had it been of longer duration. But this system fell to pieces and vanished, when no longer animated and put in execution by its author. Disorder and anarchy speedily paralyzed every branch of the government, and ultimately brought on the dismemberment of the empire.

Another cause which accelerated the fall of this vast empire, was the territorial divisions, practised by the kings, both of the Merovingian and the Carolingian race. Charlemagne and Louis the Gentle, when they ordered the empire to be divided among their sons, never imagined this partition would terminate in a formal dismemberment of the monarchy. Their intention was rather to preserve union and amity, by means of certain rights of superiority, which they granted to their eldest sons, whom they had invested with the Imperial dignity. But this subordination of the younger to their elder brothers was not of long continuance; and these divisions, besides naturally weakening the state, became a source of perpetual discord, and reduced the Carolingian princes to the necessity of courting the grandees

on every emergency, and gaining their interest by new gifts, or by concessions which went to sap the foundation of the throne.

This exorbitant power of the nobles must also be reckoned among the number of causes that hastened the decline of the empire. Dukes and Counts, besides being intrusted with the justice and police of their respective governments, exercised, at the same time, a military power, and collected the revenues of the Exchequer. So many and so different jurisdictions, united in one and the same power, could not but become dangerous to the royal authority; while it facilitated to the nobles the means of fortifying themselves in their governments, and breaking, by degrees, the unity of the state. Charlemagne had felt this inconvenience; and he thought to remedy the evil, by successively abolishing the great duchies, and dividing them into several counties. Unfortunately this policy was not followed out by his successors, who returned to the ancient practice of creating dukes; and besides, being educated and nurtured in superstition by the priests, they put themselves wholly under dependence to bishops and ecclesiastics, who thus disposed of the state at their pleasure. The consequence was, that governments, at first alterable only by the will of the King, passed eventually to the children, or heirs, of those who were merely administrators, or superintendants, of them.

Charles the Bald, first King of France, had the weakness to constitute this dangerous principle into a standing law, in the parliament which he held at Chiersi (877), towards the close of his reign. He even extended this principle generally to all fiefs; to those that held immediately of the crown, as well as to those which held of laic, or ecclesiastical superiors.

This new and exorbitant power of the nobles, joined to the injudicious partitions already mentioned, tended to sow fresh discord among the different members of the state, by exciting a multitude of civil wars and domestic feuds, which, by a necessary consequence, brought the whole body-politic into a state of decay and dissolution. The history of the successors of Charlemagne presents a sad picture, humiliating and distressing to humanity. Every page of it is filled with insurrections, devastations, and carnage: princes, sprung from the same blood, armed against each other, breathing unnatural vengeance, and bent on mutual destruction: the royal authority insulted and despised by the nobles, who were perpetually at war with each other, either to decide their private quarrels, or aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbours; and, finally, the citizens exposed to all kinds of oppression, reduced to misery and servitude, without the hope or possibility of redress from the government. Such was the melancholy situation of the States that composed the Empire of Charlemagne, when the irruption of new barbarians, the Normans from the extremities of the North, and the Hungarians from the back settlements of Asia, exposed it afresh to the terrible scourge of foreign invasion.

The Normans, of German origin, and inhabiting ancient Scandinavia, that is to say, Sweden, Denmark, and modern Norway, began, towards the end of the eighth century, to cover the sea with their ships, and to infest successively all the ma-

ritime coasts of Europe. During the space of two hundred years, they continued their incursions and devastations, with a fierceness and perseverance that surpasses all imagination. This phenomenon, however, is easily explained, if we attend to the state of barbarism in which the inhabitants of Scandinavia, in general, were at that time plunged. Despising agriculture and the arts, they found themselves unable to draw from fishing and the chase the necessary means even for their scanty subsistence. The comfortable circumstances of their neighbours, who cultivated their lands, excited their cupidity, and invited them to acquire by force, piracy, or plunder, what they had not sufficient skill to procure by their own industry. They were, moreover, animated by a sort of religious fanaticism, which inspired them with courage for the most perilous enterprise. This reckless superstition they drew from the doctrines of Odin, who was the god of their armies, the rewarder of valour and intrepidity in war, receiving into his paradise of *Valhalla* the brave who fell beneath the swords of the enemy; while, on the other hand, the abode of the wretched, called by them *Helvete*, was prepared for those who, abandoned to ease and effeminacy, preferred a life of tranquillity to the glory of arms, and the perils of warlike adventure.

This doctrine, generally diffused over all the north, inspired the Scandinavian youth with an intrepid and ferocious courage, which made them brave all dangers, and consider the sanguinary death of warriors as the surest path to immortality. Often did it happen that the sons of kings, even those who were already destined as successors to their father's throne, volunteered as chiefs of pirates and brigands, under the name of *Sea Kings*, solely for the purpose of obtaining a name, and signaling themselves by their maritime exploits.

These piracies of the Normans, which at first were limited to the seas and countries bordering on Scandinavia, soon extended over all the western and southern coasts of Europe. Germany, the kingdoms of Lorraine, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, the Balearic Isles, Italy, Greece, and even the shores of Africa, were exposed in their turn to the insults and the ravages of these barbarians.⁴

France more especially suffered from their incursions, under the feeble reigns of Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat. Not content with the havoc which they made on the coasts, they ascended the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone, carrying fire and sword to the very centre of the kingdom. Nantes, Angers, Tours, Blois, Orleans, Morn, Poitiers, Bourdeaux, Rouen, Paris, Sens, Laon, Soissons, and various other cities, experienced the fury of these invaders. Paris was three times sacked and pillaged by them. Robert the Strong, a scion of the royal House of Capet, whom Charles the Bald had created (861) Duke or Governor of Neustria, was killed in battle (866) while combating with success against the Normans. At length, the terror which they had spread everywhere was such, that the French, who trembled at the very name of the Normans, had no longer courage to encounter them in arms; and in order to rid themselves of such formidable enemies, they consented to purchase their retreat

by a sum of money; a wretched and feeble remedy, which only aggravated the evil, by inciting the invaders, by the hope of gain, to return to the charge.

It is not however at all astonishing, that France should have been exposed so long to these incursions, since, besides the inefficient state of that monarchy, she had no vessels of her own to protect her coasts. The nobles, occupied solely with the care of augmenting or confirming their growing power, offered but a feeble opposition to the Normans, whose presence in the kingdom caused a diversion favourable to their views. Some of them even had no hesitation in joining the barbarians, when they happened to be in disgrace, or when they thought they had reason to complain of the government.

It was in consequence of these numerous expeditions over all the seas of Europe, that the monarchies of the North were formed, and that the Normans succeeded also in founding several other states. It is to them that the powerful monarchy of the Russians owes its origin; Ruric the Norman is allowed to have been its founder, towards the middle of the ninth century.⁷ He and the grand dukes, his successors, extended their conquests from the Baltic and the White Sea, to the Euxine; and during the tenth century they made the emperors of the East to tremble on their thrones. In their native style of piratical warfare, they embarked on the Dnieper or Borysthene, infested with their fleets the coasts of the Black Sea, carried terror and dismay to the gates of Constantinople, and obliged the Greek emperors to pay them large sums to redeem their capital from pillage.

Ireland was more than once on the point of being subdued by the Normans, during these piratical excursions. Their first invasion of this island is stated to have been in the year 795. Great ravages were committed by the barbarians, who conquered or founded the cities of Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, which they formed into separate petty kingdoms. Christianity was introduced among them towards the middle of the tenth century; and it was not till the twelfth, the time of its invasion by the English, that they succeeded in expelling them from the island, when they were dispossessed of the cities of Waterford and Dublin (1170) by Henry II. of England.

Orkney, the Hebrides, the Shetland and Faroic Islands, and the Isle of Man, were also discovered and peopled by the Normans.⁸ Another colony of these Normans peopled Iceland, where they founded a republic (874), which preserved its independence till nearly the middle of the thirteenth century, when that island was conquered by the Kings of Norway.⁹ Normandy, in France, also received its name from this people. Charles the Simple, wishing to put a check on their continual incursions, concluded, at St. Clair-sur-Epte (912), a treaty with Rollo or Rolf, chief of the Normans, by which he abandoned to them all that part of Neustria which reaches from the rivers Andelle and Aure to the ocean. To this he added a part of Vexin, situated between the rivers Andelle and Epte; as also the territory of Bretagne. Rollo embraced Christianity, and received the baptismal name of Robert. He submitted to become a vassal of the crown of France, under the

title of Duke of Normandy; and obtained in marriage the princess Gisele, daughter of Charles the Simple. In the following century, we shall meet with these Normans of France as the conquerors of England, and the founders of the kingdom of the two Sicilies.

The Hungarians, a people of Turkish or Finnish origin, emigrated, as is generally supposed, from Bascshiria, a country lying to the north of the Caspian Sea, between the Wolga, the Kama, and Mount Ural, near the source of the Tobol and the Jaik, or modern Ural. The Orientals designate them by the generic name of Turks, while they denominate themselves *Magyars*, from the name of one of their tribes. After having been long dependent on the Chazars,¹⁰ a Turkish tribe to the north of the Palus Mæotis, they retired towards the Danube, to avoid the oppressions of the Patzinacites;¹¹ and established themselves (887) in ancient Dacia, under the auspices of a chief named Arpaal, from whom the ancient sovereigns of Hungary derive their origin. Arnulph, King of Germany, employed these Hungarians (892) against the Slavo-Moravians, who possessed a flourishing state on the banks of the Danube, the Morau and the Elbe.¹² While engaged in this expedition, they were attacked again in their Daciau possessions by the Patzinacites, who succeeded at length in expelling them from these territories.¹³ Taking advantage afterwards of the death of Swiatopolk, king of the Moravians, and the troubles consequent on that event, they discovered from Moravia all the country which extends from the frontiers of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, to the Danube and the Morau. They conquered, about the same time, Pannonia, with a part of Noricum, which they had wrested from the Germans; and thus laid the foundation of a new state, known since by the name of Hungary.

No sooner had the Hungarians established themselves in Pannonia, than they commenced their incursions into the principal states of Europe. Germany, Italy, and Gaul, agitated by faction and anarchy, and even the Grecian empire in the East, became, all in their turn, the bloody scene of their ravages and devastations. Germany, in particular, for a long time felt the effects of their fury. All its provinces in succession were laid waste by these barbarians, and compelled to pay them tribute. Henry I., King of Germany, and his son Otho the Great, at length succeeded in arresting their destructive career, and delivered Europe from this new yoke which threatened its independence.

It was in consequence of these incursions of the Hungarians and Normans, to which may be added those of the Arabs and Slavonians, that the

kingdoms which sprang from the empire of the Franks lost once more the advantages which the political institutions of Charlemagne had procured them. Learning, which that prince had encouraged, fell into a state of absolute languor; and an end was put both to civil and literary improvement, by the destruction of convents, schools, and libraries; the polity and internal security of the states were destroyed, and commerce reduced to nothing. England was the only exception, which then enjoyed a transient glory under the memorable reign of Alfred the Great, who succeeded Ethelred in 872. That prince, grandson of king Egbert, expelled the Normans from the island (887), and restored peace and tranquillity to his kingdom. After the example of Charlemagne, he cultivated and protected learning and the arts, by restoring the convents and schools which the barbarians had destroyed; inviting philosophers and artists to his court, and civilizing his subjects by literary institutions and wise regulations.¹⁴ It is to be regretted, that a reign so glorious was so soon followed by new misfortunes. After the Normans, the Danes reappeared in England, and overspread it once more with turbulence and desolation.

During these unlightened and calamitous times, we find the art of navigation making considerable progress. The Normans, traversing the seas perpetually with their fleets, learned to construct their vessels with greater perfection, to become better skilled in wind and weather, and to use their oars and sails with more address. It was, moreover, in consequence of these invasions, that more correct information was obtained regarding Scandinavia, and the remote regions of the North. Two Normans, Wolfstane and Other, the one from Jutland, and the other from Norway, undertook separate voyages, in course of the ninth century, principally with the view of making maritime discoveries. Wolfstane proceeded to visit that part of Prussia, or the *Estonia* of the ancients, which was renowned for its produce of yellow amber. Other did not confine his adventures to the coasts of the Baltic; setting out from the port of Heligoland, his native country, he doubled Cape North, and advanced as far as Biarmia, at the mouth of the Dwina, in the province of Archangel. Both he and Wolfstane communicated the details of their voyages to Alfred the Great, who made use of them in his Anglo-Saxon translation of Orosius.

Besides Iceland and the Northern Isles, of which we have already spoken, we find, in the tenth century, some of the fugitive Normans peopling Greenland; and others forming settlements in Finland, which some suppose to be the island of Newfoundland, in North America.¹⁵

PERIOD III.

FROM OTHO THE GREAT TO GREGORY THE GREAT. A. D. 902—1074.

WHILE most of the states that sprang from the dismembered empire of the Franks continued to be the prey of disorder and anarchy, the kingdom of Germany assumed a new form, and for several ages maintained the character of being the ruling power in Europe. It was erected into a monarchy at the peace of Verdun (843), and had for its first king Louis the German, second son of Louis the Gentle. At that time it comprised, besides the three cantons of Spire, Worms, and Mayence, on this side the Rhine, all the countries and provinces beyond that river, which had belonged to the empire of the Franks, from the Eyder and the Baltic, to the Alps and the confines of Pannonia. Several of the Slavian tribes, also, were its tributaries.

From the first formation of this kingdom, the royal authority was limited; and Louis the German, in an assembly held at Marsne (851), had formally engaged to *maintain the states in their rights and privileges; to follow their counsel and advice; and to consider them as his true colleagues and coadjutors in all the affairs of government.* The states, however, soon found means to vest in themselves the right of choosing their kings. The first Carolingian monarchs of Germany were hereditary. Louis the German even divided his kingdom among his three sons, viz., Carloman, Louis the Young, and Charles the Fat; but Charles having been deposed in an assembly held at Frankfort (887), the states of Germany elected in his place Arnulph, a natural son of Carloman. This prince added to his crown both Italy and the Imperial dignity.

The custom of election has continued in Germany down to modern times. Louis l'Enfant, or the Infant, son of Arnulph, succeeded to the throne by election; and that prince having died very young (911), the states bestowed the crown on a French nobleman, named Conrad, who was duke or governor of France on the Rhine, and related by the female side to the Carolingian line. Conrad mounted the throne, to the exclusion of Charles the Simple, King of France, the only male and legitimate heir of the Carolingian line. This latter prince, however, found means to seize the kingdom of Lorraine, which Louis the Young had annexed to the crown of Germany. On the death of Conrad I. (919), the choice of the states fell on Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, a scion of the Saxon dynasty of the kings and emperors of Germany.

It was to the valour and the wisdom of Henry I., and to his institutions, civil and military, that Germany was indebted for its renewed grandeur. That monarch, taking advantage of the intestine troubles which had arisen in France under Charles the Simple, recovered possession of the kingdom of Lorraine, the nobility of which made their submission to him in the years 923 and 925. By this union he extended the limits of Germany towards the west, as far as the Meuse and the Scheld. The kings of Germany afterwards divided the territory of Lorraine into two governments or

duchies, called Upper and Lower Lorraine. The former, situated on the Moselle, was called the duchy of the Moselle; the other, bounded by the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld, was known by the name of Lothiers or Brabant. These two duchies comprised all the provinces of the kingdom of Lorraine, except those which the emperors judged proper to exempt from the authority and jurisdiction of the dukes. The duchy of the Moselle, alone, finally retained the name of Lorraine; and passed (1048) to Gerard of Alsace, descended from the dukes of that name, who, in the eighteenth century, succeeded to the Imperial throne. As to the duchy of Lower Lorraine, the Emperor Henry V. conferred it on Godfrey, Count of Louvain (1106), whose male descendants kept possession of it, under the title of Dukes of Brabant, till 1355, when it passed by female succession to the Dukes of Burgundy, who found means also to acquire, by degrees, the greater part of Lower Lorraine, commonly called the Low Countries.

Henry I., a prince of extraordinary genius, proved himself the true restorer of the German kingdom. The Slavonian tribes who inhabited the banks of the Saal, and the country between the Elbe and the Baltic, committed incessant ravages on the frontier provinces of the kingdom. With these he waged a successful war, and reduced them once more to the condition of tributaries. But his policy was turned chiefly against the Hungarians, who, since the reign of Louis II., had repeatedly renewed their incursions, and threatened to subject all Germany to their yoke. Desirous to repress effectually that ferocious nation, he took the opportunity of a nine years' truce, which he had obtained with them, to construct new towns, and fortify places of strength. He instructed his troops in a new kind of tactics, accustomed them to military evolutions, and, above all, he formed and equipped a cavalry sufficient to cope with those of the Hungarians, who particularly excelled in the art of managing horses. These depredators having returned with fresh forces at the expiry of the truce, he completely defeated them in two bloody battles, which he fought with them (933) near Sondershausen and Meresburg; and thus exonerated Germany from the tribute which it had formerly paid them.¹

This victorious prince extended his conquests beyond the Eyder, the ancient frontier of Denmark. After a prosperous war with the Danes (931), he founded the margravate of Sleswick, which the Emperor Conrad II. afterwards ceded back (1033) to Canute the Great, King of Denmark.

Otho the Great, son and successor of Henry I., added the kingdom of Italy to the conquests of his father, and procured also the Imperial dignity for himself, and his successors in Germany. Italy had become a distinct kingdom since the revolution, which happened (888) at the death of the Emperor Charles the Fat. Ten princes in succession occupied the throne during the space of

seventy-three years. Several of these princes, such as Guy, Lambert, Arnulf, Louis of Burgundy, and Berenger I., were invested, at the same time, with the Imperial dignity. Berenger I. having been assassinated (924), this latter dignity ceased entirely, and the city of Rome was even dismembered from the kingdom of Italy.

The sovereignty of that city was seized by the famous Marozia, widow of a nobleman named Alberic. She raised her son to the pontificate by the title of John XI.; and the better to establish her dominion, she espoused Hugo King of Italy (932), who became, in consequence of this marriage, master of Rome. But Alberic, another son of Marozia, soon stirred up the people against this aspiring princess and her husband Hugo. Having driven Hugo from the throne, and shut up his mother in prison, he assumed to himself the sovereign authority, under the title of *Patrician of the Romans*. At his death (954), he transmitted the sovereignty to his son Octavian, who, though only nineteen years of age, caused himself to be elected pope, by the title of John XII.

This epoch was one most disastrous for Italy. The weakness of the government excited factions among the nobility, gave birth to anarchy, and fresh opportunity for the depredations of the Hungarians and Arabs, who, at this period, were the scourge of Italy, which they ravaged with impunity. Pavia, the capital of the kingdom, was taken, and burnt by the Hungarians. These troubles increased on the accession of Berenger II. (950), grandson of Berenger I. That prince associated his son Adelbert with him in the royal dignity; and the public voice accused them of having caused the death of King Lothaire, son and successor of Hugo.

Lothaire left a young widow, named Adelaide, daughter of Rodolph II., King of Burgundy and Italy. To avoid the impurities of Berenger II., who wished to compel her to marry his son Adelbert, this princess called in the King of Germany to her aid. Otho complied with the solicitations of the distressed queen; and, on this occasion, undertook his first expedition into Italy (951). The city of Pavia, and several other places, having fallen into his hands, he made himself proclaimed King of Italy, and married the young queen, his protégée. Berenger and his son, being driven for shelter to their strongholds, had recourse to negotiation. They succeeded in obtaining for themselves a confirmation of the royal title of Italy, on condition of doing homage for it to the King of Germany; and for this purpose, they repaired in person to the diet assembled at Augsburg (952), where they took the oath of vassalage under the hands of Otho, who solemnly invested them with the royalty of Italy; reserving to himself the towns and marches of Aquileia and Verona, the command of which he bestowed on his brother the Duke of Bavaria.

In examining more nearly all that passed in this affair, it appears that it was not without the regret, and even contrary to the wish of Adelaide, that Otho agreed to enter into terms of accommodation with Berenger, and to ratify the compact which Conrad, Duke of Lorraine, and son-in-law of the Emperor, had made with that prince. Afterwards, however, he lent a favourable ear to the complaints which Pope John XII., and some

Italian noblemen had addressed to him against Berenger and his son; and took occasion, on their account, to conduct a new army into Italy (961). Berenger, too feeble to oppose him, retired a second time within his fortifications. Otho marched from Pavia to Milan, and there made himself crowned King of Italy; from thence he passed to Rome, about the commencement of the following year. Pope John XII., who had himself invited him, and again implored his protection against Berenger, gave him, at first, a very brilliant reception; and revived the Imperial dignity in his favour, which had been dormant for thirty-eight years. —

It was on the 2d of February, 962, that the Pope consecrated and crowned him Emperor; but he had soon cause to repent of this proceeding. Otho, immediately after his coronation at Rome, undertook the siege of St. Leon, a fortress in Umbria, where Berenger and his Queen had taken refuge. While engaged in the siege, he received frequent intimations from Rome, of the misconduct and immoralities of the Pope. The remonstrances which he thought it his duty to make on this subject, offended the young Pontiff, who resolved, in consequence, to break off union with the Emperor. Hurried on by the impetuosity of his character, he entered into a negotiation with Adelbert; and even persuaded him to come to Rome, in order to concert with him measures of defence. On the first news of this event, Otho put himself at the head of a large detachment, with which he marched directly to Rome. The Pope, however, did not think it advisable to wait his approach, but fled with the King, his new ally. Otho, on arriving at the capital, exacted a solemn oath from the clergy and the people, that henceforth they would elect no pope without his counsel, and that of the Emperor and his successors.² Having then assembled a council, he caused Pope John XII. to be deposed; and Leo VIII. was elected in his place. This latter Pontiff was maintained in the papacy, in spite of all the efforts which his adversary made to regain it. Berenger II., after having sustained a long siege at St. Leon, fell at length (964) into the hands of the conqueror, who sent him into exile at Bamberg, and compelled his son, Adelbert, to take refuge in the court of Constantinople.

All Italy, to the extent of the ancient kingdom of the Lombards, fell under the dominion of the Germans; only a few maritime towns in Lower Italy, with the greater part of Apulia and Calabria, still remained in the power of the Greeks. This kingdom, together with the Imperial dignity, Otho transmitted to his successors on the throne of Germany. From this time the Germans held it to be an inviolable principle, that as the Imperial dignity was strictly united with the royalty of Italy, kings elected by the German nation should, at the same time, in virtue of that election, become Kings of Italy and Emperors. The practice of this triple coronation, viz., of Germany, Italy, and Rome, continued for many centuries; and from Otho the Great, till Maximilian I. (1508), no king of Germany took the title of Emperor, until after he had been formally crowned by the Pope.

The kings and emperors of the house of Saxony did not terminate their conquests with the dominions of Lorraine and Italy. Towards the east

and the north, they extended them beyond the Saal and the Elbe. All the Slavonian tribes between the Havel and the Oder; the Abotrites, the Rhedarians, the Wilzians, the Slavonians on the Havel, the Sorabians, the Daleminicians, the Lusitians, the Milizians, and various others; the dukes also of Bohemia and Poland, although they often took up arms in defence of their liberty and independence, were all reduced to subjection, and again compelled to pay tribute. In order to secure their submission, the Saxon kings introduced German colonies into the conquered countries; and founded there several margravates, such as that of the North, on this side of the Elbe, afterwards called Brandenburg; and in the East, those of Misnia and Lusatia. Otho the Great adopted measures for promulgating Christianity among them. The bishopric of Oldenburg in Wagria, of Havelburg, Brandenburg, Meissen, Merseburg, Zeitz; those of Pannania or Posen, in Poland, of Prague in Bohemia; and lastly, the metropolis of Magdeburg, all owe their origin to this monarch. His grandson, the Emperor Otho III., founded (in 1000) the Archbishopric of Gneana, in Poland, to which he subjected the bishoprics of Colberg, Cracow, and Breslau, reserving Posen to the metropolitan See of Magdeburg.

The Saxon dynasty became extinct (1024) with the emperor Henry II. It was succeeded by that of Franconia, commonly called the *Salic*. Conrad II., the first emperor of this house, united to the German crown the kingdom of Burgundy; or, as it is sometimes called, the kingdom of Arles. This monarchy, situate between the Rhine, the Reuss, Mount Jura, the Saone, the Rhone, and the Alps, had been divided among a certain number of counts, or governors of provinces, who, in consequence of the weakness of their last kings, Conrad and Rodolph III., had converted their temporary jurisdictions into hereditary and patrimonial offices, after the example of the French nobility, who had already usurped the same power. The principal and most puissant of these Burgundian nobles, were the counts of Provence, Vienne, (afterwards called Dauphins of Vienne), Savoy, Burgundy, and Montbelliard; the Archbishop of Lyons, Besançon, and Arles, and the Bishop of Basle, &c. The contempt in which these powerful vassals held the royal authority, induced Rodolph to apply for protection to his kinsmen the Emperors Henry II. and Conrad II., and to acknowledge them, by several treaties, his heirs and successors to the crown. It was in virtue of these treaties, that Conrad II. took possession of the kingdom of Burgundy (1032) on the death of Rodolph III. He maintained his rights by force of arms against Eudes, Count of Champagne, who claimed to be the legitimate successor, as being nephew to the last king.

This reunion was but a feeble addition to the power of the German emperors. The bishops, counts, and great vassals of the kingdom they had newly acquired, still retained the authority which they had usurped in their several departments; and nothing was left to the emperors, but the exercise of their feudal and proprietary rights, together with the slender remains of the demesne lands belonging to the last kings. It is even probable, that the high rank which the Burgundian nobles enjoyed excited the ambition of those in

Germany, and emboldened them to usurp the same prerogatives.

The Emperors Conrad II. (1033) and Henry III. (1038), were both crowned Kings of Burgundy. The Emperor Lothaire conferred the viceregency or regency on Conrad Duke of Zähringen, who then took the title of Governor or Regent of Burgundy. Berthold IV., son of Conrad, resigned (1150), in favour of the Emperor Frederic I., his rights of viceregency over that part of the kingdom situate beyond Mount Jura. Switzerland, at that time, was subject to the Dukes of Zähringen, who, in order to retain it in vassalage to their government, fortified Morges, Moudon, Yverdon, and Berthoud; and built the cities of Fribourg and Berne. On the extinction of the Zähringian dukes (1191), Switzerland became an immediate province of the empire. It was afterwards (1218) formed into a republic; and the other parts of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles were gradually united to France, as we shall see in course of our narrative.

The Hungarians, since their first invasion under Louis l'Enfant, had wrested from the German crown all its possessions in Pannonia, with a part of ancient Noricum; and the boundaries of Germany had been contracted within the river Enns in Bavaria. Their growing preponderance afterwards enabled the Germans to recover from the Hungarians a part of their conquests. They succeeded in expelling them, not only from Noricum, but even from that part of Upper Pannonia which lies between Mount Cæsius, or Kahlenberg as it is called, and the river Leita. Henry III. secured the possession of these territories by the treaty of peace which he concluded (1043) with Samuel, surnamed Aba, King of Hungary. This part of Hungary was annexed to the Eastern Margravate, or Austria, which then began to assume nearly its present form.

Such then was the progressive aggrandisement of the German empire, from the reign of Henry I. to the year 1043. Under its most flourishing state, that is, under the Emperor Henry III., it embraced nearly two-thirds of the monarchy of Charlemagne. All Germany between the Rhine, the Eyder, the Oder, the Leita, and the Alps; all Italy, as far as the confines of the Greeks in Apulia and Calabria; Gaul, from the Rhine to the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhone, acknowledged the supremacy of the emperors. The Dukes of Bohemia and Poland were their tributaries; a dependence which continued until the commotions which agitated Germany put an end to it in the thirteenth century.

Germany, at this period, ranked as the ruling power in Europe; and this preponderance was not owing so much to the extent of her possessions, as to the vigour of her government, which still maintained a kind of system of political unity. The emperors may be regarded as true monarchs, dispensing, at their pleasure, all dignities, civil and ecclesiastical—possessing very large domains in all parts of the empire—and exercising, individually, various branches of the sovereign power;—only, in affairs of great importance, asking the advice or consent of the grandees. This greatness of the German emperors gave rise to a system of polity which the Popes took great care to support with all their credit and authority. Ac-

ording to this system, the whole of Christendom composed, as it were, a single and individual republic, of which the Pope was the spiritual head, and the Emperor the secular. The duty of the latter, as head and patron of the Church, was to take cognizance that nothing should be done contrary to the general welfare of Christianity. It was his part to protect the Catholic Church, to be the guardian of its preservation, to convocate its general councils, and exercise such rights as the nature of his office and the interests of Christianity seemed to demand.

It was in virtue of this ideal system that the emperors enjoyed a precedence over other monarchs, with the exclusive right of electing kings; and that they had bestowed on them the title of masters of the world, and sovereign of sovereigns. A more important prerogative was that which they possessed in the election of the Popes. From Otho the Great to Henry IV., all the Roman pontiffs were chosen, or at least confirmed, by the emperors. Henry III. deposed three schismatical popes (1046), and substituted in their place a German, who took the name of Clement II. The same emperor afterwards nominated various other popes of his own nation.

However vast and formidable the power of these monarchs seemed to be, it was nevertheless far from being a solid and durable fabric; and it was easy to foresee that, in a short time, it would crumble and disappear. Various causes conspired to accelerate its downfall; the first and principal of which necessarily sprang from the constitution of the empire, which was faulty in itself, and incompatible with any scheme of aggrandisement or conquest. A great empire, to prolong its durability, requires a perfect unity of power, which can act with despatch, and communicate with facility from one extremity to the other; an armed force constantly on foot, and capable of maintaining the public tranquillity; frontiers well defended against hostile invasion; and revenues proportioned to the exigencies of the state. All these characteristics of political greatness were wanting in the German empire.

That empire was elective; the states co-operated jointly with the emperors in the exercise of the legislative power. There were neither permanent armies, nor fortresses, nor taxation, nor any regular system of finance. The government was without vigour, incapable of protecting or punishing, or even keeping in subjection, its remote provinces, consisting of nations who differed in language, manners, and legislation. One insurrection, though quelled, was only the forerunner of others; and the conquered nations shook off the yoke with the same facility as they received it. The perpetual wars of the emperors in Italy, from the first conquest of that country by Otho the Great, prove, in a manner most evident, the strange imbecility of the government. At every change of reign, and every little revolution which happened in Germany, the Italians rose in arms, and put the emperors again to the necessity of reconquering that kingdom; which undoubtedly it was their interest to have abandoned entirely, rather than to lavish for so many centuries their treasures and the blood of their people to no purpose. The climate of Italy was also disastrous to the Imperial armies; and many successions of noble German families found there a foreign grave.

An inevitable consequence of this vitiated constitution, was the decline of the royal authority, and the gradual increase of the power of the nobility. It is important, however, to remark, that in Germany the progress of the feudal system had been much less rapid than in France. The dukes, counts, and margraves, that is, the governors of provinces, and wardens of the marches, continued for long to be regarded merely as imperial officers, without any pretensions to consider their governments as hereditary, or exercise the rights of sovereignty. Even fiefs remained for many ages in their primitive state, without being perpetuated in the families of those to whom they had been originally granted.

A total change, however, took place towards the end of the eleventh century. The dukes and counts, become formidable by the extent of their power and their vast possessions, by degrees, constituted themselves hereditary officers; and not content with the appropriation of their duchies and counties, they took advantage of the weakness of the emperors, and their quarrels with the popes, to extort from them new privileges, or usurp the prerogatives of royalty, formerly reserved for the emperors alone. The aristocracy, or landed proprietors, followed the example of the dukes and counts, and after the eleventh century they all began to play the part of sovereigns, styling themselves, in their public acts, *By the Grace of God*. At length fiefs became also hereditary. Conrad II. was the first emperor that permitted the transmission of fiefs to sons and grandsons; the succession of collateral branches was subsequently introduced. The system of hereditary feudalism became thus firmly established in Germany, and, by a natural consequence, it brought on the destruction of the imperial authority, and the ruin of the empire.

Nothing, however, was more injurious to this authority than the extravagant power of the clergy, whom the emperors of the Saxon line had loaded with honours and benefactions, either from a zeal for religion, or with the intention of using them as a counterpoise to the ambition of the dukes and secular nobility. It was chiefly to Otho the Great that the bishops of Germany were indebted for their temporal power. That prince bestowed on them large grants of land from the imperial domains; he gave them towns, counties, and entire dukedoms, with the prerogatives of royalty, such as judiciary powers, the right of coining money, of levying tolls and other public revenues, &c. These rights and privileges he granted them under the feudal law, and on condition of rendering him military servitude. Nevertheless, as the disposal of ecclesiastical dignities belonged then to the crown, and fiefs had not, in general, become hereditary, the Emperor still retained possession of those which he conferred on the clergy: these he bestowed on whomsoever he judged proper, using them, however, always in conformity with his own views and interests.

The same policy that induced Otho to transfer to the bishops a large portion of his domains, led him also to intrust them with the government of cities. At that time, there was a distinction of towns into *royal* and *prefectorial*. The latter were dependent on the dukes, while the former, subject immediately to the king, gave rise to what

has since been called *imperial cities*. It was in these royal cities that the German kings were in the practice of establishing counts and burgomasters or magistrates, to exercise in their name the rights of justice, civil and criminal, the levying of money, customs, &c. as well as other prerogatives usually reserved to the king. Otho conferred the counties, or governorships of cities where a bishop resided, on the bishops themselves, who, in process of time, made use of this new power to subject these cities to their own authority, and render them *mediate* and *episcopal*, instead of being *immediate* and *royal* as they were originally.

The successors of Otho, as impolitic as himself, imitated his example. In consequence of this, the possessions of the crown were, by degrees, reduced to nothing, and the authority of the emperors declined with the diminution of their wealth. The bishops, at first devoted to the emperors, both from necessity and gratitude, no sooner perceived their own strength, than they were tempted to make use of it, and to join the secular princes, in order to sap the imperial authority, as well as to consolidate their own power. To these several causes of the downfall of the empire must be added the new power of the Roman pontiffs, the origin of which is ascribed to Pope Gregory VII. In the following Period, this matter will be treated more in detail; meantime, we shall proceed to give a succinct view of the other states that figured during this epoch on the theatre of Europe.

The dynasty of the Omniades in Spain, founded about the middle of the eighth century, was overturned in the eleventh. An insurrection having happened at Cordova against the Caliph Hasehem, that prince was dethroned (1005), and the caliphate ended in 1027. The governors of cities and provinces, and the principal nobility of the Arabs, formed themselves into independent sovereigns, under the title of kings; and as many petty Mahometan States rose in Spain as there had been principal cities. The most considerable of these were the kingdoms of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Lishon, Saragossa, Tortosa, Valencia, Murcia, &c. This partition of the caliphate of Cordova enabled the princes of Christendom to aggrandise their own power at the expense of the Mahometans. Besides the kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, there existed in Spain, at the commencement of the eleventh century, the county of Castille, which had been dismembered from the kingdom of Leon, and the county of Barcelona, which acknowledged the sovereignty of the Kings of France.

Sancho the Great, King of Navarre, had the fortune to unite in his own family all these different sovereignties, with the exception of Barcelona; and as this occurred nearly at the same time with the destruction of the caliphate of Cordova, it would have been easy for the Christians to obtain a complete ascendancy over the Mahometans, if they had kept their forces united. But the King of Navarre fell into the same mistake that had been so fatal to the Mahometans; he divided his dominions among his sons (1035). Don Garcias, the eldest, had Navarre, and was the ancestor of a long line of Navarrese kings; the last of whom, John d'Albret, was deposed (1512) by Ferdinand the Catholic. From Ferdinand, the younger son, King of Leon and Castille, were descended all the

sovereigns of Castille and Leon down to Queen Isabella, who transferred these kingdoms (1474), by marriage, to Ferdinand the Catholic. Lastly, Don Ramira, natural son of Sancho, was the stem from whom sprung all the kings of Arragon, down to Ferdinand, who, by his marriage with Isabella, happened to unite all the different Christian States in Spain; and put an end also to the dominion of the Arabs and Moors in that peninsula.

In France the royal authority declined more and more, from the rapid progress which the feudal system made in that kingdom, after the feeble reign of Charles the Bald. The Dukes and the Counts, usurping the rights of royalty, made war on each other, and raised on every occasion the standard of revolt. The kings, in order to gain over some, and maintain others in their allegiance, were obliged to give up to them in succession every branch of the royal revenue; so that the last Carolingian princes were reduced to such a state of distress, that, far from being able to counter-balance the power of the nobility, they had hardly left wherewithal to furnish a scanty subsistence for their court. A change of dynasty became then indispensable; and the throne, it was evident, must fall to the share of the most powerful and daring of its vassals. This event, which had long been foreseen, happened on the death of Louis V., surnamed the Slothful (987), the last of the Carolingians, who died childless at the age of twenty.

Hugh Capet, great-grandson of Robert the Strong, possessed at that time the central parts of the kingdom. He was Count of Paris, Duke of France and Neustria; and his brother Henry was master of the duchy of Burgundy. It was not difficult for Hugh to form a party; and under their auspices he got himself proclaimed king at Noyon, and crowned at Rheims. Charles Duke of Lorrain, paternal uncle of the last king, and sole legitimate heir to the Carolingian line,³ advanced his claims to the crown: he seized by force of arms on Laon and Rheims; but being betrayed by the Bishop of Laon, and delivered up to his rival, he was confined in a prison at Orleans, where he ended his days (991).

Hugh, on mounting the throne, restored to the possession of the crown the lands and dominions which had belonged to it between the Loire, the Seine, and the Meuse. His power gave a new lustre to the royal dignity, which he found means to render hereditary in his family; while at the same time he permitted the grantees to transmit to their descendants, male and female, the duchies and counties which they held of the crown, reserving to it merely the feudal superiority. Thus the feudal government was firmly established in France, by the hereditary tenure of the great fiefs; and that kingdom was in consequence divided among a certain number of powerful vassals, who rendered fealty and homage to their kings, and marched at their command on military expeditions; but who nevertheless were nearly absolute masters in their own dominions, and often dictated the law to the sovereign himself. Hugh was the progenitor of the Capetian dynasty of French kings, so called from his own surname of Capet.

England, during the feeble reigns of the Anglo-Saxon princes, successors to Alfred the Great, had sunk under the dominion of priests and monks.

The consequence was, the utter ruin of its finances, and its naval and military power. This exposed the kingdom afresh to the attacks of the Danes (991), who imposed on the English a tribute or tax, known by the name of Danegelt. Under the command of their kings Sueno or Sweyn I., and Canute the Great, they at length drove the Anglo-Saxon kings from their thrones, and made themselves masters of all England (1017). But the dominion of the Danes was only of short continuance. The English shook off their yoke, and conferred their crown on Edward the Confessor (1042), a prince of the royal blood of their ancient kings. On the death of Edward, Harold, Earl of Kent, was acknowledged King of England (1066); but he met with a formidable competitor in the person of William Duke of Normandy.

This prince had no other right to the crown than that founded on a verbal promise of Edward the Confessor, and confirmed by an oath which Harold had given him while Earl of Kent. William landed in England (October 14th, 1066), at the head of a considerable army, and having offered battle to Harold, near Hastings in Sussex, he gained a complete victory. Harold was killed in the action, and the conquest of all England was the reward of the victor. To secure himself in his new dominions, William constructed a vast number of castles and fortresses throughout all parts of the kingdom, which he took care to fill with Norman garrisons. The lands and places of trust, of which he had deprived the English, were distributed among the Normans, and other foreigners who were attached to his fortunes. He introduced the feudal law, and rendered fiefs hereditary; he ordered the English to be disarmed, and forbade them to have light in their houses after eight o'clock in the evening. He even attempted to abolish the language of the country, by establishing numerous schools for teaching the Norman-French; by publishing the laws, and ordering the pleadings in the courts of justice to be made in that language; hence it happened that the ancient British, combined with the Norman, formed a new sort of language, which still exists in the modern English. William thus became the common ancestor of the kings of England, whose right to the crown is derived from him, and founded on the Conquest.

About the time that William conquered England, another colony of the same Normans founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The several provinces of which this kingdom was composed were, about the beginning of the eleventh century, divided among the Germans, Greeks, and Arabians,⁴ who were incessantly waging war with each other. A band of nearly a hundred Normans, equally covetous of war and glory, landed in that country (1016), and tendered their services to the Lombard princes, vassals of the German empire. The bravery which they displayed on various occasions made these princes desirous of retaining them in their pay, to serve as guardians of their frontiers against the Greeks, and Arabians. The Greek princes very soon were no less eager to gain their services; and the Duke of Naples, with the view of attaching them to his interest, ceded to them a large territory, where they built the city of Aversa, three leagues from Capua. The Emperor Conrad II. erected it into a county

(1038), the investiture of which he granted to Rainulph, one of their chiefs.

At this same period the sons of Tancred conducted a new colony from Normandy into Lower Italy. Their arrival is generally referred to the year 1033; and tradition has assigned to Tancred a descent from Rollo or Robert I. Duke of Normandy. These new adventurers undertook the conquest of Apulia (1041), which they formed into a county, the investiture of which they obtained from Henry III. Robert Guiscard, one of the sons of Tancred, afterwards (1047) completed the conquest of that province; he added to it that of Calabria, of which he had also deprived the Greeks (1039), and assumed the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria.

To secure himself in his new conquests, as well as in those which he yet meditated from the two empires, Robert concluded a treaty the same year with Pope Nicholas II., by which that Pontiff confirmed him in the possession of the duchies of Apulia and Calabria; granting him not only the investiture of these, but promising him also that of Sicily, whenever he should expel the Greeks and Arabians from it. Robert, in his turn, acknowledged himself a vassal of the Pope, and engaged to pay him an annual tribute of twelve pence, money of Pavia, for every pair of oxen in the two duchies.⁵ Immediately after this treaty, Robert called in the assistance of his brother Roger, to rescue Sicily from the hands of the Greeks and Arabs.⁶ No sooner had he accomplished this object, than he conquered in succession the principalities of Bari, Salerno, Amalfi, Sorrento, and Benevento; this latter city he surrendered to the Pope.

Such is the origin of the duchies of Apulia and Calabria; which, after a lapse of some years, were formed into a kingdom under the name of the Two Sicilies.

As to the kingdoms of the North, the light of history scarcely began to dawn there until the introduction of Christianity, which happened about the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.⁷ The promulgation of the Gospel opened a way into the North for the diffusion of arts and letters. The Scandinavian states, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, which before that time were parcelled out among independent chiefs, began then to form plans of civil government, and to combine into settled monarchies. Their new religion, however, did not inspire these nations with its meek and peaceable virtues, nor overcome their invincible propensity to wars and rapine. Their heroism was a wild and savage bravery, which emboldened them to face all dangers, to undertake desperate adventures, and to achieve sudden conquests, which were lost and won with the same rapidity.

Harold, surnamed *Blaatand*, or Blue teeth, was the first sole monarch of the Danes, who with his son Sweyn received baptism, after being vanquished by Otho the Great (965). Sweyn relapsed to paganism; but his son Canute the Great, on his accession to the throne (1014), made Christianity the established religion of his kingdom. He sent for monks from other countries, founded churches, and divided the kingdom into dioceses. Ambitious to distinguish himself as a conqueror, he afterwards subdued England and Norway

(1028). To these he added a part of Scotland and Sweden; and conferred in his own lifetime on one of his sons, named Sweyn, the kingdom of Norway, and on the other, named Hardicanute, that of Denmark. These acquisitions, however, were merely temporary. Sweyn was driven from Norway (1033); while England and Scotland also shook off the Danish yoke (1042), on the death of Hardicanute; and Magnus, King of Norway, even made himself master of Denmark, which did not recover its entire independence until the death of that prince (1047).

The ancient dynasty of Kings who occupied the throne of Denmark from the most remote ages is known by the name of *Skioldungs*, because, according to a fabulous tradition, they were descended from *Skiold*, a pretended son of the famous Odin, who, from being the conqueror, was exalted into the deity of the North. The kings who reigned after Sweyn II. were called *Estrithides*, from that monarch, who was the son of Ulf a Danish nobleman, and *Estrith*, sister to Canute the Great. It was this Sweyn that raised the standard of revolt against Magnus, King of Norway (1044), and kept possession of the throne until his death.

In Sweden, the kings of the reigning family, descended, as is alleged, from Regner Lodbrok, took the title of Kings of Upsal, the place of their residence. Olaus Skotkonung changed this title into that of King of Sweden. He was the first monarch of his nation that embraced Christianity, and exerted himself to propagate it in his kingdom. Sigefroy, Archbishop of York, who was sent into Sweden by Ethelred, King of England, baptized Olaus and his whole family (1001). The conversion of the Swedes would have been more expeditious, had not the zeal of Olaus been restrained by the Swedish Diet, who decided for full liberty of conscience. Hence the strange mixture, both of doctrine and worship, that long prevailed in Sweden, where Jesus Christ was profanely associated with Odin, and the Pagan goddess Freya confounded with the Virgin. Anund Jaques, son of Olaus, contributed much to the progress of Christianity; and his zeal procured him the title of *Most Christian King*.

In Norway, Olaus I., surnamed *Tryggvason*, towards the end of the tenth century, constituted himself the apostle and missionary of his people, and undertook to convert them to Christianity by torture and punishment. Iceland and Greenland⁹ were likewise converted by his efforts, and afterwards became his tributaries (1029). One of his successors, Olaus II., called the Fat, and also the Saint, succeeded in extirpating paganism from Norway (1020); but he used the cloak of religion to establish his own authority, by destroying several petty kings, who before this time possessed each their own dominions.

Christianity was likewise instrumental in throwing some rays of light on the history of the Scalavonian nations, by imparting to them the knowledge of letters, and raising them in the scale of importance among the civilized nations of Europe. The Scalavonians, who were settled north of the Elbe, had been subdued by the Germans, and compelled to embrace Christianity. The haughtiness and rigour of Thierry, Margrave of the North, induced them to shake off the yoke, and to concert

a general insurrection, which broke out in the reign of Otho II. (982). The episcopal palaces, churches and convents, were destroyed; and the people returned once more to the superstitious of paganism. Those tribes that inhabited Brandenburg, part of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, known formerly under the name of Wilzians and Wetalabes, formed themselves into a republican or federal body, and took the name of *Lutizians*. The Abotrites, on the contrary, the Polabes, and the Wagrians,⁹ were decidedly for a monarchical government, the capital of which was fixed at Mecklenburg. Some of the princes or sovereigns of these latter people were styled *Kings of the Venedi*. The result of this general revolt was a series of long and bloody wars between the Germans and Scalavonians. The latter defended their civil and religious liberties with a remarkable courage and perseverance; and it was not till after the twelfth century that they were subdued and reduced to Christianity by the continued efforts of the Dukes of Saxony, and the Margraves of the North, and by means of the crusades and colonies which the Germans despatched into their country.¹⁰

The first duke of Bohemia that received baptism from the hands, as is supposed, of Methodius, bishop of Moravia (894), was Borziyov. His successors, however, returned to idolatry; and it was not till near the end of the tenth century, properly speaking, and in the reign of Boleslaus II., surnamed the Pious, that Christianity became the established religion of Bohemia (999). These dukes were vassals and the tributaries of the German empire; and their tribute consisted of 500 silver marks, and 120 oxen. They exercised, however, all the rights of sovereignty over the people; their reign was a system of terror, and they seldom took the opinion or advice of their nobles and grandees. The succession was hereditary in the reigning dynasty; and the system of partition was in use, otherwise the order of succession would have been fixed and permanent. Over a number of these partitionary princes, one was vested with certain rights of superiority, under the title of Grand Prince, according to a custom found very prevalent among the half-civilized nations of the north and east of Europe.¹¹ The greater proportion of the inhabitants, the labouring classes, artisans, and domestics, were serfs, and oppressed by the tyrannical yoke of their masters. The public sale of men was even practised in Bohemia; the title, or tenth part of which, belonged to the sovereign. The descendants of Borziyov possessed the throne of Bohemia until 1306, when the male line became extinct.

The Poles were a nation whose name does not occur in history before the middle of the tenth century; and we owe to Christianity the first intimations that we have regarding this people. Miecislau I., the first duke or prince of the Poles of whom we possess any authentic accounts, embraced Christianity (966), at the solicitation of his spouse Dambrowka, sister of Boleslaus II., duke of Bohemia. Shortly after, the first bishopric in Poland, that of Posen, was founded by Otho the Great. Christianity did not, however, tame the ferocious habits of the Poles, who remained for a long time without the least progress in men-

tal cultivation.¹² Their government, as wretched as that of Bohemia, subjected the great body of the nation to the most debasing servitude. The ancient sovereigns of Poland were hereditary. They ruled most despotically, and with a rod of iron; and, although they acknowledged themselves vassals and tributaries of the German emperors, they repeatedly broke out into open rebellion, asserted their absolute independence, and waged a successful war against their masters. Boleslaus, son of Miecziuslaus I., took advantage of the troubles which rose in Germany on the death of Otho III., to possess himself of the Marches of Lusatia and Budissin, or Bautzen, which the emperor Henry II. afterwards granted him as fiefs. This same prince, in despite of the Germans, on the death of Henry II. (1025), assumed the royal dignity. Miecziuslaus II., son of Boleslaus, after having cruelly ravaged the country situate between the Oder, the Elbe, and the Saal, was compelled to abdicate the throne, and also to restore those provinces which his father had wrested from the Empire. The male descendants of Miecziuslaus I. reigned in Poland until the death of Casimir the Great (1370). This dynasty of kings is known by the name of the *Piasts*, or *Piasses*, so called from one *Piast*, alleged to have been its founder.

Silesia, which was then a province of Poland, received the light of the Gospel when it first visited that kingdom; and had for its apostle, as is supposed, a Romish priest named Geoffry, who is reckoned the first bishop of Smogra (966).

In Russia, Vladimir the Great, great-grandson of Ruric, was the first grand duke that embraced Christianity (988). He was baptized at Cherson in Taurida, on the occasion of his marriage with Anne Romanowna, sister of Basil II. and Constantine VIII., Emperors of Constantinople. It was this prince that introduced the Greek ritual into Russia, and founded several schools and convents. The alphabet of the Greeks was imported into Russia along with their religion; and from the reign of Vladimir, that nation, more powerful and united than most of the other European states, carried on a lucrative commerce with the Greek empire, of which it became at length a formidable rival.

At the death of that prince (1015), Russia comprehended those vast regions which, from east to west, extend from the Icy Sea and the mouth of the Dwina, to the Niemen, the Dniester, and the Bug; and southward of this last river, to the Carpathian Mountains, and the confines of Hungary and Moldavia. The city of Kiow, on the Dnieper, was the capital of the empire, and the residence of the Grand Dukes. This period also gave rise to those unfortunate territorial partitions which, by dividing the Russian monarchy, exposed it to the insults and ravages of the neighbouring nations. Jaroslaus, one of the sons of Vladimir, made himself famous as a legislator, and supplied the Novogorodians with laws to regulate their courts of justice. No less the friend and protector of letters, he employed himself in translating Greek books into the Slavonian language. He founded a public school at Novogorod, in which three hundred children were educated at his sole expense. His daughter Anne married Henry I., King of France; and this princess was the com-

mon mother of all the kings and princes of the Capetian dynasty.

Hungary was divided, in the tenth century, among several petty princes, who acknowledged a common chief, styled the Grand Prince, whose limited authority was reduced to a simple pre-eminence in rank and dignity. Each of these princes assembled armies, and made predatory excursions, plundering and ravaging the neighbouring countries at their pleasure. The East and West suffered long under the scourge of these atrocious pillagers. Christianity, which was introduced among them about the end of the tenth century, was alone capable of softening the manners, and tempering the ferocity of this nation. Peregrine, bishop of Passau, encouraged by Otho the Great, and patronised by the Grand Prince Geisa, sent the first missionaries into Hungary (973). St. Adelbert, bishop of Prague, had the honour to baptize the son of Geisa, called Waic (994), but who received then the baptismal name of Stephen.

This latter prince, having succeeded his father (997), changed entirely the aspect of Hungary. He assumed the royal dignity, with the consent of Pope Sylvester II., who sent him on this occasion the *Angelic Crown*,¹³ as it is called; the same, according to tradition, which the Hungarians use to this day in the coronation of their kings. At once the apostle and the lawgiver of his country, Stephen I. combined politics with justice, and employed both severity and clemency in reforming his subjects. He founded several bishoprics, extirpated idolatry, banished anarchy, and gave to the authority of the sovereign a vigour and efficiency which it never before possessed. To him likewise is generally ascribed the political divisions of Hungary into counties, as also the institution of palatines, and great officers of the crown. He conquered Transylvania, about 1002—3, according to the opinion of most modern Hungarian authors, and formed it into a distinct government, the chiefs of which, called *Vaivodes*, held immediately of his crown.

The history of the Greek empire presents, at this time, nothing but a tissue of corruption, fanaticism and perfidy. The throne, as insecure as that of the Western empire had been, was filled alternately by a succession of usurpers; most of whom rose from the lowest conditions of life, and owed their elevation solely to the perpetration of crime and parricide. A superstition gross in its nature bound as with a spell the minds of the Greeks, and paralysed their courage. It was carefully cherished by the monks, who had found means to possess themselves of the government, by procuring the exclusion of the secular clergy from the episcopate; and directing the attention of princes to those theological controversies, often exceedingly frivolous, which were produced and reproduced almost without intermission.¹⁴ Hence originated those internal commotions and distractions, those schisms and sects, which more than once divided the empire, and shook the throne itself.

These theological disputes, the rivalry between the two patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople,¹⁵ and the contests respecting the Bulgarian converts, led to an irreparable schism between the churches of the East and the West. This controversy was most keenly agitated under the pontificate of John

VIII., and when the celebrated Photius was patriarch of Constantinople; and in spite of the efforts which several of the Greek emperors and patriarchs afterwards made to effect a union with the Romish see, the animosity of both only grew more implacable, and ended at last in a final rupture between the two churches. A government so weak and so capricious as that of Constantinople, could not but be perpetually exposed to the inroads of foreign enemies. The Huns, Ostrogoths, Avars, Bulgarians, Russians, Hungarians, Chazars, and Patzinacites, harassed the empire on the side of the Danube; while the Persians¹⁶ were incessantly exhausting its strength in the East, and on the side of the Euphrates. All these nations, however, were content with merely desolating the frontiers of the empire, and imposing frequent contributions on the Greeks. It was a task reserved for the Lombards, the Arabs, the Normans, and the Turks, to detach from its whole provinces, and by degrees to hasten its downfall.

The Lombards were the first that conquered from the Greeks the greater part of Italy. Palestine, Syria, and the whole possessions of the Empire in Greater Asia, as well as Egypt, Northern Africa, and the Isle of Cyprus, were seized in the seventh century by the Arabs, who made themselves masters of Sicily, and three times laid siege to Constantinople (669, 717, 719). They would have even succeeded in taking this Eastern capital, and annihilating the Greek empire, had not the courage of Leo the Isaurian, and the surprising effects of the *Grigeois*, or Greek Fire,¹⁷ rendered their efforts useless. At length, in the eleventh century, the Normans conquered all that remained to the Greeks in Italy; while the Seljuk Turks, who must not be confounded with the Ottoman Turks, deprived them of the greater part of Asia Minor.

Turk is the generic appellation for all the Tartar nations,¹⁸ mentioned by the ancients under the name of Scythians. Their original country was in those vast regions situate to the north of Mount Caucasus, and eastward of the Caspian Sea, beyond the Jihon, or Oxus of the ancients, especially in Charasm, Transoxiana, Turkestan, &c. About the eighth century, the Arabs had passed the Oxus, and rendered the Turks of Charasm and Transoxiana their tributaries. They instructed them in the religion and laws of Mahomet; but, by a transition rather extraordinary, it afterwards happened, that the vanquished imposed the yoke on their new masters.

The empire of the Arabs, already enfeebled by the territorial losses which have been mentioned, declined more and more, from about the middle of the ninth century. The Caliphs of Bagdad had committed the mistake of trusting their persons to a military guard of foreigners,¹⁹ viz. the Turks, who, taking advantage of the effeminacy of these princes, soon arrogated to themselves the whole authority, and abused it so far, as to leave the Caliphs entirely dependent on their will, and to vest in themselves the hereditary succession of the government. Thus, in the very centre of the caliphate of Bagdad, there rose a multitude of new sovereignties or dynasties, the heads of which, under the title of *Emir* or Commander, exercised the supreme power; leaving nothing more to the Caliph than a pre-eminence of dignity, and that

rather of a spiritual than a temporal nature. Besides the external marks of homage and respect which were paid him, his name continued to be proclaimed in the mosques, and inscribed on the coined money. By him were granted all letters-patent of investiture, robes, swords, and standards, accompanied with high-sounding titles; which did not, however, prevent these usurpers from maltreating their ancient masters, insulting their person, or even attempting their lives, whenever it might serve to promote their interest.

A general revolution broke out under the caliph Rahdi. That prince, wishing to arrest the progress of usurpation, thought of creating a new minister, whom he invested with the title of *Emir-al-Omra*, or Commander of Commanders; and conferred on him powers much more ample than those of his vizier. This minister, whom he selected from the Emirs, officiated even in the grand mosque of Bagdad, instead of the caliph; and his name was pronounced with equal honours in the divine service throughout the empire. This device, which the caliph employed to re-establish his authority, only tended to accelerate its destruction. The Bowides, the most powerful dynasty among the Emirs, arrogated to themselves the dignity of Chief Commander (945), and seized both the city and the sovereignty of Bagdad. The Caliph, stript of all temporal power, was then only grand Imam, or sovereign-pontiff of the Mussulman religion, under the protection of the Bowidian prince, who kept him as his prisoner at Bagdad.

Such was the sad situation of the Arabian empire, fallen from its ancient glory, when a numerous Turkish tribe, from the centre of Turkestan, appeared on the stage, overthrew the dominions of the Bowides; and, after imposing new fetters on the caliphs, laid the foundation of a powerful empire, known by the name of the Seljukides. This roving tribe, which took its name from Seljuk a Mussulman Turk, after having wandered for some time with their flocks in Transoxiana, passed the Jihon to seek pasturage in the province of Chorasan. Reinforced by new Turkish colonies from Transoxiana, this coalition became in a little time so powerful, that Togrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, had the boldness to make himself proclaimed Sultan in the city of Niesabur,²⁰ the capital of Chorasan, and formally announced himself as a conqueror (1038). This prince, and the sultans, his successors, subdued by degrees most of the provinces in Asia, which formed the caliphate of Bagdad.²¹ They annihilated the power of the Bowides, reduced the Caliphs to the condition of dependents, and at length attacked also the possessions of the Greek empire.

Alp-Arslan, the nephew and immediate successor of Togrul Beg, gained a signal victory in Armenia, over the Emperor Romanus Diogenes (1071), who was there taken prisoner. The confusion which this event caused in the Greek empire was favourable to the Turks, who seized not only what remained to the Greeks in Syria, but also several provinces in Asia Minor, such as Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Lycæonia, Cappadoeia, Galatia, Pontus, and Bithynia.

The empire of the Seljukides was in its most flourishing state under the sultan Malek Shah, the son and successor of Alp-Arslan. The caliph Cayem, in confirming to this prince the title of

Sultan and Chief Commander, added also that of *Commander of the Faithful*, which before that time had never been conferred but on the caliphs alone. On the death of Malek (1092), the disputes that rose among his sons occasioned a civil war, and the partition of the empire. These vast territories were divided among three principal dynasties descended from Seljuk, those of Iran, Kerman, and *Roum* or Rome. This latter branch, which ascribes its origin to Soliman, great grandson of Seljuk, obtained the provinces of Asia Minor, which the Seljukides had conquered from the Greeks. The princes of this dynasty are known in the history of the Crusades by the name of Sultans of Iconium or Cogni, a city of Lycaonia, where the sultans

established their residence after being deprived by the crusaders of the city of Nice in Bithynia. The most powerful of the three dynasties was that of the Seljukides of Iran, whose sway extended over the greater part of Upper Asia. It soon, however, fell from its grandeur, and its states were divided into a number of petty sovereignties, over which the Emirs or governors of cities and provinces usurped the supreme power.²² These divisions prepared the way for the conquests of the crusaders in Syria and Palestine; and furnished also to the Caliphs of Bagdad the means of shaking off the yoke of the Seljukides (1152), and recovering the sovereignty of Irak-Arabia, or Bagdad.

PERIOD IV.

FROM POPE GREGORY VII. TO BONIFACE VIII. A.D. 1074—1300.

A NEW and powerful monarchy rose on the ruins of the German empire, that of the Roman Pontiffs; which monopolized both spiritual and temporal dominion, and extended its influence over all the kingdoms of Christendom. This supremacy, whose artful and complicated mechanism is still an object of astonishment to the most subtle politicians, was the work of Pope Gregory VII., a man born for great undertakings, as remarkable for his genius, which raised him above his times, as for the austerity of his manners and the boundless reach of his ambition. Indignant at the depravity of the age, which was immersed in ignorance and vice, and at the gross immorality which pervaded all classes of society, both laymen and ecclesiastics, Gregory resolved to become the reformer of morals, and the restorer of religion. To succeed in this project, it was necessary to replace the government of kings, which had totally lost its power and efficiency, by a new authority, whose salutary restraints, imposed alike on the high and the low, might restore vigour to the laws, put a stop to licentiousness, and impose a reverence on all by the sanctity of its origin. This authority was the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, of which Gregory was at once the creator and inventor.

This extraordinary person, who was the son of a carpenter at Saona in Tuscany, named Bonizone, or, according to others, descended of a Roman family, had paved the way to his future greatness under the preceding pontiffs, whose counsels he had directed under the title of Cardinal Hildebrand. While Cardinal, he engaged Pope Nicolas II. to enter into a treaty with Robert Guiscard (1059), for procuring that brave Norman as an ally and a vassal of the Holy See. Taking advantage, likewise, of the minority of Henry IV., he caused, this same year, in a council held at Rome, the famous decree to be passed, which, by reserving the election of the pontiffs principally to the cardinals, converted the elective privileges which the emperors formerly enjoyed in virtue of their crown rights, into a personal favour granted by the Pope, and emanating from the court of Rome.

On the death of Pope Nicolas II., Cardinal Hildebrand procured the election of Alexander II., without waiting for the order or concurrence of the Imperial court; and he succeeded in maintaining him in the apostolical chair against Pope Honorius II., whom the reigning empress had destined for that honour. At length, being raised himself to the pontifical throne, scarcely had he obtained the Imperial confirmation, when he put in execution the project which he had so long been concerting and preparing, viz. the erecting of a spiritual despotism,¹ extending to priests as well as kings; making the supreme pontiff the arbiter in all affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical—the bestower of favours, and the dispenser of crowns. The basis of this dominion was, that the Vicar of Jesus Christ ought to be superior to all human power. The better to attain his object, he began by withdrawing himself and his clergy from the authority of the secular princes.

At that time the city of Rome, and the whole ecclesiastical states, as well as the greater part of Italy, were subject to the kings of Germany, who, in virtue of their being kings of Italy and Roman emperors, nominated or confirmed the popes, and installed the prefects of Rome, who there received the power of the sword in their name. They sent also every year commissioners to Rome, to levy the money due to the royal treasury. The popes used to date their acts from the years of the emperor's reign, and to stamp their coin with his name; and all the higher clergy were virtually bound and subject to the secular power, by the solemn investiture of the ring and the crosier. This investiture gave to the emperors and the other sovereigns the right of nominating and confirming bishops, and even of deposing them if they saw cause. It gave them, moreover, the right of conferring, at their pleasure, those fiefs and royal prerogatives which the munificence of princes had vested in the Church. The emperors, in putting bishops and prelates in possession of these fiefs, used the symbols of the ring and the crosier, which were badges of honour belonging to bishops

and abbots. They made them, at the same time, take the oath of fidelity and allegiance; and this was the origin of their dependence, and their obligation to furnish their princes with troops, and to perform military service.

Gregory VII. prohibited, under pain of excommunication, all sovereigns to exercise the rights of investiture, by a formal decree which he published in a council assembled at Rome in 1074. There was more than the simple ceremony of the ring and the crosier implied in this interdiction. He aimed at depriving princes of the right of nominating, confirming, or deposing prelates, as well as of receiving their fealty and homage, and exacting military service. He thus broke all those ties by which the bishops were held in allegiance and subordination to princes; making them, in this respect, entirely independent. In suppressing investitures, the pontiff had yet a more important object in view. It was his policy to withdraw both himself and his successors, as well as the whole ecclesiastical state, from the power of the German kings; especially by abolishing the right which these princes had so long exercised of nominating and confirming the Popes. He saw, in fact, that if he could succeed in rendering the clergy independent of the secular power, it would follow, by a natural consequence, that the Pope, as being supreme head of the clergy, would no longer be dependent on the emperors; while the emperor, excluded from the nomination and investiture of bishops, would have still less right to interfere in the election of pontiffs.

This affair, equally interesting to all sovereigns, was of the utmost importance to the kings of Germany, who had committed the unfortunate error of putting the greater part of their domains into the hands of ecclesiastics; so that to divest those princes of the right to dispose of ecclesiastical fiefs, was in fact to deprive them of nearly the half of their empire. The bishops, vainly flattering themselves with the prospect of an imaginary liberty, forgot the valuable gifts with which the emperors had loaded them, and enlisted under the banners of the Pope. They turned against the secular princes those arms which the latter had imprudently trusted in their hands.

There yet subsisted another bond of union which connected the clergy with the civil and political orders of society, and gave them an interest in the protection of the secular authority, and that was, the marriages of the priests; a custom in use at that time over a great part of the West, as it still is in the Greek and Eastern Churches. It is true, that the law of celibacy, already recommended strongly by St. Augustine, had been adopted by the Romish church, which neglected no means of introducing it by degrees into all the churches of the Catholic communion. It had met with better success in Italy and the south of Europe than in the northern countries; and the priests continued to marry, not only in Germany, England, and the kingdoms of the North, but even in France, Spain, and Italy, notwithstanding the law of celibacy, which had been sanctioned in vain by a multitude of councils.

Gregory VII., perceiving that, to render the clergy completely dependent on the Pope, it would be necessary to break this powerful connexion, renewed the law of celibacy, in a council held at

Rome (1074); enjoining the married priests either to quit their wives, or renounce the sacerdotal order. The whole clergy murmured against the unfeeling rigour of this decree, which even excited tumult and insurrection in several countries of Germany; and it required all the firmness of Gregory and his successors to abolish clerical marriages, and establish the law of celibacy throughout the Western churches.¹ In thus dissolving the secular ties of the clergy, it was far from the intention of Gregory VII. to render them independent. His designs were more politic, and more suitable to his ambition. He wished to make the clergy entirely subservient to his own elevation, and even to employ them as an instrument to humble and subdue the power of the princes.

The path had already been opened up to him by the *False Decretals*, as they were called, forged about the beginning of the ninth century, by the famous impostor Isidore, who, with the view of diminishing the authority of the metropolitans, advanced in these letters, which he attributed to the early bishops of Rome, a principle whose main object was to extend the rights of the Romish See, and to vest in the popes a jurisdiction till then unknown in the church. Several Popes before Gregory VII. had already availed themselves of these False Decretals;² and they had even been admitted as true into different collections of canons. Gregory did not content himself with rigidly enforcing the principles of the impostor Isidore. He went even farther; he pretended to unite, in himself, the plenary exercise both of the ecclesiastical and episcopal power; leaving nothing to the archbishops and bishops but the simple title of his lieutenants or vicars. He completely undetermined the jurisdiction of the metropolitans and bishops, by authorising in all cases an appeal to the Court of Rome; reserving to himself exclusively the cognizance of all causes termed *major*—including more especially the privilege of judging and deposing of bishops. This latter privilege had always been vested in the provincial councils, who exercised it under the authority, and with the consent of the secular powers. Gregory abolished this usage; and claimed for himself the power of judging the bishops, either in person or by his legates, to the exclusion of the Synodal Assemblies. He made himself master of these assemblies, and even arrogated the exclusive right of convocating General Councils.

This pontiff, in a council which he held at Rome (1079), at length prescribed a new oath, which the bishops were obliged to take; the main object of which was not merely canonical obedience, but even fealty and homage, such as the prelates, as lieges, vowed to their sovereigns; and which the pontiff claimed for himself alone, bearing that they should aid and defend, against the whole world, his new supremacy, and what he called the *royal rights of St. Peter*. Although various sovereigns maintained possession of the homage they received from their bishops, the oath imposed by Gregory nevertheless retained its full force; it was even augmented by his successors, and extended to all bishops without distinction, in spite of its inconsistency with that which the bishops swore to their princes.

Another very effectual means which Gregory

VII. made use of to confirm his new authority, was to send, more frequently than his predecessors had done, legates into the different states and kingdoms of Christendom. He made them a kind of governors of provinces, and invested them with the most ample powers. These legates soon obtained a knowledge of all the affairs of the provinces delegated to their care; which greatly impaired the authority of the metropolitans and provincial councils, as well as the jurisdiction of the bishops. A clause was also inserted, in the form of the oath imposed on the bishops, which obliged them to furnish maintenance and support for these legates; a practice which subsequently gave place to frequent exactions and impositions on their part.

While occupied with the means of extending his power over the clergy, Gregory did not let slip any opportunity of making encroachments on the authority of princes and sovereigns, which he represented as subordinate to that of the Church and the Pope. As supreme head of the Church, he claimed a right of inspecting over all kings and their governments. He deemed himself authorized to address admonitions to them, as to the method of ruling their kingdoms; and to demand of them an account of their conduct. By and by, he presumed to listen to the complaints of subjects against their princes, and claimed the right of being a judge or arbiter between them. In this capacity he acted towards Henry IV., emperor of Germany, who enjoyed the rights of sovereignty over Rome and the Pope. He summoned him to Rome (1076), for the purpose of answering before the synod to the principal accusations which the nobles of Saxony, engaged in disputes with that prince, had referred to the Pope. The emperor, burning with indignation, and hurried on by the impetuosity of youth, instantly convoked an assembly of bishops at Worms, and there caused the pontiff to be deposed. No sooner was this sentence conveyed to Rome, and read in presence of the Pope in a council which he had assembled, than Gregory ventured on a step till then quite unheard of. He immediately thundered a sentence of excommunication and deposition against the Emperor, which was addressed to St. Peter, and couched in the following terms:—

“In the name of Almighty God, I suspend and interdict from governing the kingdom of Germany and Italy, Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, who, with a haughtiness unexampled, has dared to rebel against thy church. I absolve all Christians whatever from the oath which they have taken, or shall hereafter take, to him; and henceforth none shall be permitted to do him homage or service as king; for he who would disobey the authority of thy Church, deserves to lose the dignity with which he is invested. And seeing this prince has refused to submit as a Christian, and has not returned to the Lord whom he hath forsaken, holding communion with the excommunicated, and despising the advice which I tendered him for the safety of his soul, I load him with curses in thy name, to the end that people may know, even by experience, that thou art Peter, and that on this rock the Son of the living God has built his church; and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.”

This measure, which seemed at first to have

been merely the effect of the pontiff's impetuosity, soon discovered of what importance it was for him to persevere, and what advantage he might derive from it. In humbling the Emperor, the most powerful monarch in Europe, he might hope that all the other sovereigns would bend before him. He omitted nothing, therefore, that might serve to justify his conduct, and endeavoured to prove, by sophistries, that if he had authority to excommunicate the Emperor, he might likewise deprive him of his dignity; and that the right to release subjects from their oath of allegiance was an emanation and a natural consequence of the power of the Keys. The same equivocal interpretation he afterwards made use of in a sentence which he published against the same prince (1080), and which he addressed to the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, in these terms: “You, fathers and princes of the apostles, hereby make known to the whole world, that if you can bind and unbind in heaven, you can much more, on earth, take from all men empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquises, counties, and possessions, of whatsoever nature they may be. You have often deprived the unworthy of patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, and bishoprics, to give them to persons truly religious. Hence, if you preside over spiritual affairs, does not your jurisdiction extend *a fortiori* to temporal and secular dignities? and if you judge the angels who rule over princes and potentates, even the haughtiest, will you not also judge their slaves? Let then the kings and princes of the earth learn how great and irresistible is your power! Let them tremble to contemn the commands of your church! And do you, blessed Peter, and blessed Paul, exercise, from this time forward, your judgment on Henry, that the whole earth may know that he has been humbled, not by any human contingencies, but solely by your power.” Until that time, the emperors had exercised the right of confirming the Popes, and even of deposing them, should there be occasion; but, by a strange reverse of prerogatives, the popes now arrogated to themselves the confirmation of the emperors, and even usurped the right of de-throning them.

However irregular this step of the pontiff might be, it did not fail to produce the intended effect. In an assembly of the Imperial States, held at Tribur (1076), the Emperor could only obtain their consent to postpone their proceeding to a new election, and that on the express condition of his submitting himself to the judgment of the Pope, and being absolved immediately from the excommunication he had incurred. In consequence of this decision of the States, Henry crossed the Alps in the middle of winter, to obtain reconciliation with the Pope, who then resided with the famous Countess Matilda, at her Castle of Canossa, in the Modenese territory. Absolution was not granted him, however, except under conditions the most humiliating. He was compelled to do penance in an outer court of the castle, in a woollen shirt and barefooted, for three successive days, and afterwards to sign whatever terms the pontiff chose to prescribe. This extraordinary spectacle must have spread consternation among the sovereigns of Europe, and made them tremble at the censures of the Church.

After this, Gregory VII. exerted his utmost

influence to engage all sovereigns, without distinction, to acknowledge themselves his vassals and tributaries. "Let not the Emperor imagine," says he, in a letter which he wrote to the German nation, "that the church is subject to him as a slave, but let him know that she is set over him as a sovereign." From that time the pontiff regarded the empire as a fief of his church; and afterwards when setting up a rival emperor to Henry IV., in the person of Hermann of Luxemburg, he exacted from him a formal oath of vassalage. Gregory pursued the same conduct in regard to the other sovereigns of Europe. Boleslaus II., King of Poland, having killed Stanislaus Bishop of Cracow, who had ventured to excommunicate him, the pontiff took occasion from this to depose that prince; releasing all his subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and even prohibiting the Polish bishops henceforth to crown any king without the express consent of the Pope.

This aspiring pontiff stuck at nothing; he regarded nothing, provided he could obtain his object. However contrary the customs of former times were to his pretensions, he quoted them as examples of authority, and with a boldness capable of imposing anything on weak and ignorant minds. It was thus that, in order to oblige the French nation to pay him the tax of one penny each house, he alleged the example of Charlemagne, and pretended that that prince had not merely paid this tribute, but even granted Saxony as a fief to St. Peter; as he had conquered it with the assistance of that apostle. In writing to Philip I. of France, he expressed himself in these terms: "Strive to please St. Peter, who has thy kingdom as well as thy soul in his power; and who can bind thee, and absolve in heaven as well as on earth." And in a letter which he addressed to the Princes of Spain, he attempted to persuade them, that the kingdom of Spain, being originally the property of the Holy See, they could not exonerate themselves from paying him a tax on all the lands they had conquered from the Infidels.

He affirmed to Solomon, King of Hungary, that Stephen I., on receiving his crown at the hands of Pope Silvester II., had surrendered his kingdom as free property to the Holy See; and that, in virtue of this donation, his kingdom was to be considered as a part of the domain of the church. He wrote in exactly the same style to Geysa his immediate successor. In one of his letters to Sueno, King of Denmark, he enjoins him to deliver up his kingdom to the power of the Romish See. He refused (1076) to grant the royal dignity to Demetrius Swinimir, Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, except on the express condition that he should do him homage for his kingdom, and engage to pay the Pope an annual tribute of two hundred golden pieces of Byzantium. This pontiff had the art of disguising his ambition so dexterously, under the mask of justice and piety, that he prevailed with various other sovereigns to acknowledge themselves his vassals. Bertrand, Count of Provence, transferred to him his fealty and homage, to the prejudice of those feudal obligations he owed to the Empire. Several princes of Italy and Germany, influenced by artifice or intimidation, abandoned the emperor, and put themselves under submission to the Pope. His efforts were not equally successful with William the Con-

queror, King of England, whom he had politely invited, by letter, to do him homage for his kingdom, after the manner of his royal predecessors. That prince, too wise to be duped by papal imposition, replied, that he was not in a humour to perform homage which he had never promised, and which he was not aware had ever been performed by any of his predecessors.)

The successors of Gregory VII. followed in the path he had opened up, giving their utmost support to all his maxims and pretensions. In consequence, a very great number of the princes of Christendom, some intimidated by the thunders of ecclesiastical anathemas, others with a view to secure for themselves the protection of the Holy See, acknowledged these usurped powers of the Popes. The Kings of Portugal, Arragon, England, Scotland, Sardinia, the two Sicilies, and several others, became, in course of time, vassals and tributaries to the Papal See; and there is not a doubt that the universal monarchy, the scheme of which Gregory VII. had conceived, would have been completely established, if some of his successors had been endowed with his vast ambition, and his superior genius.

In every other respect, circumstances were such as to hasten and facilitate the progress of this new pontifical supremacy. It had commenced in a barbarous age, when the whole of the Western world was covered with the darkness of ignorance; and when mankind knew neither the just rights of sovereignty, nor the bounds which reason and equity should have set to the authority of the priesthood. The court of Rome was then the only school where politics were studied, and the Popes the only monarchs that put them in practice. An extravagant superstition, the inseparable companion of ignorance, held all Europe in subjection; the Popes were revered with a veneration resembling that which belongs only to the Deity; and the whole world trembled at the utterance of the single word *Excommunication*. Kings were not sufficiently powerful to oppose any successful resistance to the encroachments of Rome; their authority was curtailed and counteracted by that of their vassals, who seized with eagerness every occasion which the Popes offered them to aggrandize their own prerogatives at the expense of the sovereign authority.

The Emperor of Germany, who was alone able to countervail this new spiritual tyranny, was at open war with his grand vassals, whose usurpations he was anxious to repress; while they, disrespecting the majesty of the throne, and consulting only their own animosity against the emperor, blindly seconded the pretensions of the pontiff. The emperor, however, did all in his power to oppose a barrier to this torrent of ecclesiastical despotism; but the insolence of Gregory became so extravagant, that, not content to attack him with spiritual weapons, he set up rival emperors, and excited intestine wars against him; and his successors even went so far as to arm the sons against their own father. Such was the origin of the contests which arose between the Empire and the Papacy, under the reign of Henry IV., and which agitated both Germany and Italy for a period of several centuries. They gave birth, also, to the two factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the former Imperial, and the other

Papal, who for a long course of time tore each other to pieces with inconceivable fury.

Henry V., son and successor of Henry IV., terminated the grand dispute about the investitures of the ring and the crosier. By the Concordat, which he concluded at Worms (1122) with Pope Calixtus II., he renounced the ceremony of the ring and the cross; and granting to the churches free liberty of election, he reserved nothing to himself, except the privilege of sending commissioners to the elections, and giving to the newly elected prelates, after consecration, the investiture of the regalian rights, by means of the sceptre, instead of the ring and crosier. The ties of vassalage which connected the bishops with the emperors, were still preserved by this transaction, contrary to the intentions of Gregory VII.; but the emperors being obliged to approve of the persons whom the Church should hereafter present, lost their chief influence in the elections, and were no longer entitled, as formerly, to grant or refuse investiture.

These broils with the court of Rome, the check which they gave to the Imperial authority, joined to the increasing abuses of the feudal system, afforded the princes and states of the Empire the means of usurping the heritable succession of their duchies, counties, and fiefs; and of laying the foundations of a new power, which they afterwards exercised under the name of territorial superiority. Frederic II., compelled by the pressure of events, was the first emperor that sanctioned the territorial rights of the states by charters, which he delivered to several princes, secular and ecclesiastic, in the years 1220 and 1232. The Imperial dignity thus lost its splendour with the power of the emperors; and the constitution of the Empire was totally changed. That vast monarchy degenerated by degrees into a kind of federal system; and the Emperor, in course of time, became only the common chief, and superior over the numerous vassals of which that association was composed. The extraordinary efforts made by the Emperors Frederic I. and II. of the house of Hohenstaufen,⁴ to re-establish the tottering throne of the empire, ended in nothing; and that house, one of the most powerful in Europe, was deprived of all its crowns, and persecuted even to the scaffold.

The empire thus fell into gradual decay, while the pontifical power, rising on its ruins, gained, day by day, new accessions of strength. The successors of Gregory VII. omitted nothing that policy could suggest to them, in order to humble more and more the dignity of the Emperors, and to bring them into a state of absolute dependence, by arrogating to themselves the express right of confirming, and even of deposing, them;⁵ and compelling them to acknowledge their feudal superiority. Being thus no longer obliged to submit their election to the arbitration of the Imperial court, the ambitious pontiffs soon aspired to absolute sovereignty.

The custom of dating their acts, and coining their money with the stamp and name of the emperor, disappeared after the time of Gregory VII.; and the authority which the emperors had exercised at Rome ceased entirely with the loss of the prefecture or government of that city; which Pope Innocent III. took into his own hands (1198),

obliging the prefect of Rome to swear the usual oath of homage to the Apostolic See, which that magistrate owed to the Emperor, from whom he received the prefecture. Hence it happened, that the chiefs of the Empire, obliged to compromise with a power which they had learned to dread, had no longer any difficulty in recognising the entire independence of the Popes; even formally renouncing the rights of high sovereignty which their predecessors had enjoyed, not only over Rome, but over the Ecclesiastical States. The domains of the church were likewise considerably increased by the acquisitions which Innocent III. made of the March of Ancona, and the duchy of Spoleto; as well as by the personal property or *Patrimony of the Countess Matilda*,⁶ which the Emperor Frederic II. ceded to Honorius III. (1220), and which his successors in the Apostolic chair formed into the province known by the name of the *Patrimony of St. Peter*.

One of the grand means which the Popes employed for the advancement of their new authority, was the multiplication of Religious Orders, and the way in which they took care to manage these corporations. Before the time of Gregory VII., the only order known in the West was that of the Benedictines, divided into several families or congregations. The rule of St. Benedict, prescribed at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (817) to all monks within the empire of the Franks, was the only one allowed by the Romish Church; just as that of St. Basil was, and still is, the only one practised in the East by the Greek church. The first of these newly invented orders was that of Grammont in Limosin (1073), authorized by Pope Gregory VII. This was followed, in the same century, by the order of Chartreux, and that of St. Antony.⁷ The Mendicant orders took their rise under Innocent III., near the end of the twelfth, and beginning of the thirteenth century. Their number increased in a short time so prodigiously, that, in 1274, they could reckon twenty-three orders. The complaints which were raised on this subject from all parts of Christendom, obliged Pope Gregory to reduce them, at the Council of Lyons, to four orders, viz., the Hermits of St. William or Augustines, Carmelites, the Minor or Franciscan friars, and the Preaching or Dominican friars. The Popes, perceiving that they might convert the monastic orders, and more particularly the mendicants, into a powerful engine for strengthening their own authority, and keeping the secular clergy in subjection, granted by degrees to these fraternities, immunities and exemptions tending to withdraw them from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to emancipate them from every other authority, except that of their Heads, and the Popes. They even conferred on them various privileges, such as those of preaching, confession, and instructing the young,—as being the most likely means to augment their credit and their influence. The consequence was, that the monks were frequently employed by the Popes in quality of legates and missionaries; they were feared and respected by sovereigns, singularly revered by the people, and let slip no occasion of exalting a power to which alone they owed their promotion, their respectability, and all the advantages they enjoyed.

Of all the successors of Gregory VII., he who

resembled him most in the superiority of his genius, and the extent of his knowledge, was Innocent III., who was of the family of the Counts of Segni, and elevated to the pontificate at the age of 37. He was as ambitious as that pontiff, and equally fertile in resources; and he even surpassed him in the boldness of his plans, and the success of his enterprises. Innocent announced himself as the successor of St. Peter, set up by God to govern not only the Church, but the whole world. It was this Pope who first made use of the famous comparison about the sun and the moon: *As God (says he) has placed two great luminaries in the firmament, the one to rule the day, and the other to give light by night, so has he established two grand powers, the pontifical and the royal; and as the moon receives her light from the sun, so does royalty borrow its splendour from the Papal authority.*

Not content to exercise the legislative power as he pleased, by means of the numerous decretals which he dispersed over all Christendom, this pontiff was the first that arrogated to himself the prerogative of dispensing with the laws themselves, in virtue of what he termed the *plenitude of his power*. It is to him also that the origin of the Inquisition is ascribed, that terrible tribunal which afterwards became the firmest prop of sacerdotal despotism; but what is of more importance to remark, is, that he laid the foundations of that exorbitant power, which his successors have since exercised in collating or presenting to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices.

The secular princes having been deprived of their rights of nomination and confirmation, by the decrees of Gregory VII. and his successors, the privilege of electing bishops was restored to the clergy and congregation of each church, and to the chapters of convents; the confirmation of the elected prelates belonged to their immediate superiors; and collation to the other ecclesiastical benefices was reserved for the bishops and ordinaries. All these regulations were changed towards the end of the twelfth century. The canons of cathedral churches, authorized by the Court of Rome, claimed to themselves the right of election, to the exclusion of the clergy and the people; while the Popes, gradually interfering with elections and collations, found means to usurp the nomination and collation to almost all ecclesiastical benefices. The principle of these usurpations was founded on the false decretals; according to which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction emanates from the court of Rome, as a river flows from its source. It is from the Pope that archbishops and bishops hold that portion of authority with which they are endowed; and of which he does not divest himself, by the act of communicating it to them; but is rather the more entitled to co-operate with them in the exercise of that jurisdiction as often as he may judge proper.

This principle of a conjunct authority, furnished a very plausible pretext for the Popes to interfere in collation to benefices. This collation, according to the canon law, being essential to the jurisdiction of bishops, it seemed natural that the Pope, who concurred in the jurisdiction, should also concur in the privileges derived from it, namely, induction or collation to benefices. From the right of concurrence, therefore, Innocent III. proceeded

to that of *prevention*, being the first pontiff that made use of it. He exercised that right, especially with regard to benefices which had newly become vacant by the death of their incumbents, when at the court of Rome; in which cases it was easy to anticipate or get the start of the bishops. In the same manner, this right was exercised in remote dioceses, by means of legates *a latere*, which he dispersed over the different provinces of Christendom.

From the right of prevention were derived the *provisional mandates*, and the *Grâces Expectatives* (reversionary grants or Bulls), letters granting promise of church livings before they became vacant. The Popes not having legates everywhere, and wishing, besides, to treat the bishops with some respect, began by addressing to them letters of recommendation in favour of those persons for whom they were anxious to procure benefices. These letters becoming too frequent and importunate, the bishops ventured to refuse their compliance; on which the Popes began to change their recommendations into orders or mandates; and appointed commissioners to enforce their execution by means of ecclesiastical censures. These mandates were succeeded by the *Grâces Expectatives*, which, properly speaking, were nothing else than mandates issued for benefices, whose titulars or incumbents were yet alive. Lastly appeared the *Reservations*, which were distinguished into general and special. The first general reservation was that of benefices becoming vacant by the incumbents dying at the court of Rome. This was introduced by Pope Clement IV. in 1265, in order to exclude for ever the bishops from the right of concurrence and prevention in benefices of that kind.

This first reservation was the forerunner of several others, such as the reservation of all cathedral churches, abbeys, and priories; as also of the highest dignities in cathedral and collegiate churches; and of all collective benefices, becoming vacant during eight months in the year, called *the Pope's months*, so that only four months remained for the ordinary collators; and these, too, encroached upon by mandates, expectatives, and reservations. The Popes having thus seized the domination to episcopal dignities, it followed, by a simple and natural process, that the *confirmation* of all prelates, without distinction, was in like manner reserved for them. It would have even been reckoned a breach of decorum to address an archbishop, demanding from him the confirmation of a bishop nominated by the Pope; so that this point of common right, which vested the confirmation of every prelate in his immediate superior, was also annihilated; and the Romish See was at length acknowledged over the whole Western world, as the only source of all jurisdiction, and all ecclesiastical power.

An extraordinary event, the offspring of that superstitious age, served still more to increase the power of the Popes; and that was the Crusades, which the nations of Europe undertook, at their request and by their orders, for the conquest of Palestine or the Holy Land. These expeditions, known by the name of Holy Wars, because religion was made the pretext or occasion of them, require a somewhat particular detail, not merely of the circumstances that accompanied them, but also

of the changes which they introduced into the moral and political condition of society. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which were in use from the earliest ages of Christianity, had become very frequent about the beginning of the eleventh century. The opinion which then very generally prevailed, that the end of the world was at hand, induced vast numbers of Christians to sell their possessions in Europe, in order that they might set out for the Holy Land, there to await the coming of the Lord. So long as the Arabs were masters of Palestine, they protected these pilgrimages, from which they derived no small emoluments. But when the Seljukian Turks, a barbarous and ferocious people, had conquered that country (1075), under the Caliphs of Egypt, the pilgrims saw themselves exposed to every kind of insult and oppression.⁸ The lamentable accounts which they gave of these outrages on their return to Europe, excited the general indignation, and gave birth to the romantic notion of expelling these Infidels from the Holy Land.

Gregory VII. was the projector of this grand scheme. He addressed circular letters to all the sovereigns of Europe, and invited them to make a general crusade against the Turks. Meantime, however, more pressing interests, and his quarrels with the Emperor Henry IV., obliged him to defer the projected enterprise; but his attention was soon recalled to it by the representation of a pilgrim, called Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy. Furnished with letters from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Pope and the princes of the West, this ardent fanatic traversed the whole of Italy, France, and Germany; preaching everywhere, and representing, in the liveliest colours, the profanation of the sacred places, and the miserable condition of the Christians and poor pilgrims in the Holy Land. It proved no difficult task for him to impart to others the fanaticism with which he was himself animated. His zeal was powerfully seconded by Pope Urban II., who repaired in person to France, where he convoked the council of Clermont (1095), and pronounced, in full assembly, a pathetic harangue, at the close of which they unanimously resolved on the Holy War. It was decreed, that all who should enrol their names in this sacred militia, should wear a red cross on their right shoulder: that they should enjoy plenary indulgence, and obtain remission of all their sins.

From that time the pulpits of Europe resounded with exhortations to the crusades. People of every rank and condition were seen flocking in crowds to assume the signal of the cross; and, in the following year, innumerable bands of crusaders, from the different countries of Europe, set out, one after another, on this expedition to the East.⁹ The only exception was the Germans, who partook but feebly of this universal enthusiasm, on account of the disputes which then subsisted between the Emperor and the court of Rome.¹⁰ The three or four first divisions of the crusaders, under the conduct of chiefs, who had neither name nor experience, marched without order and without discipline; pillaging, burning, and wasting the countries through which they passed. Most of them perished from fatigue, hunger, or sickness, or by the sword of the exasperated nations, whose territories they had laid desolate.¹¹

To these unwarlike and undisciplined troops, succeeded regular armies, commanded by experienced officers, and powerful princes. Godfrey of Bouillon (1096), Duke of Lorraine, accompanied by his brother Baldwin, and his cousin Baldwin of Bourg, with a vast retinue of noblemen, put himself at the head of the first body of crusaders. He directed his march through Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria, towards Constantinople, and was soon followed by several French princes, such as Hugh the Great, brother of Philip I., King of France; Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; Stephen VI., Count of Blois; Eustace of Boulogne, brother to Godfrey de Bouillon; and Robert, Count of Flanders; who all preferred the route by Italy. They passed the winter in the environs of Bari, Brindisi, and Otranto; and did not embark for Greece until the following spring. Boemond, Prince of Tarentum, son to Roger, Earl of Sicily, at the instigation of the French grandees, took the cross, after their example, and carried with him into the East the flower of the Normans, and the noblesse of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria. Lastly, Raymond IV., Count of Toulouse, accompanied by the Bishop of Puy, traversed Lombardy, Friuli, and Dalmatia, on his passage to the Holy Land.

The general rendezvous of the crusaders was at Chalcedon in Bithynia. It is supposed that their forces, united, amounted to six hundred thousand combatants. They commenced their exploits with the siege of Nice, capital of the empire of Roum, of which they made themselves masters, after having repulsed the Turks, who had advanced under the command of the Sultan Kili-Arslan, the son of Soliman, premier sultan of Roum. Another victory, gained over the same sultan (1097) in the Gorgonian valley in Bithynia, opened for the crusaders a passage into Syria. There they undertook the siege of the strong city of Antioch, which they carried after an immense loss of lives (1098). Having at length arrived in Palestine, they planned the attack of Jerusalem, which the Caliph of Egypt had just recovered from the Turks; and which the crusaders, in their turn, carried by assault from the Egyptians (1099). This city was declared the capital of a new kingdom, the sovereignty of which was bestowed on Godfrey of Bouillon, though he refused to take the title of king. This famous prince extended his conquests by a splendid victory, which he gained that same year near Ascalon, over the Caliph of Egypt. On his death, his brother Baldwin succeeded him, and transmitted the throne to his cousin Baldwin of Bourg, whose posterity reigned in Jerusalem until the destruction of that kingdom by Saladin (1187).

Besides the kingdom of Jerusalem, which comprehended Palestine, with the cities of Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais, the crusaders founded several other states in the East. The earldom of Edessa, first conquered by Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, passed to several French princes in succession until the year 1144, when it was subdued by Atabek-Zenghi, commonly called Sanguin. The principality of Antioch fell to the share of Boemond, Prince of Tarentum, whose heirs and descendants added to it, in 1188, the County of Tripoli, which had been founded (1110) by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, one of the crusaders.

But they were deprived both of the one and the other of these sovereignties by the Mamelukes in 1268, who afterwards (1289) conquered Antioch and Tripoli. Lastly, the kingdom of Cyprus, which Richard Cœur-de-Lion, King of England, took from the Greeks (1191), was surrendered by that prince to Guy de Lusignan, whose posterity reigned in Cyprus till the year 1487, when that island was taken possession of by the republic of Venice.

The transient duration of these different states presents nothing surprising. The Christians of the East, disunited among themselves, surrounded on all hands, and incessantly attacked by powerful nations, found themselves too remote from Europe to obtain from that quarter any prompt or effective succour. It was, therefore, impossible for them long to withstand the efforts of the Mahometans, who were animated, as well as the Christians, by a sectarian zeal, which led them to combine their forces against the enemies of their religion and their prophet. The enthusiasm of religious wars did not, however, become extinct until nearly two centuries. It was encouraged and supported by the numerous privileges which popes and sovereigns conferred on the invaders, and by the rich endowments that were made in their favour. All Europe continued to be in motion, and all its principal sovereigns marched in their turn to the East, either to attempt new conquests, or maintain those which the first crusaders had achieved.

Six grand crusades succeeded to the first; all of which were either fruitless, or at least without any important and durable success. Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, and Louis VII., King of France, undertook the second (1147), on account of the conquests of Atabek-Zenghi, who, three years before, had made himself master of Edessa. The third (1189) was headed by the Emperor Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa; Philip Augustus, King of France; and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England; and the occasion of it, was the taking of Jerusalem by the famous Saladin (1187). The fourth was undertaken (1202), at the pressing instigation of Innocent III. Several of the French and German nobility uniting with the Venetians, assumed the cross under the command of Boniface, Marquis of Montferat; but instead of marching to Palestine, they ended their expedition by taking Constantinople from the Greeks. The fifth crusade (1217) was conducted by Andrew, King of Hungary, attended by many of the princes and nobility of Germany, who had enlisted under the banner of the Cross in consequence of the decrees of the council of Lateran (1215). The Emperor Frederic II. undertook the sixth (1228): By a treaty which he concluded with the Sultan of Egypt, he obtained the restoration of Jerusalem and several other cities of Palestine; although they did not long continue in his possession. The Carizman Turks, oppressed by the Moguls, seized on the Holy Land (1244), and pillaged and burnt Jerusalem. That famous city, together with the greater part of Palestine, fell afterwards under the dominion of the Sultans of Egypt.

The seventh and last grand crusade, was undertaken by Louis IX. King of France (1248). He conceived it necessary to begin his conquests by that of Egypt; but his design completely miscarried. Being made prisoner with his army after the action at Mansoura (1250), he only obtained

his liberty by restoring Damietta, and paying a large ransom to the Sultan of Egypt. The unfortunate issue of this last expedition slackened the zeal of the Europeans for crusading. Still, however, they retained two important places on the coast of Syria, the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais. But these places having been conquered by the Mamelukes (1291), there was no longer any talk about crusades to the East; and all the attempts of the Court of Rome to revive them proved ineffectual.

It now remains for us briefly to notice the effects which resulted from the crusades, with regard to the social and political state of the nations in Western Europe. One consequence of these, was the aggrandisement of the Roman Pontiffs, who, during the whole period of the crusades, played the part of supreme chiefs and sovereign masters of Christendom. It was at their request, as we have seen, that those religious wars were undertaken; it was they who directed them by means of their legates,—who compelled emperors and kings, by the terror of their spiritual arms, to march under the banner of the Cross—who taxed the clergy at their pleasure, to defray the expenses of these distant expeditions,—who took under their immediate protection the persons and effects of the Crusaders, and emancipated them, by means of special privileges, from all dependence on any power, civil or judiciary. The wealth of the clergy was considerably increased during the time of which we speak, both by the numerous endowments which took place, and by the acquisition which the Church made of the immense landed property which the pious owners sold them on assuming the badge of the Cross.

These advantages which the See of Rome drew from the Crusades in the East, were inducements to undertake similar expeditions in the West and North of Europe. In these quarters we find that the wars of the cross were carried on, 1. Against the Mahometans of Spain and Africa. 2. Against the Emperors and Kings who refused obedience to the orders of the Popes.¹² 3. Against heretical or schismatic princes, such as the Greeks and Russians. 4. Against the Slavonians and other Pagan nations, on the coasts of the Baltic. 5. Against the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Hussites, who were regarded as heretics. 6. Against the Turks.

If the result of the crusades was advantageous to the hierarchy, if it served to aggrandize the power of the Roman Pontiffs, it must, on the contrary, have proved obviously prejudicial to the authority of the secular princes. It was in fact during this period that the power of the emperors, both in Germany and Italy, was sapped to the very foundation; that the royal house of Hohenstaufen sunk under the determined efforts of the Court of Rome; and that the federal system of the Empire gained gradual accessions of strength. In England and Hungary, we observe how the grandes seized on the opportunity to increase their own power. The former took advantage of their sovereign's absence in the Holy Land, and the latter of the protection which they received from the Popes, to claim new privileges and extort charters, such as they did from John of England, and Henry II. of Hungary, tending to cripple and circumscribe the royal authority.

In France, however, the result was different. There, the kings being freed, by means of the crusades, from a crowd of restless and turbulent vassals who often threw the kingdom into a state of faction and discord, were left at liberty to extend their prerogatives, and turn the scale of power in their own favour. They even considerably augmented their royal and territorial revenues, either by purchasing lands and fiefs from the proprietors who had armed in the cause of the cross; or by annexing to the crown the estates of those who died in the Holy Land, without leaving feudal heirs; or by seizing the forfeitures of others who were persecuted by religious fanaticism, as heretics or abettors of heresy. Finally, the Christian kings of Spain, the sovereigns of the North, the Knights of the Teutonic order, and of Livonia, joined the crusades recommended by the Popes, from the desire of conquest; the former, to subdue the Mahometans in Spain, and the others to vanquish the Pagan nations of the North, the Slavonians, Finns, Livonians, Prussians, Lithuanians, and Courlanders.

It is to the crusades, in like manner, that Europe owes the use of surnames, as well as of armorial bearings, and heraldry.¹³ It is easy to perceive, that among these innumerable armies of crusaders, composed of different nations and languages, some mark or symbol was necessary, in order to distinguish particular nations, or signalize their commanders. Surnames and coats of arms were employed as these distinctive badges; the latter especially were invented to serve as rallying points, for the vassals and troops of the crusading chiefs. Necessity first introduced them, and vanity afterwards caused them to be retained. These coats of arms were hoisted on their standards, the knights got them emblazoned on their shields, and appeared with them at tournaments. Even those who had never been at the crusades became ambitious of these distinctions; which may be considered as permanently established in families, from about the middle of the thirteenth century.

The same enthusiasm that inspired the Europeans for the crusades, contributed in like manner to bring tournaments into vogue. In these solemn and military sports, the young noblesse were trained to violent exercises, and to the management of heavy arms; so as to gain them some reputation for valour, and to insure their superiority in war. In order to be admitted to these tournaments it was necessary to be of noble blood, and to show proofs of their nobility. The origin of these feats is generally traced back to the end of the tenth, or beginning of the eleventh century. Geoffrey of Preully, whom the writers of the middle ages cite as being the inventor of them, did no more, properly speaking, than draw up their code of regulations. France was the country from which the practice of tournaments diffused itself over all the other nations of Europe. They were very frequent, during all the time that the crusading mania lasted.

To this same epoch belongs the institution of *Religious and Military Orders*. These were originally established for the purpose of defending the new Christian States in the East, for protecting pilgrims on their journey, taking care of them when sick, &c.; and the vast wealth which they acquired in most of the kingdoms of Europe, pre-

served their existence long after the loss of the Holy Land; and some of these orders even made a conspicuous figure in the political history of the Western nations.

Of all these, the first and most distinguished was the *Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, called afterwards the *Order of Malta*. Prior to the first crusade, there had existed at Jerusalem a church of the Latin or Romish liturgy, dedicated to St. Mary, and founded by some merchants of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples. There was also a monastery of the Order of St. Benedict, and an hospital for the relief of poor or afflicted pilgrims. This hospital, the directors of which were appointed by the Abbot of St. Mary's, having in a very short time become immensely rich by numerous donations of lands and seignories, both in Europe and Palestine, one of its governors named Gerard, a native of Martigues in Provence, as is alleged, took the regular habit (1100), and formed with his brethren a distinct congregation, under the name and protection of St. John the Baptist. Pope Pascal II., by a bull issued in 1114, approved of this new establishment, and ordained, that after the death of Gerard, the Hospitallers alone should have the election of their superintendent. Raymond du Puy, a gentleman from Dauphine, and successor to Gerard, was the first that took the title of Grand Master. He prescribed a rule for the Hospitallers; and Pope Calixtus II., in approving of this rule (1120), divided the members of the order into three classes. The nobles, called Knights of Justice, were destined for the profession of arms, making war on the Infidels, and protecting pilgrims. The priests and chaplains, selected from the respectable citizens, were intrusted with functions purely ecclesiastical; while the serving brethren, who formed the third class, were charged with the care of sick pilgrims, and likewise to act in the capacity of soldiers. These new knights were known by the name of *Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, and were distinguished by wearing a white octagon cross on a black habit.

After the final loss of the Holy Land, this order established themselves in the Isle of Cyprus. From this they passed into Rhodes, which they had conquered from the Infidels (1310). This latter island they kept possession of till 1522; and being then expelled by Soliman the Great, they obtained (1530) from Charles V., the munificent grant of the Isle of Malta, under the express terms of making war against the Infidels. Of this place they were at length deprived by Buonaparte in 1798.

The order of Templars followed nearly that of St. John. Its first founders (1119) were some French gentlemen; the chief of whom were Hugo de Payens, and Geoffrey de St. Omer. Having made a declaration of their vows before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, they took upon themselves the special charge of maintaining free passage and safe conduct for the pilgrims to the Holy Land. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, assigned them an apartment in his palace, near the temple, whence they took the name of *Knights of the Temple*, and *Templars*. They obtained from Pope Honorius II. (1120) a rule, with a white habit; to which Eugene III. added a red cross octagon. This order, after accumulating vast wealth and riches,

especially in France, and distinguishing themselves by their military exploits for nearly two centuries, were at length suppressed by the Council of Vienna (1312).

The Teutonic order, according to the most probable opinion, took its origin in the camp before Acre or Ptolemais. The honour of it is ascribed to some charitable citizens of Bremen and Lubec, who erected a hospital or tent with the sails of their vessels, for the relief of the numerous sick and wounded of their nation. Several German gentlemen having joined in this establishment, they devoted themselves by a vow to the service of the sick; as also to the defence of the Holy Land against the Infidels. This order, known by the name of the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem, received confirmation from Pope Calixtus III. (1192), who prescribed for them the rule of the Hospital of St. John, with regard to their attendance on the sick; and with regard to chivalry or knighthood, that of the order of Templars. Henry Walpott de Passenheim was the first grand master of the order; and the new knights assumed the white habit, with a red cross, to distinguish them from the other orders. It was under their fourth grand master, Hermann de Saltza (1230), that they passed into Prussia, which they conquered (1309). They fixed their chief residence at Marienburg; but having lost Prussia in consequence of a change in the religious sentiments of their grand master, Albert de Brandenburg (1528), they transferred their capital to Mergentheim, in Franconia.

A fourth order of Hospitallers founded in the Holy Land, was that of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, who had for their principal object the treatment of lepers;¹⁴ and who, in process of time, from a medical, became a military order. After having long resided in the East, where they distinguished themselves in the Holy Wars, they followed St. Louis into France (1254), and fixed their chief seat at Boigny, near Orleans. Pope Gregory XIII. united them with the order of St. Maurice, in Savoy; and Henry IV. with that of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, in France. On the model, and after the example of these four military orders, several others were founded in succession, in various kingdoms of Europe.¹⁵ All these institutions contributed greatly to the renown of chivalry, so famous in the Middle Ages. The origin of this latter institution is earlier than the times of which we now speak, and seems to belong to the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh century. The anarchy of feudalism being then at its height, and robberies and private quarrels everywhere prevailing, several noble and distinguished individuals devoted themselves, by a solemn vow, according to the genius of the times, to the defence of religion and its ministers; as also of the fair sex, and of every person suffering from distress or oppression. From the end of the eleventh century, to the time when the crusades began, we find chivalry, with its pomp and its ceremonies, established in all the principal states of Europe. This salutary institution, by inspiring the minds of men with new energy, gave birth to many illustrious characters. It tended to repress the disorders of anarchy, to revive order and law, and establish a new relationship among the nations of Europe.

In general, it may be said, that these ultra-

marine expeditions, prosecuted with obstinacy for nearly two hundred years, hastened the progress of arts and civilization in Europe. The crusaders, journeying through kingdoms better organized than their own, and observing greater refinement in their laws and manners, were necessarily led to form new ideas, and acquire new information with regard to science and politics. Some vestiges of learning and good taste had been preserved in Greece, and even in the extremities of Asia, where letters had been encouraged by the patronage of the Caliphs. The city of Constantinople, which had not yet suffered from the ravages of the barbarians, abounded in the finest monuments of art. It presented to the eyes of the crusaders a spectacle of grandeur and magnificence that could not but excite their admiration, and call forth a strong desire to imitate those models, the sight of which at once pleased and astonished them. To the Italians especially, it must have proved of great advantage. The continued intercourse which they maintained with the East and the city of Constantinople afforded them the means of becoming familiar with the language and literature of the Greeks, of communicating the same taste to their own countrymen, and in this way advancing the glorious epoch of the revival of letters.

About the same time, commerce and navigation were making considerable progress. The cities of Italy, such as Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and others, in assisting the Crusaders in their operations, by means of the transports, provisions, and warlike stores with which they furnished them, continued to secure for themselves important privileges and establishments in the seaports of the Levant, and other parts in the Greek empire. Their example excited the industry of several maritime towns in France, and taught them the advantage of applying their attention to Eastern commerce. In the North, the cities of Hamburg and Lubec formed, about the year 1241, as is generally supposed, their first commercial association, which afterwards became so formidable under the name of the *Hanseatic League*.¹⁶ The staple articles of these latter cities consisted in marine stores, and other productions of the North, which they exchanged for the spices of the East, and the manufactures of Italy and the Low Countries.

The progress of industry, the protection which sovereigns extended to it, and the pains they took to check the disorders of feudalism, contributed to the prosperity of towns, by daily augmenting their population and their wealth. This produced, about the times we are speaking of, an advantageous change in the civil and social condition of the people. Throughout the principal states of Europe, cities began, after the twelfth century, to erect themselves into political bodies, and to form, by degrees, a third order, distinct from that of the clergy and nobility. Before this period, the inhabitants of towns enjoyed neither civil nor political liberty. Their condition was very little better than that of the peasantry, who were all serfs, attached to the soil. The rights of citizenship, and the privileges derived from it, were reserved for the clergy and the noblesse. The Counts, or governors of cities, by rendering their power hereditary, had appropriated to themselves the rights that were originally attached to their functions. They used them in the most arbitrary way, and

loaded the inhabitants with every kind of oppression that avarice or caprice could suggest.

At length, the cities which were either the most oppressed, or the most powerful, rose in rebellion against this intolerable yoke. The inhabitants formed themselves into confederations, to which they gave the name of *Communes* or *Free Corporations*. Either of their own accord, or by charters, obtained very often on burdensome terms, they procured for themselves a free government, which, by relieving them from servitude, and all impositions and arbitrary exactions, secured them personal liberty and the possession of their effects, under the protection of their own magistrates, and the institution of a militia, or city guard. This revolution, one of the most important in Europe, first took place in Italy, where it was occasioned by the frequent interregnums that occurred in Germany, as well as by the disturbances that rose between the Empire and the priesthood, in the eleventh century. The anathemas thundered against Henry IV., by absolving the subjects from the obedience they owed their sovereign, served as a pretext to the cities of Italy for shaking off the authority of the Imperial viceroys, or bailiffs, who had become tyrants instead of rulers, and for establishing free and republican governments. In this, they were encouraged and supported by the protection of the Roman pontiffs, whose sole aim and policy was the abasement of the Imperial authority.

Before this period, several maritime cities of Italy, such as Naples, Amalfi, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, emboldened by the advantages of their situation, by the increase of their population and their commerce, had already emancipated themselves from the Imperial yoke, and erected themselves into republics. Their example was followed by the cities of Lombardy and the Venetian territory, especially Milan, Pavia, Asti, Cremona, Lodi, Como, Parma, Placentia, Verona, Padua, &c. All these cities, animated with the enthusiasm of liberty, adopted, about the beginning of the twelfth century, consuls and popular forms of government. They formed a kind of military force, or city guard, and vested in themselves the rights of royalty, and the power of making, in their own name and authority, alliances, wars, and treaties of peace. From Italy, this revolution extended to France and Germany, the Low Countries, and England. In all these different states, the use of *Communes*, or boroughs, was established, and protected by the sovereigns, who employed these new institutions as a powerful check against the encroachments and tyranny of the feudal lords.

In France, Louis the Fat, who began his reign in 1108, was the first king that granted rights, or constitutional charters, to certain cities within his domain, either from political motives, or the allurements of money. The nobility, after his example, eagerly sold liberty to their subjects. The revolution became general; the cry for liberty was raised everywhere, and interested every mind. Throughout all the provinces, the inhabitants of cities solicited charters, and sometimes without waiting for them, they formed themselves voluntarily into communities, electing magistrates of their own choice, establishing companies of militia, and taking charge themselves of the fortifications and wardenship of their cities. The magistrates of

free cities in northern France were usually called mayors, sheriffs, and liverymen; while, in the south of France, they were called syndics and consuls. It soon became an established principle, that kings alone had the power to authorize the erection of corporate towns. Louis VIII. declared that he regarded all cities in which these corporations were established as belonging to his domain. They owed military service directly and personally to the king; while such cities as had not these rights or charters were obliged to follow their chiefs to the war.

In Germany, we find the emperors adopting the same policy as the kings of France. The resources which the progress of commerce and manufactures opened up to the industry of the inhabitants of cities, and the important succours which the emperors Henry IV. and V. had received from them in their quarrels with the Pope and the princes of the Empire, induced them to take these cities under their protection, to augment their number, and multiply their privileges. Henry V. was the first emperor that adopted this line of policy. He granted freedom to the inhabitants of several cities, even to artizans and tradesmen; whose condition, at that time, was as degraded and debased as that of serfs. He extended to them the rank and privileges of citizens, and thus gave rise to the division of cities into classes and corporations of trades. This same prince set about repairing the fault which the emperors of the house of Saxony had committed, of giving up to the bishops the temporal jurisdiction in all the cities wherein they resided. He gradually superseded these rights, by the new privileges which he granted to the inhabitants of cities. The emperors, his successors, followed his example: in a little time, several of these cities threw off the yoke of their bishops, while others extricated themselves from the jurisdiction of their superiors, or provosts, whether imperial or feudal, and adopted, in imitation of the cities in Italy and France, magistrates of their own choosing, a republican form of government, and a municipal polity.

This liberty in cities gave new vigour to industry, multiplied the sources of labour, and created means of opulence and power, till then unknown in Europe. The population of these cities increased with their wealth. Communities rose into political consequence; and we find them successively admitted to the diets and national assemblies, in all the principal states of Europe. England set an example of this; and though English authors are not agreed as to the precise time when the Commons of that kingdom were called into Parliament, it is at least certain that their first admission belongs to the reign of Henry III. (about 1265 or 1266), and that the formal division of the Parliament into two houses is as late as the reign of Edward III.¹² France followed the example of England; the convocation of the states, by Philip the Fair (1303), on the subject of his disputes with Pope Boniface VIII., is considered as the first assembly of the States-general, composed of the three orders of the kingdom. As to Germany, the first diet in which the cities of the Empire appeared in the form of a third order, was that of Spire (1309), convoked by the Emperor Henry VII., of the house of Luxemburg. Afterwards, we find these cities exercising a decisive or

deliberative voice at the diet of Frankfort (1344), under Louis the Bavarian.

In all these states, we find the sovereigns protecting more especially those free cities which aided them in checking the devastations, and putting a stop to the fury of private or intestine wars. The most powerful of the feudal chiefs, finding everywhere cities in a capacity to defend themselves, became less enterprising in their ambition; and even the nobles of inferior rank learned to respect the power of these communities. The royal authority was thereby strengthened; and the cities, naturally inclining to the sovereigns that protected them, served as a counterpoise, in the general assemblies, to the power of the clergy and the noblesse, and were the means of obtaining those subsidiary supplies necessary for the exigencies of the state.

The liberty which the inhabitants of cities had thus procured by the establishment of these communities, or corporate bodies, extended itself to the inhabitants of the country, by way of enfranchisements. Various circumstances concurred to render the use of these more frequent, after the twelfth century. The sovereigns, guided by the maxims of sound policy, set the first example of this within their own demesnes; and they were speedily imitated by the feudal lords and nobles, who, either out of courtesy to their sovereigns, or to prevent the desertion of their vassals, or acquire new dependents, were compelled to grant liberty to the one, and mitigate the servitude of the other. The communities, or chartered cities, likewise seconded and promoted these enfranchisements, by the protection which they granted to the serfs against their feudal superiors.

In Italy, we perceive these enfranchisements following as an immediate consequence of the institution of communities. The continual feuds that arose among the numerous republics which had lately thrown off the yoke of authority, made the liberty of the serfs a measure absolutely necessary, in order to augment the number of cities qualified to bear arms, and hold places of trust. Bonacurso, Captain of Bologna (1256), proposed to his fellow-citizens, and carried the law of enfranchisement. All those who had serfs were obliged to present them before the Podesta, or Captain of the people, who enfranchised them for a certain sum or tax, which the republic paid to the owner. The feudal superiors, finding that these enfranchisements had a powerful support in the liberty of the three cities, were obliged either to meliorate the condition of their serfs, or grant them liberty.

In France, after the twelfth century, and the reign of Louis the Fat, these enfranchisements began to be frequent. The son and successor of that prince, Louis VII., by royal letter (1180), enfranchised all the serfs which the crown possessed at Orleans, and within five leagues of it. Louis X. passed a general law (1315), for the enfranchisement of all serfs belonging to the crown. He there made a positive declaration, that *slavery was contrary to nature, which intended that all men by birth should be free and equal*; that, since his kingdom was denominated the kingdom of the Franks, or Freemen, it appeared just and right that the fact should correspond with the name. He invited, at the same time, all the nobility to

imitate his example, by granting liberty to their serfs. That prince would have ennobled the homage he paid to nature, if the gift of liberty had been gratuitous on his part; but he made it a mere object of finance, and to gratify those only who could afford to pay for it; whence it happened, that enfranchisements advanced but very slowly; and examples of it are to be found in history, so late as the reign of Francis I.

In Germany, the number of serfs diminished in like manner, after the twelfth century. The crusades, and the destructive wars which the Dukes of Saxony and the Margraves of the North carried on with the Slavian tribes on the Elbe and the Baltic, having depopulated the northern and eastern parts of Germany, numerous colonies from Brabant, the Netherlands, Holland and Friesland, were introduced into these countries, where they formed themselves into establishments, or associations, of free cultivators of the soil. From Lower Germany the custom of enfranchisements extended to the Upper provinces, and along the banks of the Rhine. This was encouraged by the free cities, which not only gave a welcome reception to the serfs who had fled to shelter themselves from oppression within their walls, but they even granted protection, and the rights of citizenship, to those who had settled within the precincts or liberties of the town;¹⁸ or who continued, without changing their habitation, to reside on the lauds of their feudal superiors. This spirited conduct of the free cities put the nobles of Germany to the necessity of aiding and abetting, by degrees, either the suppression or the mitigation of slavery. They reimbursed themselves for the loss of the fine or tax which they had been in the habit of levying, on the death of their serfs, by an augmentation of the quit-rent, or annual cess which they exacted from them on their being enfranchised.

In the Low Countries, Henry II., duke of Brabant (1218), in his last will, granted liberty to all cultivators of the soil;—he enfranchised them on the right of mortmain, and ordained, that, like the inhabitants of free cities, they should be judged by no other than their own magistrates. In this manner, liberty by degrees recovered its proper rights. It assisted in dispelling the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and spread a new lustre over Europe. One event which contributed essentially to give men more exact notions on government and jurisprudence, was the revival of the Roman law, which happened about the time we now speak of. The German tribes that destroyed the Western Empire in the fifth century, would naturally despise a system of legislation, such as that of the Romans, which neither accorded with the ferocity of their manners, nor the rudeness of their ideas. In consequence, the revolution which occasioned the downfall of that empire brought at the same time the Roman jurisprudence into desuetude over all the Western world.¹⁹

A lapse of several centuries, however, was required, to rectify men's ideas on the nature of society, and to prepare them for receiving the laws and institutions of a civilized and refined government. Such was the general state and condition of political knowledge, when the fame of a celebrated civilian, called Imerius, who taught the law of Justinian publicly at Bologna, about the commencement of the twelfth century, attracted to

that academy the youth of the greater part of Europe. There they devoted themselves with ardour to the study of this new science. The pupils, instructed by Irnerius and his successors, on returning home, and being employed in the tribunals and public offices of their native country, gradually carried into practice the principles which they had imbibed in the school of Bologna. Hence, in a short time, and without the direct interference of the legislative authority, the law of Justinian was adopted by degrees, as a subsidiary law in all the principal states of Europe. Various circumstances contributed to accelerate the progress of this revolution. People had felt for a long time the necessity of a new legislature, and the insufficiency of their national laws. The novelty of the Roman laws, as well as their equity and precision, arrested the attention of all Europe; and sovereigns found it their interest to protect a jurisprudence, whose maxims were so favourable to royalty and monarchical power, and which served at once to strengthen and extend their authority.

The introduction of the Roman jurisprudence was soon followed by that of the Canon law. The Popes, perceiving the rapid propagation of this new science, and eager to arrest its progress, immediately set themselves to the work of raising that vast and astonishing edifice the Canon law, as an engine to promote the accomplishment of their own greatness. Gratian, a monk of Bologna, encouraged by Pope Eugenius III., compiled a collection of Canons, under the title of the *Decret*, which he arranged in systematic order, to serve as an introduction to the study of that law. This compilation, extracted from different authors who had preceded him, recommended itself to the world by its popular method, which was adapted to the genius of the times. Pope Eugenius III. gave it his approval in 1152, and ordained that it should be read and explained in the schools. This collection of Gratian soon obtained a wide and most successful reception; from the schools it passed to the public tribunals, both civil and ecclesiastical. At length, Pope Gregory IX., in imitation of the Emperor Justinian, who had caused a collection of his own statutes, and those of his predecessors, to be made by Tribonian, ordered his chaplain Raymond de Pennafort to compile and digest, in their proper order, all the decisions of his predecessors, as well as his own; thus extending to common practice, what had been originally established but for one place, and for particular cases. He published his collection (1235) under the name of Decretals, with an injunction, that it should be employed both in the tribunals and in the schools.

If this new system of jurisprudence served to extend the jurisdiction, and strengthen the temporal power of the Popes, it did not fail at the same time to produce salutary effects on the governments and manners of Europe. The peace, or truce of God, which some bishops of France, in the eleventh century, had instituted as a check on the unbridled fury of private quarrels and civil discord, was established, by the Decretals, into a general law of the church.²⁰ The judgments of God, till then used in the tribunals of justice, trial by single combat, by hot iron, hot and cold water, the cross, &c. were gradually abolished. The restraints of the Canon law, added to the new information

which had diffused its light over the human mind, were instrumental in rooting out practices which served only to cherish and protract the ancient ferocity of manners. The spirit of order and method which prevailed in the new jurisprudence, soon communicated itself to every branch of legislation among the nations of Europe. The feudal law was reduced to systematic order; and the usages and customs of the provinces, till then local and uncertain, were collected and organised into a regular form.²¹

Jurisprudence, having now become a complicated science, demanded a long and laborious course of study, which could no longer be associated with the profession of arms. The sword was then obliged by degrees to abandon the courts of justice, and give place to the gown. A new class of men thus arose, that of the law, who contributed by their influence to repress the overgrown power of the nobility.

The rapid progress which the new jurisprudence made, must be ascribed to the recent foundation of universities, and the encouragements which sovereigns granted these literary corporations. Before their establishment, the principal public schools were those which were attached either to monasteries, or cathedral and collegiate churches. There were, however, only a few colleges instituted; and these in large cities, such as Rome, Paris, Angers, Oxford, Salamanca, &c. The sciences there taught were comprised under the seven liberal arts, viz. Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectics or Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. The first three were known by the name of *Trivium*; and the other four, which make part of mathematics, by that of *Quadrivium*. As for Theology and Jurisprudence, they did not as yet figure among the academic sciences; and there was no school of medicine prior to that of Salerno—the only one of which any traces are discovered, towards the end of the eleventh century.

These schools and academies cannot, by any means, be put in comparison with modern universities; which differ from them essentially, both as to the variety of sciences which are professed, and by their institutions as privileged bodies, enjoying a system of government and jurisdiction peculiarly their own. The origin of these Universities is coeval with the revival of the Roman law in Italy and the invention of academic degrees. The same Irnerius, who is generally acknowledged as the restorer of the Roman law at Bologna, was also the first that conceived the idea of conferring, with certain solemnities, doctoral degrees; and granting license or diplomas to those who excelled in the study of jurisprudence. Pope Eugenius III. (1153), when he introduced the Code of Gratian into the academy of Bologna, gave permission to confer the same degrees in the Canon law, as had been customary in the Civil law. These degrees were much coveted and esteemed on account of the honours, immunities, and prerogatives which the sovereign had attached to them. Nothing, however, contributed more to bring universities into favour, than the privileges and immunities which the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa conferred on them (1158), by his *Authentic* (or rescript, called *Habita*). The example of this prince was speedily followed by the other sovereigns of Europe.

The teaching of jurisprudence passed from the school of Bologna to the different academies of Europe. Theology also was soon admitted, as well as medicine; and these completed the four faculties, as they were called, of which the universities were composed. That of Paris was the first which combined all the faculties. It was completed under the reign of Philip Augustus, from whom it obtained its earliest charter, about the year 1200. Except itself there are only the universities of Bologna, Padua, Naples, Toulouse, Salamanca, Coimbra, Cambridge, and Oxford, that date their origin in the thirteenth century.⁴⁴

The downfall of the Imperial authority, and of the house of Hohenstaufen, and the new power usurped by the princes and states of the Empire, occasioned a long series of troubles in Germany, and that frightful state of anarchy, known by the name of the *Grand Interregnum*. Strength then triumphed over law and right; the government was altered from its basis; and no other means were found to remedy this want of public security, than by forming alliances and confederations, such as that of the Rhine,⁴⁵ and the Hanseatic League, which began to appear about this time (1253). The election of the emperors, in which all the princes and states of the Empire had formerly concurred, became then the privilege solely of the great officers of the crown, who, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, claimed for themselves exclusively the right of electing, and the title of Electors.⁴⁶ The princes and states of the Empire, anxious to confirm their growing power, sought to promote only the feeblest emperors, who were incapable of supporting the rights and prerogatives of the crown. The electors, in particular, had no other object in view, than to derive a lucrative traffic from elections; bargaining every time with the candidates for large sums, and obtaining grants or mortgages of such portions of the Imperial demesnes as suited their convenience. One only of these weak emperors, Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg in Switzerland (1273), disappointed the expectations of his electors. He repressed by force of arms the disorders of anarchy, restored the laws and tribunals to their pristine vigour, and reconquered several of the Imperial domains from the usurpers who had seized them.

In consequence of the revolutions which we have now detailed, we find very important and memorable changes accomplished in the different provinces of the Empire. The princes and states of the Germanic body, regarding as their own patrimony the provinces and fiefs with which they were invested, thought themselves further authorized to portion them out among their sons. The usage of these partitions became general after the thirteenth century; and this wrought the downfall of some of the most powerful families, and tended to multiply almost to infinity the duchies, principalities, and earldoms of the Empire. The emperors, far from condemning this practice, which by no means accorded with the maxims of the feudal law, on the contrary gave it their countenance, as appearing to them a proper instrument for humbling the power of the grandees, and acquiring for themselves a preponderating authority in the Empire.

The ancient duchies of Bavaria and Saxony experienced a new revolution on the fall of the pow-

erful house of the Guelphs, which was deprived of both these duchies by the sentence of proscription which the Emperor Frederic I. pronounced against Henry the Lion (1180), Duke of Bavaria and Saxony. The first of these duchies, which had formerly been dismembered from the Margravate of Austria by Frederic I. (1156), and erected into a duchy and fief holding immediately of the Empire, was exposed to new partitions at the time of which we now speak. The bishoprics of Bavaria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol, broke their alliance with Bavaria; and the city of Ratisbonne, which had been the residence of the ancient dukes, was declared *immediate*, or holding of the crown. It was when contracted within these new limits that Bavaria was conferred, by Frederic I. (1180), on Otho, Count of Wittelsbach, a scion of the original house of Bavaria. This house afterwards acquired by marriage (1215) the Palatinate of the Rhine. It was subsequently divided into various branches, of which the two principal were the Palatine and the Bavarian.

As to the duchy of Saxony, which embraced, under the Guelphs, the greater part of Lower Germany, it completely changed its circumstances on the decline of that house. Bernard of Aschersleben, younger son of Albert named the Bear, first Margrave of Brandenburg, a descendant of the Ascanian line, had been invested in the duchy of Saxony by Frederic I. (1180), but was found much too feeble to support the high rank to which he had been elevated. In consequence, the title, or qualification to the duchy of Saxony and the Electorate, was restricted, under the successors and descendants of that prince, to an inconsiderable district, situated on both sides of the Elbe; called since the Electoral Circle, of which Wittenberg was the capital. The princes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the Counts of Holstein and Westphalia, and the city of Lubeck, took advantage of this circumstance to revolt from the authority of the Duke of Saxony, and render themselves *immediate*. A part of Westphalia was erected into a distinct duchy, in favour of the Archbishop of Cologne, who had seconded the Emperor in his schemes of vengeance against the Guelphic princes. This latter house, whose vast possessions had extended from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic and the Northern Ocean, retained nothing more of its ancient splendour than the free lands which it possessed in Lower Saxony, and which the Emperor Frederic II. (1235) converted into a duchy, and *immediate* fief of the Empire, in favour of Otho the Infant, grandson of Henry the Lion, and the new founder of the House of Brunswick.

The extinction of the House of Hohenstaufen having occasioned a vacancy in the duchies of Suabia and Franconia, the different states of these provinces, both secular and ecclesiastical, found means to render themselves also *immediate* (1268). A number of cities which had belonged to the domains of the ancient dukes, were raised to the rank of free and imperial cities; and the Houses of Baden, Wurtemberg, Hohen-Zollern, and Furstenberg, date their celebrity from this period. The death of the anti-emperor, Henry le Raspon (1247), last Landgrave of Thuringia, gave rise to a long war between the Margraves of Misnia and the Dukes of Brabant, who mutually contested that succession. The former advanced an Expec-

tative, or Deed of Reversion of the Emperor Frederic II., as well as the claims of Jutta, sister of the last landgrave; and the others maintained those of Sophia, daughter of the Landgrave Louis, elder brother and predecessor of Henry le Raspon. At length, by a partition which took place (1264), Thuringia, properly so called, was made over to the House of Misnia; and Henry of Brabant, surnamed the Infant, son of Henry II. Duke of Brabant, and Sophia of Thuringia, was secured in the possession of Hesse, and became the founder of a new dynasty of landgraves—those of the House of Hesse.

The ancient dukes of Austria, of the House of Bamberg, having become extinct with Frederic the Valiant (1246), the succession of that duchy was keenly contested between the niece and the sisters of the last duke; who, though females, could lay claim to it, in virtue of the privilege granted by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. Ottocar II. son of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, took advantage of these troubles in Austria, to possess himself of that province (1251). He obtained the investiture of it (1262) from Richard, son of John, King of England, who had purchased the title of emperor at a vast expense; but Rodolph of Hapsburg, treating him as a usurper, made war upon him, defeated and slew him in a battle which was fought (1278) at Marchfeld, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. The duchies of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, being then detached from the kingdom of Bohemia, were declared vacant, and devolved to the Empire. The investiture of these the Emperor conferred (1282) on Albert and Rodolph, his own sons. Albert, the eldest of these princes, who was afterwards emperor, became the founder of the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria.

In Italy, a great number of republics rose about the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century. These republics, though they had cast off the Imperial authority, and claimed to themselves the rights of sovereignty, protested, nevertheless, their fealty to the Emperor, whom they agreed to recognise as their supreme head. The Emperors Henry V., Lothaire the Saxon, and Conrad III., saw themselves compelled to tolerate an usurpation which they were too feeble to repress. But Frederic Barbarossa being determined to restore the royalty of Italy to its ancient splendour, led a powerful army into that kingdom (1158); and in a diet which he assembled on the plains of Roncaglia, in the territory of Placentia, he caused a strict investigation to be made by the lawyers of Bologna into the rights on which he founded his pretensions to the title of King of Italy. The opposition which the execution of the decrees of that diet met with on the part of the Milanese, induced the Emperor to undertake the siege of their city. He made himself master of it in 1162, razed it to the foundation, and dispersed the inhabitants.

This chastisement of the Milanese astonished the Italians, but without abating their courage. They afterwards took advantage of the reverses of the Emperor, and the schism which had arisen in the Romish Church, to form a league with the principal cities of Lombardy (1167), into which they drew the King of the Two Sicilies, as well as Pope Alexander III., whom the Emperor treated as a schismatic. The city of Milan was rebuilt in

consequence of this league; as also that of Alexandria, called della Paglia. The war was long protracted; but the Emperor being abandoned by Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, the most powerful of his vassals, received a defeat at Lignano, which obliged him to make an accommodation with Pope Alexander III., and to sign, at Venice, a treaty of six years with the confederate cities (1177). This treaty was afterwards converted, at Constance, into a definitive peace (1183); by virtue of which, the cities of Italy were guaranteed in the forms of government they had adopted, as well as in the exercise of the regal rights which they had acquired, whether by usage or prescription. The Emperor reserved for himself the investiture of the consuls, the oath of allegiance, which was to be renewed every ten years, and all appeals, in civil cases, where the sum exceeded the value of twenty-five imperial livres (about 1500 francs).

The Emperor Frederic II., grandson of Frederic I., and heir, in right of his mother, to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, made new efforts to restore the prerogatives of the Empire in Italy. But the cities of Lombardy renewed their league, into which they drew Pope Gregory IX. (1226), whose dignity and power would be endangered if the Emperor, being possessor of the Two Sicilies, should succeed in conquering the cities of Lombardy. The war which ensued (1236), was long and severe. Popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. went so far as to preach up a crusade against the Emperor, as if he had been an infidel; while that unfortunate prince, after the most courageous and indefatigable efforts, had the mortification to see his troops once more discomfited by the forces of the League.

The cities of Italy were no sooner delivered from the terror of the Emperors, than they let loose their fury against each other; impelled by the rage of conquest, and torn by the internal factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, as well as by the contests which had arisen between the noblesse and the free cities. The partisans of the nobles in these cities were strengthened by the very measures which had been taken to humble them. The chartered towns, by destroying that multitude of seignories, earldoms, and marquises with which Lombardy swarmed before the twelfth century, and by incorporating them with their own territories, obliged the deserted nobles and grandees to seek an establishment within their walls. These latter, finding their partisans united and powerful, soon attempted to seize the government; and hence arose an interminable source of civil discord, which ended with the loss of liberty in the greater part of these communities.

To arrest these evils, and put a check to the ambition of the powerful citizens, they adopted the plan of intrusting the government to a single magistrate, to be called the *Podesta*, who should be chosen in the neighbouring cities. This scheme was but a palliative rather than a remedy; and in order to guarantee themselves from the oppression of the nobles, the corporations of several cities gradually adopted the plan of conferring a sort of dictatorship on one of the powerful citizens, or on some prince or nobleman, even though he were a stranger, under the title of *Captain*; hoping, in this way, to succeed in re-establishing peace and

order. These chiefs or captains contrived, in process of time, to render absolute and perpetual an authority which at first was temporary, and only granted on certain conditions. Hence the origin of several new independent sovereignties which were formed in Italy during the course of the fourteenth century.

Venice and Genoa at that time eclipsed all the republics of Italy, by the flourishing state of their navigation and commerce. The origin of the former of these cities is generally dated as far back as the invasion of the Huns under Attila (452). The cruelty of these barbarians having spread terror and flight over the whole country, many of the inhabitants of ancient Venetia took refuge in the isles and lagoons on the borders of the Adriatic Gulf; and there laid the foundation of the city of Venice, which, whether we regard the singularity of its construction, or the splendour to which it rose, deserves to be numbered among the wonders of the world. At first its government was popular, and administered by a bench of tribunes whose power was annual. The divisions which rose among these yearly administrators, occasioned the election of a chief (897), who took the title of Duke or Doge. This dignity was for life, and depended on the suffrages of the community; but he exercised nevertheless the rights of sovereignty, and it was not till after a long course of time that his authority was gradually abridged; and the government, which had been monarchical, became again democratical.

Venice, which from its birth was a commercial city, enjoyed in the middle ages nearly the same renown which Tyre had among the trading cities of antiquity. The commencement of its grandeur may be dated from the end of the tenth century, and under the magistracy of the Doge Peter Urseolo II., whom the Venetians regard as the true founder of their state (992). From the Greek emperors he obtained for them an entire liberty and immunity of commerce in all the ports of that empire; and he procured them, at the same time, several very important advantages, by the treaties which he concluded with the Emperor Otho III. and with the Caliphs of Egypt. The vast increase of their commerce inspired these republicans with a desire to extend the contracted bounds of their territory. One of their first conquests was the maritime cities of Istria, as well as those of Dalmatia; both of which occurred under the magistracy of Peter Urseolo II., and in the year 997. They were obliged to make a surrender of the cities of Dalmatia by the Emperors of the East, who regarded these cities as dependencies of their empire; while the Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia also laid claim to them. Croatia having passed into the hands of the Kings of Hungary, about the end of the eleventh century, these same cities became a perpetual source of troubles and wars between the Kings of Hungary and the Republic of Venice; and it was not till the fifteenth century that the Republic found means to confirm its authority in Dalmatia.

The Venetians having become parties in the famous League of Lombardy, in the eleventh century, contributed by their efforts to render abortive the vast projects of the Emperor Frederick I. Pope Alexander III., as a testimony of his gratitude, granted them the sovereignty of the Adriatic

(1177),²³ and this circumstance gave rise to the singular ceremony of annually marrying this sea to the Doge of Venice. The aggrandisement of this republic was greatly accelerated by the crusades, especially the fourth (1204), which was followed by the dismemberment of the Greek empire. The Venetians, who had joined this crusade, obtained for their portion several cities and ports in Dalmatia, Albania, Greece, and the Morea; as also the Islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, and Candia or Crete. At length, towards the end of the thirteenth century, this republic assumed the peculiar form of government which it retained till the day of its destruction. In the earlier ages its constitution was democratic, and the power of the Doge limited by a grand council, which was chosen annually from among the different classes of the citizens, by electors named by the people. As these forms gave occasion to troubles and intestine commotions, the Doge Pietro Gradenigo, to remove all cause of discontent in future, passed a law (1298), which abrogated the custom of annual elections, and fixed irrevocably in their office all those who then sat in the grand council, and this to descend to their posterity for ever. The hereditary aristocracy thus introduced at Venice did not fail to excite the discontent of those whose families this new law had excluded from the government; and it was this which afterwards occasioned various insurrections, of which that of Tiepolo (1310) is the most remarkable. The partisans of the ancient government, and those of the new, attempted to decide the matter by a battle in the city of Venice. Tiepolo and his party were defeated, and Querini, one of the chiefs, was killed in the action. A commission of ten members was nominated to inform against the accomplices of this secret conspiracy. This commission, which was meant to be but temporary, was afterwards declared perpetual; and, under the name of the *Council of Ten*, became one of the most formidable supports of the aristocracy.

The city of Genoa, like that of Venice, owed her prosperity to the progress of her commerce, which she extended to the Levant, Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt. Governed at first by consuls, like the rest of the Italian states, she afterwards (1190) chose a foreign *Podesta*, or governor, to repress the violence of faction, and put a check on the ambition of the nobles. This governor was afterwards made subordinate to a Captain of the people, whom the Genoese chose for the first time in 1257, without being able yet to fix their government, which experienced frequent variations before assuming a settled and permanent form. These internal divisions of the Genoese did not impede the progress of their commerce and their marine. The crusades of the 12th and 13th centuries, the powerful succours which these republicans gave to the crusaders, and to the Greeks, as well as the treaties which they concluded with the Moorish and African princes, procured them considerable establishments in the Levant, and also in Asia and Africa. Caffa, a famous sea-port on the Black Sea, and the port of Azoph, the ancient Tanais, at the mouth of the Don, belonged to them; and served as entrepôts for their commerce with China and the Indies. Smyrna in Asia Minor, as also the suburbs of Pera and Galata at Constantinople, and the isles of Scio, Metelin and Tenedos, in the Ar-

chipelago, were ceded to them by the Greek emperors. The Kings of Cyprus were their tributaries. The Greek and German emperors, the Kings of Sicily, Castille and Arragon, and the Sultans of Egypt, zealously sought their alliance, and the protection of their marine. Encouraged by these successes, they formed a considerable territory on the continent of Italy, after the 12th century, of which nothing but a fragment now remains to them.

Genoa had at that time, in its immediate neighbourhood, a dangerous rival of its power and greatness. This rival was Pisa, a flourishing republic on the coast of Tuscany, which owed its prosperity entirely to the increase of its commerce and marine. The proximity of these two states—the similarity of their views and their interests—the desire of conquest—and the command of the sea, which both of them affected, created a marked jealousy between them, and made them the natural and implacable enemies of each other. One of the principal subjects of dispute was the possession of Corsica and Sardinia,²⁶ which the two republics contested at the point of the sword, after having, by means of their combined force, expelled the Moors, toward the middle of the eleventh century. Pisa, originally superior to Genoa in maritime strength, disputed with her the empire of the Mediterranean, and haughtily forbade the Genoese to appear within those seas with their ships of war. This rivalry nourished the animosity of the two republics, and rendered it implacable. Hence a continual source of mutual hostilities, which were renewed incessantly for the space of 200 years, and only terminated in 1290; when, by the conquest of Elba, and the destruction of the ports of Pisa and Leghorn, the Genoese effected the ruin of the shipping and commerce of the Pisan republic.

Lower Italy, possessed by the Norman princes, under the title of Duchy and Comté, became the seat of a new kingdom in the eleventh century—that of the Two Sicilies. On the extinction of the Dukes of Apulia and Calabria, descendants of Robert Guiscard, Roger, son of Roger, Count of Sicily, and sovereign of that island, united the dominions of the two branches of the Norman dynasty (1127); and, being desirous of procuring for himself the royal dignity, he attached to his interest the Anti-Pope Anacletus II., who invested him with royalty by a bull (1130), in which, however, he took care to reserve the territorial right and an annual tribute to the church of Rome. This prince received the crown of Palermo from the hands of a cardinal, whom the Pope had deputed for the express purpose. On the death of the Emperor Lothaire, he succeeded in dispossessing the Prince of Capua, and subduing the duchy of Naples (1139); thus completing the conquest of all that is now denominated the kingdom of Naples. William II., grandson of Roger, was the principal support of Pope Alexander III.; and of the famous League of Lombardy formed against the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. The male line of the Norman princes having become extinct in William II., the kingdom of the Two Sicilies passed (1189) to the House of Hohenstaufen, by the marriage which the Emperor Henry V., son of Frederic Barbarossa, contracted with the Princess Constance, aunt and heretrix of the last king. Henry maintained the rights of his wife against

the usurper Tancred, and transmitted this kingdom to his son Frederic II., who acquired by his marriage with Yolande, daughter of John de Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem, the titles and arms of this latter kingdom. The efforts which Frederic made to annihilate the League of Lombardy, and confirm his own authority in Italy, drew down upon him the persecution of the court of Rome, who, taking advantage of the minority of the young Conradin, grandson of Frederic II., wrested the crown of the Two Sicilies from this rival house, which alone was able to check its ambitious projects. Mainfroi, natural son of Frederic II., disgusted with playing the part of tutor to the young Conradin, in which capacity he at first acted, caused himself to be proclaimed and crowned, at Palermo, King of the Two Sicilies (1258). The Popes, Urban IV. and Clement IV., dreading the genius and talents of this prince, made an offer of that kingdom to Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, and brother of St. Louis. Clement IV. granted the investiture of it (1265) to him and his descendants, male and female, on condition of his doing fealty and homage to the Holy See, and presenting him annually with a white riding horse, and a tribute of eight million ounces of gold. Charles, after being crowned at Rome, marched against Mainfroi, with an army chiefly composed of crusaders. He defeated that prince, who was slain at the battle of Benevento (1266), which was soon after followed by the reduction of the two kingdoms. One rival to Charles still survived, the young Conradin, the lawful heir to the throne of his ancestors. Charles vanquished him also, two years afterwards, in the plains of Tagliacozzo; and having made him prisoner, together with his young friend Frederic of Austria, he caused both of these princes to be beheaded at Naples, 29th October, 1268.

Charles did not long enjoy his new dignity. While he was preparing to undertake a crusade against Michael Paleologus, a schismatic prince who had expelled the Latins from Constantinople, he had the mortification to see himself dispossessed of Sicily, on the occasion of the famous *Sicilian Vespers* (1282). This event, which is generally regarded as the result of a conspiracy, planned with great address by a gentleman of Salerno, named John de Procida, appears to have been but the sudden effect of an insurrection, occasioned by the aversion of the Sicilians to the French yoke. During the hour of vespers, on the second day of Easter (30th March), when the inhabitants of Palermo were on their way to the church of the Holy Ghost, situated at some distance from the town, it happened that a Frenchman, named Drouette, had offered a private insult to a Sicilian woman: hence a quarrel arose, which drew on a general insurrection at Palermo. All the French who were in the city or the neighbourhood were massacred, with the exception of one gentleman from Provence, called William Porcellet, who had conciliated all hearts by his virtues. This revolt gradually extended to the other Sicilian cities. Everywhere the French were put to death on the spot. Messina was the last that caught the infection; but there the revolution did not take place till thirty days after the same event at Palermo (29th April, 1282). It is, therefore, not true that this massacre of the French

happened at the same hour, and at the sound of the vesper bells, over all parts of the island. Nor is it more probable that the plot had been contrived by Peter III., King of Arragon; since the Palermians displayed at first the banner of the church, having resolved to surrender to the Pope; but being driven from this resolution, and dreading the vengeance of Charles, they despatched deputies to the King of Arragon, who was then cruising with a fleet off the African coast, and made him an offer of their crown. This prince yielded to the invitation of the Palermians; he landed at Trapani, and thence passed to Palermo, where he was crowned King of Sicily. The whole island submitted to him; and Charles of Anjou was obliged to raise the siege of Messina, which he had undertaken. Peter entered, and took possession of the place, and from that time Sicily remained under the power of the Kings of Arragon; it became the inheritance of a particular branch of the Arragonee princes; and the House of Anjou were reduced to the single kingdom of Naples.

Spain, which was divided into several sovereignties, both Christian and Mahometan, presented a continual spectacle of commotion and carnage. The Christian states of Castille and Arragon were gradually increased by the conquests made over the Mahometans; while the kingdom of Navarre, less exposed to conquest by its local situation, remained nearly in its original state of mediocrity. This latter kingdom passed in succession to female heirs of different houses. Blanche of Navarre, daughter of Sancho VI., transferred it to the Counts of Champagne (1234). On the extinction of the male line of that house, in Henry I. of Navarre (1274), Joan I., his daughter and heiress, conveyed that kingdom, together with the Comtés of Champagne and Brie, to the crown of France. Philip the Fair, husband of that princess, and his three sons, Louis le Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, were, at the same time, kings both of France and Navarre. Finally, it was Queen Joan II., daughter of Louis le Hutin, and heretrix of Navarre, who transferred that kingdom to the family of the Counts d'Evreux, and relinquished the Comtés of Champagne and Brie to Philip of Valois, successor of Charles the Fair to the throne of France (1336).

The family of the Counts of Barcelona ascended the throne of Arragon (1137), by the marriage of Count Raymond-Berenguer IV. with Donna Petronilla, daughter and heiress of Ramira II., King of Arragon. Don Pedro II., grandson of Raymond-Berenguer, happening to be at Rome (1204), was there crowned King of Arragon by Pope Innocent III. On this occasion he did homage for his kingdom to that pontiff, and engaged, for himself and successors, to pay an annual tribute to the Holy See. Don James I., surnamed the Conqueror, son of Don Pedro II., gained some important victories over the Mahometans, from whom he took the Balearic Isles (1230), and the kingdom of Valentia,²⁷ (1238). Don Pedro II., eldest son of Don James I., had dispossessed Charles I. of Anjou and Sicily, which drew down upon him a violent persecution on the part of Pope Martin IV., who was on the eve of publishing a crusade against him, and assigning over his estates to Charles of Valois, a younger brother of

Philip called the Hardy, king of France. Don James II., younger son of Don Pedro III., succeeded in making his peace with the court of Rome, and even obtained from Pope Boniface VIII. (1297) the investiture of the Island of Sardinia, on condition of acknowledging himself the vassal and tributary of the Holy See for that kingdom, which he afterwards obtained by conquest from the republic of Pisa.

The principal victories of the Christians over the Mahometans in Spain, were reserved for the kings of Castille, whose history is extremely fertile in great events. Alphonso VI., whom some call Alphonso I., after having taken Madrid and Toledo (1085), and subdued the whole kingdom of Toledo, was on the point of altogether expelling the Mahometans from Spain, when a revolution which happened in Africa augmented their forces by fresh numbers, and thus arrested the progress of the Castilian prince.

The Zeirides, an Arab dynasty, descended from Zeiri, son of Mounad, reigned then over that part of Africa which comprehends Africa properly so called (viz. Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers), and the Mogreb (comprehending Fez and Morocco), which they had conquered from the Fatamite caliphs of Egypt. It happened that a new apostle and conqueror, named Aboubeker, son of Omer, collected some tribes of Arabs in the vicinity of Sugulmessa, a city in the kingdom of Fez, and got himself proclaimed Commander of the Faithful. His adherents took the name of *Morabethin*, a term which signifies *zealously devoted to religion*; and whence the Spaniards have formed the names *Almoravides* and *Marabouths*. Having made himself master of the city of Sugulmessa, this warlike Emir extended his conquests in the Mogreb, as well as in Africa Proper, whence he expelled the Zeirides. His successor, Yousuff, or Joseph, the son of Taschefin, completed the conquest of these countries; and built the city of Morocco (1069), which he made the capital of the Mogreb, and the seat of his new empire. This prince joined the Mahometans of Seville, to whose aid he marched with his victorious troops, defeated the King of Castille at the battle of Badajos (1090), and subdued the principal Mahometan states of Spain, such as Grenada and Seville, &c.

The empire of the Almoravides was subverted in the twelfth century by another Mahometan sect, called the *Moahedins*, or *Almohades*, a word signifying Unitarians. An upstart fanatic, named *Abdalmoumen*, was the founder of this sect. He was educated among the mountains of Sous, in Mauritania, and assumed the quality of *Emir* (1120), and the surname of *Mohadi*, that is, the *Chief*—the leader and director of the Faithful. Having subdued Morocco, Africa, and the whole of the Mogreb, he annihilated the dynasty of the Almoravides (1146), and at the same time vanquished the Mahometan states in Spain. He took also (1160) from the Normans, Tunis, Mohadie, and Tripoli, of which they had taken possession. One of his successors, named Naser-Mohammed, formed the project of reconquering the whole continent of Spain. The immense preparations which he made for this purpose alarmed Alphonso VIII., King of Castille, who immediately formed an alliance with the Kings of Arragon and Navarre, and even engaged Pope Innocent III. to proclaim a crusade against the

Mahometans. The armies of Europe and Africa met on the confines of Castille and Andalusia (1212); and in the environs of the city Ubeda was fought a bloody battle, which so crippled the power of the Almohades, as to occasion in a short time the downfall and dismemberment of their empire.²⁸

About this period (1269), the Mahometans of Spain revolted afresh from Africa, and divided themselves into several petty states, of which the principal and the only one that existed for several centuries was that of the descendants of Naser, Kings of Grenada. Ferdinand III., King of Castille and Leon, took advantage of this event to renew his conquests over the Mahometans. He took from them the kingdoms of Cordova, Murcia, and Seville (1236, et seq.), and left them only the single kingdom of Grenada.

These wars against the Mahometans were the occasion of several religious and military orders being founded in Spain. Of these, the most ancient was that founded and fixed at Alcantara (1156), whence it took its name; having for its badge or decoration a green cross, in form of the lily, or *fleur-de-lis*. The order of Calatrava was instituted in 1158; it was confirmed by Pope Alexander III. (1164), and assumed as its distinctive mark the red cross, also in form of the lily. The order of St. James of Compostella, founded in 1161, and confirmed by the same Pope (1175), was distinguished by a red cross, in form of a sword. Finally, the order of Montesa (1317), supplanted that of the Templars in the kingdom of Arragon.

The Kings of Castille and Arragon having conquered from the Arabs a part of what is properly called Portugal, formed it into a distinct government, under the name of *Portocalo*, or Portugal. Henry of Burgundy, a French prince, grandson of Robert, called the Old, Duke of Burgundy, and great-grandson of Robert II., King of France, having distinguished himself by his bravery in the wars between the Castillians and the Mahometans, Alphonso VI., King of Castille, wished to attach the young prince to him by the ties of blood; and, for this purpose, gave him in marriage his daughter the Infant Donna Theresa; and created him Count of Portugal (1090). This state, including at first merely the cities of Oporto, Braga, Miranda, Lamego, Viseo, and Coimbra, began to assume its present form in the reign of Alphonso I., son of Count Henry. The Mahometans, alarmed at the warlike propensities of the young Alphonso, had marched with a superior force to attack him by surprise. Far from being intimidated by the danger, this prince, to animate the courage of his troops, pretended that an apparition from heaven had authorized him to proclaim himself king in the face of the army, in virtue of an express order which he said he had received from Christ.²⁹ He then marched against the enemy, and totally routed them in the plains of Ourique (1139). This victory, famous in the annals of Portugal, paved the way for the conquest of the cities Leiria, Santarem, Lisbon, Cintra, Alcazar do Sal, Evora, and Elvas, situated on the banks of the Tagus. Moreover, to secure the protection of the court of Rome against the Kings of Leon, who disputed with him the independence of his new state, Alphonso took the resolution of acknowledging himself vassal and tributary to the Holy See (1142). He afterwards

convoked the estates of his kingdom at Lamego, and there declared his independence by a fundamental law, which also regulated the order of succession to the throne. Sancho I., son and successor of Alphonso, took from the Mahometans the town of Silves in Algarve; and Alphonso III. soon after (1249) completed the conquest of that province.

The first Kings of Portugal, in order to gain the protection of the court of Rome, were obliged to grant extensive benefices to the ecclesiastics, with regalian rights, and the exemption of the clergy from the secular jurisdiction. Their successors, however, finding themselves firmly established on the throne, soon changed their policy, and manifested as much of indifference for the clergy as Alphonso I. had testified of kindness and attachment to them. Hence originated a long series of broils and quarrels with the court of Rome. Pope Innocent IV. deposed Sancho II. (1245), and appointed Alphonso III. in his place. Denys, son and successor of this latter prince, was excommunicated for the same reason, and compelled to sign a treaty (1289), by which the clergy were re-established in all their former rights.

In France, the whole policy of the kings was directed against their powerful vassals, who shared among them the finest provinces of that kingdom. The Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and Aquitaine; the Counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse; the Dukes of Bretagne, the Counts of Poitiers, Bar, Blois, Anjou and Maine, Alençon, Auvergne, Angoulême, Perigord, Carcassonne,³⁰ &c. formed so many petty sovereigns, equal in some respects to the electors and princes of the Germanic empire. Several circumstances, however, contributed to maintain the balance in favour of royalty. The crown was hereditary, and the demesne lands belonging to the king, which, being very extensive, gave him a power which far outweighed that of any individual vassal. Besides, these same demesnes being situated in the centre of the kingdom, enabled the sovereign to observe the conduct of his vassals, to divide their forces, and prevent any one from preponderating over another. The perpetual wars which they waged with each other, the tyranny which they exercised over their dependants, and the enlightened policy of several of the French kings, by degrees re-established the royal authority, which had been almost annihilated under the last princes of the Carlovigian dynasty.

It was at this period that the rivalry between France and England had its origin. The fault that Philip I. committed, in making no opposition to the conquest of England, by William Duke of Normandy, his vassal, served to kindle the flame of war between these princes. The war which took place in 1087, was the first that happened between the two nations; it was renewed under the subsequent reigns, and this rivalry was still more increased, on occasion of the unfortunate divorce between Louis VII. and Eleanor of Poitou, heiress of Guienne, Poitou, and Gascogne. This divorced princess married (1152) Henry, surnamed Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou and Maine, and afterwards King of England; and brought him, in dowry, the whole of her vast possessions. But it was reserved for Philip Augustus to repair the faults of his predecessors. This great monarch, whose courage was equal to his prudence

and his policy, recovered his superiority over England; he strengthened his power and authority by the numerous accessions which he made to the crown-lands,²¹ (1180-1220). Besides Artois, Vermandois, the earldoms of Evreux, Auvergne, and Alençon, which he annexed under different titles, he took advantage of the civil commotions which had arisen in England against King John, to dispossess the English of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Lorraine, and Poitou (1201); and he maintained these conquests by the brilliant victory which he gained at Bouvines (1214), over the combined forces of England, the Emperor Otho, and the Count of Flanders.²²

Several of the French kings were exclusively occupied with the crusades in the East. Louis VII., Philip Augustus, and Louis IX. took the cross, and marched in person to the Holy Land. These ultra-marine expeditions (1147, 1248), which required great and powerful resources, could not but exhaust France; while, on the contrary, the crusades which Louis VIII. undertook against the Albigenses and their protectors, the Counts of Toulouse and Carcassonne, considerably augmented the royal power. Pope Innocent III., by proclaiming this crusade (1208), raised a tedious and bloody war, which desolated Languedoc; and during which, fanaticism perpetrated atrocities which make humanity to shudder. Simon, Count Montfort, the chief or general of these crusaders, had the whole estates of the Counts of Toulouse adjudged him by the Pope. Amauri, the son and heir of Simon, surrendered his claims over these forfeitures to Louis VIII. King of France (1226); and it was this circumstance that induced Louis to march in person at the head of the crusaders, against the Count of Toulouse, his vassal and cousin. He died at the close of this expedition, leaving to his son and successor, Louis IX., the task of finishing this disastrous war. By the peace which was concluded at Paris (1229), between the King and the Count, the greater part of Languedoc was allowed to remain in the possession of Louis. One arrangement of this treaty was the marriage of the Count's daughter with Alphonso, brother to the King; with this express clause, that failing heirs of this marriage, the whole territory of Toulouse should revert to the crown. The same treaty adjudged to the Pope the county of Venaisin, as an escheat of the Counts of Toulouse; and the Count of Carcassonne, implicated also in the cause of the Albigenses, was compelled to cede to the King all right over the viscounties of Beziers, Carcassonne, Agde, Rodez, Albi, and Nismes. One consequence of this bloody war was the establishment of the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition,²³ and the founding of the order of Dominicans.²⁴

Henry II., a descendant of the house of Plantagenet, having mounted the throne of England, in right of his mother Matilda, annexed to that crown the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, together with Guienne, Gascony and Poitou. He afterwards added Ireland, which he subdued in 1172. This island, which had never been conquered, either by the Romans or the barbarians who had desolated Europe, was, at that time, divided into five principal sovereignties, viz. Munster, Ulster, Connaught, Leinster, and Meath, whose several chiefs all assumed the title of kings. One of these princes

enjoyed the dignity of monarch of the island; but he had neither authority sufficient to secure internal tranquillity, nor power enough to repel with success the attacks of enemies from without. It was this state of weakness that induced Henry to attempt the conquest of the island. He obtained the sanction of Pope Adrian IV., by a bull in 1155, and undertook, in a formal engagement, to subject the Irish to the jurisdiction of the Holy See, and the payment of *Peter's pence*.²⁵ The expulsion of Dermot, King of Leinster, who had rendered himself odious by his pride and his tyranny, furnished Henry with a pretext for sending troops into that island, to assist the dethroned prince in recovering his dominions. The success of the English, and the victories which they gained over Roderic, King of Connaught, who at that time was chief monarch of the island, determined Henry to undertake, in person, an expedition into Ireland (in October 1172). He soon reduced the provinces of Leinster and Munster to submission; and after having constructed several forts, and nominated a viceroy and other crown officers, he took his departure without completing the conquest of the island. Roderic, King of Connaught, submitted in 1173; but it was not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the entire reduction of Ireland was accomplished.

In England, the rashness and rapacity of John, son of Henry II., occasioned a mighty revolution in the government. The discontented nobles, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, joined in a league against the King. Pope Innocent III. formally deposed him, made over his kingdom to the Crown of France, and proclaimed a crusade against him in every country of Europe. John obtained an accommodation with the Pope; and in order to secure his protection, he consented to become a vassal of the Church, both for England and Ireland; engaging to pay his Holiness, besides Peter's pence, an annual tribute of a thousand marks. But all in vain; the nobles persisted in their revolt, and forced the King to grant them the grand charter of *Magna Charta*, 19th June, 1215, by which he and his successors were for ever deprived of the power of exacting subsidies without the counsel and advice of Parliament; which did not then include the Commons. He granted to the city of London, and to all cities and burghs in the kingdom, a renewal of their ancient liberties and privileges, and the right of not being taxed except with the advice and consent of the common council. Moreover, the lives and properties of the citizens were secured by this charter; one clause of which expressly provided, that no subject could be either arrested, imprisoned, dispossessed of his fortune, or deprived of his life, except by a legal sentence of his peers, conform to the ancient law of the country. This charter, which was renewed in various subsequent reigns, forms, at this day, the basis of the English Constitution.

King John, meantime, rebelled against this charter, and caused it to be rescinded by Pope Innocent III., who even issued a bull of excommunication against the barons; but they, far from being disconcerted or intimidated, made an offer of their crown to Louis, son of Philip Augustus King of France. This prince repaired to England, and there received the fealty and homage of his grandees of the nation. John, abandoned by all

his subjects, attempted to take refuge in Scotland; but he died in his flight at the Castle of Newark. His death made a sudden change in the minds and sentiments of the English. The barons forsook the standard of the French prince, and rallied round that of young Henry, son of King John, whose long and unfortunate reign was a succession of troubles and intestine wars. Edward I., son and successor of Henry III., as determined and courageous as his father had been weak and indolent, restored tranquillity to England, and made his name illustrious by the conquest which he made of the principality of Wales.

This district, from the most remote antiquity, was ruled by its own native princes, descended from the ancient British kings. Although they had been vassals and tributaries of the Kings of England, they exercised, nevertheless, the rights of sovereignty in their own country. Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, having espoused the cause of the insurgents in the reign of Henry III., and made some attempts to withdraw from the vassalage of the English crown, Edward I. declared war against him (1282); and in a battle fought near the Menau, Llewellyn was defeated and slain, with 2000 of his followers. David, his brother and successor, met with a fate still more melancholy. Having been taken prisoner by Edward, he was condemned to death, and executed like a traitor (1283). The territory of Wales was annexed to the crown; the king created his eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales; a title which has since been borne by the eldest sons of the Kings of England.

At this period, the kingdoms of the North presented, in general, little else than a spectacle of horror and carnage. The warlike and ferocious temper of the Northern nations, the want of fixed and specific laws in the succession of their kings,³⁶ gave rise to innumerable factions, encouraged insolence, and fomented troubles and intestine wars. An extravagant and superstitious devotion, by loading the church with wealth, aggravated still more the evils with which these kingdoms were distracted. The bishops and the new metropolitans,³⁷ enriched at the expense of the crown lands, and rendered bold by their power, and the strength of their castles, domineered in the senate and the assemblies of the states, and neglected no opportunity of encroaching on the sovereign's authority. They obtained, by compulsion, the introduction of tithes, and the immunity of the ecclesiastics; and thus more and more increased and cemented the sacerdotal power.³⁸ This state of trouble and internal commotion tended to abate that ardour for maritime incursions which had so long agitated the Scandinavian nations. It did not, however, prevent the kings of Denmark and Sweden from undertaking, from time to time, expeditions by sea, under the name of Crusades, for the conversion of the Pagan nations of the North, whose territories they were ambitious to conquer.

The Slavians, who inhabited the coasts of the Baltic, were then constantly committing piracies, in imitation of the ancient Normans, plundering and ravaging the provinces and islands of Denmark. Valdemar I., wishing to put an end to these devastations, and thirsting moreover for the glory of converting to Christianity those nations against whom all the efforts of the Germans had

failed, attacked them at different times with his numerous flotillas. He took and pillaged several of their towns, such as Areona and Carentz or Gartz, in the isle of Rugen (1168), Julin, now called Wollin, and Stettin, two sea-ports in Pomerania (1175-6). He made the princes of Rugen his vassals and tributaries, and is generally regarded as the founder of Dantzic (1165), which originally was merely a fort constructed by the Danes. Canute VI., son and successor of Valdemar I., followed the example of his father; he reduced the princes of Pomerania (1183) and Mecklenburg (1186), and the Counts of Schwerin (1201), to a state of dependence; he made himself master of Hamburg and Lubec, and subdued the whole of Holstein. Valdemar II. assumed the title of King of the Slavians, and Lord of *Nordalbingia*. He added Lauenburg, a part of Prussia, Estonia, and the Isle of Oesel, to the conquests of his predecessors, and became the founder of the cities of Stralsund and Revel (1209 and 1222).

This prince, master of nearly the whole southern coast of the Baltic, and raised to the summit of prosperity by the superiority of his commercial and maritime power, commanded for a time the attention of all Europe; but an unforeseen event eclipsed his glory, and deprived him of all the advantages of his victories and his conquests. Henry, Count of Schwerin, one of the vassals of Valdemar, wishing to avenge an outrage which he pretended to have received from him, seized that prince by surprise (1223), and detained him for three years prisoner in the castle of Schwerin. This circumstance aroused the courage of the other vanquished nations, who instantly took to arms. Adolphus, Count of Schauenburg, penetrated into Holstein, and subdued the princes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, with the cities of Hamburg and Lubec. Valdemar, restored to liberty, made several efforts to reconquer his revolted provinces; but a powerful confederacy being formed against him, he was defeated in a battle fought (1227) at Bornhoevet, near Segeberg, in Holstein. Of all his conquests, he retained only the Isle of Rugen, Estonia, and the town of Revel, which, in course of time, were lost or abandoned by his successors.

Sweden, which had been governed in succession by the dynasties of *Stenkil*, *Sverkar*, and *St. Eric*, was long a prey to internal dissensions, which arose principally from the two different forms of worship professed and authorized by the state. The whole nation, divided in their religious sentiments, saw themselves arranged into two factions, and under two reigning families, mutually hating and exasperated against each other, for nearly half a century. Two, and sometimes more, princes were seen reigning at once from 1080 till 1133, when the throne began to be occupied ultimately by the descendants of Sweyn and St. Eric. During all this time, violence usurped the place of right, and the crown of Sweden was more than once the prize of assassination and treason.

In the midst of these intestine disorders, we find the Swedes even attempting foreign conquests. To these they were instigated both by the genius of the age, which encouraged crusades and military missions, as well as by the desire of avenging the piracies which the Finlanders, and other Pagan tribes of the North, committed from time to time on the coasts of Sweden. St. Eric became at once

the apostle and the conqueror of Finland (1157); he established also a Swedish colony in Nyland, and subdued the provinces of Helsingland and Jampland. Charles I., son of Swerkar, united the kingdom of Gothland to Sweden, and was the first that took the title of these two kingdoms. Eric, surnamed *Lasse*, or the *Lispr*, resumed the crusading system of warfare; and, in the character of a missionary, conquered Tavastland and the eastern part of Bothnia. Birger, a prince of the Folkungian dynasty, who ascended the throne of Sweden in 1250, conquered, under the same pretext, Carelia and Savolax, and fortified Viburg. He compelled the inhabitants of these countries to embrace the Christian religion (1263), and annexed them to Finland. We find, also, several of the Swedish kings undertaking missionary expeditions against their Pagan neighbours the Estonians, who, from time to time, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of Sweden. These expeditions, which were always esteemed sacred, served as an excuse for the sovereigns of the North in avoiding the crusades to the Holy Land, in which they took no part.³⁹

Prussia and the Prussians are totally unknown in history before the end of the tenth century.⁴⁰ The author of the *Life of St. Adelbert*, of Prague, who suffered martyrdom in Prussia in the reign of Otho III., is the first that mentions them under this new name (997). Two hundred years after, the Abbot of Oliva, surnamed the Christian, became the apostle of the Prussians, and was appointed by Pope Innocent III. the first bishop of Prussia (1215). This idolatrous nation, haughty and independent, and attached to the reigning superstition, having repulsed all the efforts that were repeatedly made to convert them to Christianity, Pope Honorius III., in the true spirit of his age, published a crusade against them (1218), to proselytize them by force. Armies of crusaders were poured into Prussia, and overran the whole country with fire and sword. The Prussians took cruel vengeance on the Poles of Masovia, who had made common cause against them with the crusaders of the East. At length Conrad, Duke of Masovia, finding himself too weak to withstand the fury of the Prussians, called in the Teutonic knights to his aid; and, anxious to secure for ever the assistance and protection of that order, he made them a grant of the territory of Culm; and moreover promised them whatever lands he might conquer from the common enemy (1226). This contract having been sanctioned by the Emperor Frederic II., the knights speedily came into possession of their new dominions (1230). They extended themselves by degrees over all Prussia, after a long and murderous war, which they had carried on against the idolatrous natives. That country, which had been peopled by numerous German colonies in succession, did not submit to the yoke of the Teutonic order, until the greater part of its ancient inhabitants had been destroyed. The knights took care to confirm their authority and their religion in Prussia, by constructing cities and forts, and founding bishoprics and convents. The city of Königsberg,⁴¹ on the Pregel, was built in 1255; and that of Marienburg, on the Nogat, which became the capital of the Order, is supposed to have been founded in 1280.

The Teutonic knights completed the conquest

of that country (1283), by the reduction of Sudavia, the last of the eleven provinces which composed ancient Prussia. We can scarcely conceive how a handful of these knights should have been able, in so short a time, to vanquish a warlike and powerful nation, inspired with the love of liberty, and emboldened by fanaticism, to make the most intrepid and obstinate defence. But we ought to take into consideration, that the indulgences of the court of Rome allured continually into Prussia a multitude of crusaders from all the provinces of the Empire; and that the knights gained these over to their ranks, by distributing among them the lands which they had won by conquest. In this way, their numbers were incessantly recruited by new colonies of crusaders, and the nobles flocked in crowds to their standard, to seek territorial acquisitions in Prussia.

The increase of commerce on the Baltic, in the twelfth century, led the Germans to discover the coasts of Livonia. Some merchants from Bremen, on their way to Wisby, in the Island of Gothland, a sea-port on the Baltic very much frequented at that time, were thrown by a tempest on the coast near the mouth of the Dwina (1158). The desire of gain induced them to enter into a correspondence with the natives of the country; and, from a wish to give stability to a branch of commerce which might become very lucrative, they attempted to introduce the Christian religion into Livonia. A monk of Segeberg, in Holstein, named Mainard, undertook this mission. He was the first bishop of Livonia (1192), and fixed his residence at the castle of Uxkull, which he strengthened by fortifications. Berthold, his successor, wishing to accelerate the progress of Christianity, as well as to avoid the dangers to which his mission exposed him, caused the Pope to publish a crusade against the Livonians. This zealous prelate perished, sword in hand, fighting against the people whom he intended to convert. The priests, after this, were either massacred or expelled from Livonia; but, in a short time, a new army of crusaders marched into the country, under the banner of Albert, the third bishop, who built the city of Riga (1200), which became the seat of his bishopric, and afterwards the metropolitan see of all Prussia and Livonia. The same prelate founded a military order of the *Knights of Christ* or *Sword-bearers*, to whom he ceded the third of all the countries he had conquered. This Order, confirmed by Pope Innocent III. (1204), finding themselves too weak to oppose the Pagans of Livonia, agreed to unite with the Teutonic order (1237), who, at that time, nominated the generals or provincial masters in Livonia, known by the names of *Heermeister* and *Landmeister*. Pope Gregory IX., in confirming the union of these two Orders, exacted the surrender of the districts of Revel, Wesenberg, Weisenstein, and Hapsal, to Valdemar II., which the knights, with consent of the Bishop of Dorpat, had taken from him during his captivity. This retrocession was made by an act passed at Strensby (1238). Several documents which still exist in the private archives of the Teutonic order at Königsberg, and especially two, dated 1240 and 1254, prove that, at this period, the bishops of Riga still exercised superiority, both temporal and spiritual, over these knights sword-bearers, although they were united with the Teutonic order, which was

independent of these bishops. The combination of these two Orders rendered them so powerful, that they gradually extended their conquests over all Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigalia; but they could never succeed farther than to subject these nations to a rigorous servitude, under pretence of conversion.

Before we speak of Russia and the other Eastern countries of Europe, it will be necessary to turn our attention for a little to the Moguls, whose conquests and depredations extended, in the thirteenth century, from the extremity of Northern Asia, over Russia and the greater part of Europe. The native country of this people is found to be those same regions which they still inhabit in our day, and which are situated to the north of the great wall of China, between Eastern Tartary and modern Bukharia. They are generally confounded with the Tartars, from whom they differ essentially, both in their appearance and manners, as well as in their religion and political institutions. This nation is divided into two principal branches, the *Eluths* or *Oelots*, better known by the name of *Calmucs*, and the *Moguls*, properly so called. These latter, separated from the *Calmucs* by the mountains of *Altai*, are now subject to the dominion of China.

The Moguls, scarcely known at present in the history of Europe, owe their greatness to the genius of one man—the famous Zinghis Khan. This extraordinary person, whose real name was *Temudgin*, or, according to Pallas, *Dæmutchin*, was born in the year 1163, and originally nothing more than the chief of a particular horde of Moguls, who had settled on the banks of the rivers *Onon* and *Kerlon*, and were tributary to the empire of *Kin*. His first exploits were against the other hordes of Moguls, whom he compelled to acknowledge his authority. Emboldened by success, he conceived the romantic idea of aspiring to be the conqueror of the world. For this purpose, he assembled near the source of the river *Onon*, in 1206, all the chiefs of the Mogul hordes, and the generals of his armies. A certain pretender to inspiration, whom the people regarded as a holy man, appeared in the assembly, and declared that it was the will of God that *Temudgin* should rule over the whole earth,—that all nations should submit to him,—and that henceforth he should bear the title* of *Tschinghis-Khan*, or *Most Great Emperor*.⁴²

In a short time, this new conqueror subdued the two great empires of the Tartars; one of which, called also the empire of *Kin*, embraced the whole of Eastern Tartary, and the northern part of China; the other, that of *Kara-Kitai*, or the *Khitans*, extended over Western Tartary, and had its capital at *Kaschgar* in *Bukharia*.⁴³ He afterwards attacked the *Carismian Sultans*, who ruled over *Turkestan*, *Transoxiana*, *Charasin*, *Chorasan*, and all *Persia*, from *Derbent* to *Irak-Arabia* and the *Indies*. This powerful monarchy was overturned by Zinghis-Khan, in the course of six campaigns; and it was during this war that the Moguls, while marching under the conduct of *Toushi*, the eldest son of Zinghis-Khan, against the *Kipzacs* or *Capchacs*, to the north of the *Caspian Sea*, made their first inroad into the *Russian empire*. Zinghis, after having subdued the whole of *Tangout*, died in the sixty-fifth year of his age (1227). Historians

have remarked in him the traits of a great man, born to command others, but whose noble qualities were tarnished by the ferocity of his nature, which took delight in carnage, plunder, and devastation. Humanity shudders at the recital of the inexpressible horrors exercised by this barbarian, whose maxim was to exterminate, without mercy, all who offered the least resistance to his victorious arms.

The successors of this Mogul conqueror followed him in his career of victory. They achieved the conquest of all China, overturned the caliphate of *Bagdat*, and rendered the sultans of *Iconium* their tributaries.⁴⁴ *Octai-Khan*, the immediate successor of Zinghis, despatched from the centre of China two powerful armies, the one against *Corea*, and the other against the nations that lie to the north and north-west of the *Caspian Sea*. This latter expedition, which had for its chiefs *Gâyouk*, son of *Octai*, and *Batou*, eldest son of *Toushi*, and grandson of Zinghis-Khan, after having subdued all *Kipzac*, penetrated into *Russia*, which they conquered in 1237. Hence they spread over *Poland*, *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Hungary*, and the countries bordering on the *Adriatic Sea*; they plundered cities, laid waste the country, and carried terror and destruction wherever they went.⁴⁵ All Europe trembled at the sight of these barbarians, who seemed as if they wished to make the whole earth one vast empire of desolation. The empire of the Moguls attained its highest point of elevation under *Cublai*, grandson of Zinghis, towards the end of the tenth century. From south to north, it extended from the *Chinese Sea* and the *Indies*, to the extremity of *Siberia*; and from east to west, from *Japan* to *Asia Minor*, and the frontiers of *Poland* in *Europe*. *China* and *Chinese Tartary* formed the seat of the empire, and the residence of the *Great Khan*; while the other parts of the dominions were governed by princes of the family of Zinghis Khan, who either acknowledged the *Great Khan* as their supreme master, or had their own particular kings and chiefs that paid him tribute. The principal subordinate *Khans* of the race of Zinghis were those of *Persia*, *Zagatai*, and *Kipzac*. Their dependence on the *Great Khan*, or emperor of *China*, ceased entirely on the death of *Cublai* (1294), and the power of the *Moguls* soon became extinct in *China*.⁴⁶

As for the *Moguls* of *Kipzac*, their dominion extended over all the *Tartar countries* situated to the north of the *Caspian* and the *Euxine*, as also over *Russia* and the *Crimea*. *Batou-Khan*, eldest son of *Toushi*, was the founder of this dynasty. Being addicted to a wandering life, the *Khans* of *Kipzac* encamped on the banks of the *Wolga*, passing from one place to another with their tents and flocks, according to the custom of the *Mogul* and *Tartar nations*.⁴⁷ The principal sect of these *Khans* was called the *Grand* or *Golden Horde*, or the *Horde of Kipzac*, which was long an object of the greatest terror to the *Russians*, *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, and *Hungarians*. Its glory declined towards the end of the fourteenth century, and entirely disappeared under the last *Khan Achmet*, in 1481. A few separate hordes were all that remained, detached from the grand horde, such as those of *Casan*, *Astracan*, *Siberia*, and the *Crimea*;—all of which were, in their turn, subdued or extirpated by the *Russians*.⁴⁸

A crowd of princes, descendants of *Vlademir*

the Great, had shared among them the vast dominions of Russia. One of these princes, invested with the dignity of Grand Duke, exercised certain rights of superiority over the rest, who, nevertheless, acted the part of petty sovereigns, and made war on each other. The capital of these grand dukes was Kiow, which was also regarded as the metropolis of the empire. Andrew I., Prince of Suzdal, having assumed the title of grand duke (1137), fixed his residence at Vlademir, on the river Kliasma, and thus gave rise to a kind of political schism, the consequences of which were most fatal to the Russians. The Grand Duchy of Kiow, with its dependent principalities, detached themselves by degrees from the rest of the empire, and finally became a prey to the Lithuanians and Poles.

In the midst of these divisions and intestine broils, and when Russia was struggling with difficulty against the Bulgarians, Polowzians,⁴⁹ and other barbarous tribes in the neighbourhood, she had the misfortune to be attacked by the Moguls, under Zinghis Khan. Touthi, eldest son of that conqueror, having marched round the Caspian, in order to attack the Polowzians, encountered, on his passage, the princes of Kiow, who were allies of that people. The battle which he fought (1223), on the banks of the river Kalka, was one of the most sanguinary recorded in history. The Russians were totally defeated; six of their princes perished on the field of battle; and the whole of Western Russia was laid open to the conqueror. The Moguls penetrated as far as Novogorod, wasting the whole country on their march with fire and sword. They returned by the same route, but without extending their ravages farther. In 1237 they made a second invasion, under the conduct of Batou, son of Touthi, and governor of the northern parts of the Mogul empire. This prince, after having vanquished the Polowzians and Bulgarians, that is, the whole country of Kipzac, entered the north of Russia, where he took Rugen and Moscow, and cut to pieces an army of the Russians near Koloma. Several other towns in this part of Russia were sacked by the Moguls, in the commencement of the following year. The family of the Grand Duke, Juri II., perished in the sack of Vlademir; and he himself fell in the battle which he fought with the Moguls near the river Sita. Batou extended his conquests in northern Russia as far as the city Torshok, in the territory of Novogorod. For some years he continued his ravages over the whole of Western Russia; where, among others, he took Kiow, Kaminitc in Podolia, Vlademir, and Halitich. From this we may date the fall of the Grand Duchy of Kiow, or Western Russia, which, with its dependent principalities, in the following century, came into the possession of the Lithuanians and Poles. As for the Grand Duchy of Vlademir, which comprehended Eastern and Northern Russia, it was subdued by the Moguls or Tartars, whose terrible yoke it wore for more than two hundred years.⁵⁰

An extraordinary person who appeared at this disastrous crisis, preserved that part of Russia from sinking into total ruin. This was Prince Alexander, son of the Grand Duke, Jaroslaus II., who obtained the epithet or surname of *Newski*, from a victory which he gained over the Knights of Livonia, near the Neva (1241). Elevated by

the Khan Batou to the dignity of Grand Duke (1245), he secured, by his prudent conduct, his punctuality in paying tribute, and preserving his allegiance to the Mogul emperors, the good will of these new masters of Russia, during his whole reign. When this great prince died in 1261, his name was enrolled in their calendar of saints. Peter the Great built, in honour of his memory, a convent on the banks of the Neva, to which he gave the name of Alexander Newski; and the Empress Catherine I. instituted an order of knighthood that was also called after the name of that prince.

Poland, which was divided among several princes of the Piast dynasty, had become, at the time of which we speak, a prey to intestine factions, and exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring barbarians. These divisions, the principal source of all the evils that afflicted Poland, continued down to the death of Boleslaus II. (1138), who, having portioned his estates among his sons, ordered that the eldest should retain the district of Cracow, under the title of Monarch, and that he should exercise the rights of superiority over the provincial dukes and princes, his brothers. This clause, which might have prevented the dismemberment of the state, served only to kindle the flame of discord among these collegatory princes. Uladislaus, who is generally considered as the eldest of these sons, having attempted to dispossess his brothers (1146), they rose in arms, expelled him from Poland, and obliged his descendants to content themselves with Silesia. His sons founded, in that country, numerous families of dukes and princes, who introduced German colonies into Silesia; all of which, in course of time, became subject to the kings of Bohemia. Conrad, son of Casimir the Just, and grandson of Boleslaus III., was the ancestor of the dukes of Cujavia and Masovia. It was this prince who called in the assistance of the Teutonic knights against the pagans of Prussia, and established that Order in the territory of Culm (1230).

The Moguls, after having vanquished Russia, took possession of Poland (1240). Having gained the victory at the battle of Schiedlow, they set fire to Cracow, and then marched to Lignitz in Silesia, where a numerous army of crusaders were assembled under the command of Henry, Duke of Breslau. This prince was defeated, and slain in the action. The whole of Silesia, as well as Moravia, was cruelly pillaged and desolated by the Moguls.

Hungary, at this period, presented the spectacle of a warlike and barbarous nation, the ferocity of whose manners cannot be better attested than by the laws passed in the reigns of Ladislaus and Coloman, about the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. Crimes were then punished either with the loss of liberty, or of some member of the body, such as the eye, the nose, the tongue, &c. These laws were published in their general assemblies, which were composed of the king, the great officers of the crown, and the representatives of the clergy and the free men. All the other branches of the executive power pertained to the kings, who made war and peace at their pleasure; while the counts, or governors of provinces, claimed no power either personal or hereditary.⁵¹

Under a government so despotic, it was easy for the kings of Hungary to enlarge the boundaries of their states. Ladislaus took from the Greeks the duchy of Sirmium (1080), comprising the lower part of Slavonia. This same prince extended his conquests into Croatia, a country which was governed for several ages by the Slavian princes, who possessed Upper Slavonia, and ruled over a great part of ancient Illyria and Dalmatia, to which they gave the name of Croatia. Dircislaus was the first of these princes that took the title of king (in 984). Demetrius Swinimir, one of his successors, did homage to the Pope, in order to obtain the protection of the Holy See (1076). The line of these kings having become extinct some time after, Ladislaus, whose sister had been married to Demetrius Swinimir, took advantage of the commotion that had arisen in Croatia, and conquered a great part of that kingdom (1091), and especially Upper Slavonia, which was one of its dependencies. Coloman completed their conquest in 1102, and the same year he was crowned at Belgrade King of Croatia and Dalmatia. In the course of a few years he subdued the maritime cities of Dalmatia, such as Spalatro, Trau, and Zara, which he took from the republic of Venice.³² The kingdom of Rama, or Bosnia, fell at the same time under his power. He took the title of King of Rama (1103); and Bela II., his successor, made over the duchy of Bosnia to Ladislaus, his younger son. The sovereignty of the kings of Hungary was also occasionally acknowledged by the princes and kings of Bulgaria and Servia, and even by the Russian princes of Halitsch and Wolodimir.

These conquests gave rise to an abuse which soon proved fatal to Hungary. The kings claimed for themselves the right of disposing of the newly conquered provinces in favour of their younger sons, to whom they granted them under the title of duchies, and with the rights of sovereignty. These latter made use of their supreme power to excite factions and stir up civil wars.

The reign of King Andrew II. was rendered remarkable by a revolution which happened in the government (1217). This prince having undertaken an expedition to the Holy Land, which he equipped at an extravagant and ruinous expense, the nobles availed themselves of his absence to augment their own power, and usurp the estates and revenues of the crown. Corruption had pervaded every branch of the administration; and the king, after his return, made several ineffectual efforts to remedy the disorders of the government, and recruit his exhausted finances. At length he adopted the plan of assembling a general Diet (1222), in which was passed the famous decree, or *Golden Bull*, which forms the basis of that defective constitution which prevails in Hungary at this day. The property of the clergy and the noblesse were there declared exempt from taxes and military cess; the nobles acquired hereditary possession of the royal grants which they had received in recompense for their services; they were freed from the obligation of marching at their own expense on any expedition out of the kingdom; and even the right of resistance was allowed them, in case the king should infringe any article of the decree. It was this king also (Andrew II.) that conferred several important privileges and immunities on the Saxons, or Germans of Transylvania,

who had been invited thither by Geisa II. about the year 1142.

Under the reign of Bela IV. (1241) Hungary was suddenly inundated with an army of Moguls, commanded by several chiefs, the principal of whom were Batou, the son of Touthi, and Gayouk, son of the great Khan Octai. The Hungarians, sunk in effeminacy and living in perfect security, had neglected to provide in time for their defence. Having at length rallied round the banner of their king, they pitched their camp very negligently on the banks of the Sajo, where they were surprised by the Moguls, who made terrible havoc of them. Coloman, the king's brother, was slain in the action; and the king himself succeeded with difficulty in saving himself among the isles of Dalmatia. The whole of Hungary was now at the mercy of the conqueror, who penetrated with his victorious troops into Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria; everywhere glutting his fury with the blood of the people, which he shed in torrents. These barbarians seemed determined to fix their residence in Hungary, when the news of the death of the Khan Octai, and the accession of his son Gayouk to the throne of China, induced them to abandon their conquest in less than three years, and return to the East loaded with immense booty. On hearing this intelligence, Bela ventured from his place of retreat, and repaired to Hungary, where he assembled the remains of his subjects, who were wandering in the forests, or concealed among the mountains. He rebuilt the cities that were laid in ashes, imported new colonies from Croatia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Saxony; and, by degrees, restored life and vigour to the state, which had been almost annihilated by the Moguls.

The Empire of the Greeks, at this time, was gradually verging towards its downfall. Harassed on the east by the Seljukian Turks, infested on the side of the Danube by the Hungarians, the Patzinacites, the Uzes, and the Cumans;³³ and torn to pieces by factious and intestine wars, that Empire was making but a feeble resistance to the incessant attacks of its enemies, when it was suddenly threatened with entire destruction by the effects of the fourth crusade. The Emperor Isaac Angelus had been dethroned by his brother, Alexius III. (1195), who had cruelly caused his eyes to be put out. The son of Isaac, called also Alexius, found means to save his life; he repaired to Zara, in Dalmatia (1203), to implore the aid of the Crusaders, who, after having assisted the Venetians to recover that rebellious city, were on the point of setting sail for Palestine. The young Alexius offered to indemnify the Crusaders for the expenses of any expedition which they might undertake in his favour; he gave them reason to expect a reunion of the two churches, and considerable supplies, both in men and money, to assist them in reconquering the Holy Land. Yielding to these solicitations, the allied chiefs, instead of passing directly to Syria, set sail for Constantinople. They immediately laid siege to the city, expelled the usurper, and restored Isaac to the throne, in conjunction with his son Alexius.

Scarcely had the Crusaders quitted Constantinople, when a new revolution happened there. Another Alexius, surnamed *Mourzoufle*, excited an insurrection among the Greeks; and having

procured the death of the Emperors Isaac and Alexius, he made himself master of the throne. The Crusaders immediately returned, again laid siege to Constantinople, which they took by assault; and, after having slain the usurper, they elected a new emperor in the person of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, and one of the noble Crusaders.²⁴ This event transferred the Greek Empire to the Latins (1204). It was followed by a union of the two churches, which, however, was neither general nor permanent, as it terminated with the reign of the Latins at Constantinople.

Meantime the Crusaders divided among themselves the provinces of the Greek Empire,—both those which they had already seized, and those which yet remained to be conquered. The greater part of the maritime coasts of the Adriatic, Greece, the Archipelago, the Propontis, and the Euxine; the islands of the Cyclades and Sporades, and those of the Adriatic, were adjudged to the republic of Venice. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, and commander-in-chief of the crusade, obtained for his share the island of Crete or Candia, and all that belonged to the Empire beyond the Bosphorus. He afterwards sold Candia to the Venetians, who took possession of it in 1207. The other chiefs of the Crusaders had also their portions of the dismembered provinces. None of them, however, were to possess the countries that were assigned them, except under the title of vassals to the Empire, and by acknowledging the sovereignty of Baldwin.

In the midst of this general overthrow, several of the Greek princes attempted to preserve the feeble remains of their Empire. Theodore Lascaris, son-in-law of the Emperor Alexius III., resolved on the conquest of the Greek provinces in Asia. He made himself master of Bithynia, Lydia, part of the coasts of the Archipelago, and Phrygia, and was crowned emperor at Nice in 1206. About the same period, Alexius and David Comnenus, grandsons of the Emperor Andronicus I., having taken shelter in Pontus, laid there the foundation of a new Empire, which had for its capital the city of Trebizond.

At length Michael Angelus Comnenus took possession of Durazzo, which he erected into a considerable state, extending from Durazzo to the Gulf of Lepanto, and comprehending Epirus, Acarnania, Etolia, and part of Thessaly. All these princes assumed the rank and dignity of emperors. The most powerful among them was Theodore Lascaris, Emperor of Nice. His successors found little difficulty in resuming, by degrees, their superiority over the Latin emperors. They reduced them at last to the single city of Constantinople, of which Michael Paleologus, Emperor of Nice, undertook the siege; and, with the assistance of the Genoese vessels, he made himself master of it in 1261. Baldwin II., the last of the Latin emperors, fled to the Isle of Negropont, whence he passed into Italy; and his conqueror became the ancestor of all the emperors of the House of Paleologus, that reigned at Constantinople until the taking of that capital by the Turks in 1453.

It now remains for us to cast a glance at the revolutions of Asia, closely connected with those of Europe, on account of the crusades and expeditions to the Holy Land. The Empire of the

Seljukian Turks had been divided into several dynasties, or distinct sovereignties; the Atabeks of Irak, and a number of petty princes, reigned in Syria and the neighbouring countries; the Fatamite Caliphs of Egypt were masters of Jerusalem, and part of Palestine, when the mania of the crusades converted that region of the East into a theatre of carnage and devastation. For two hundred years Asia was seen contending with Europe, and the Christian nations making the most extraordinary efforts to maintain the conquest of Palestine and the neighbouring states, against the arms of the Mahometans.

At length there arose among the Mussulmans a man of superior genius, who rendered himself formidable by his warlike prowess to the Christians in the East, and deprived them of the fruits of their numerous victories. This conqueror was the famous Saladin, or Salaheddin, the son of Ayoub, or Job, and founder of the dynasty of the Ayoubites. The Atabek Noureddin, son of Amaloddin Zenghi, had sent him into Egypt (1168), to assist the Fatamite Caliph against the Franks, or Crusaders of the West. While there, he was declared vizier and general of the armies of the Caliph; and so well had he established his power in that country, that he effected the substitution of the Abassidian Caliphs in place of the Fatamites; and ultimately caused himself to be proclaimed sultan on the death of Noureddin (1171), under whom he had served in the quality of lieutenant. Having vanquished Egypt, he next subdued the dominions of Noureddin in Syria; and, after having extended his victories over this province, as well as Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia, and Arabia, he turned his arms against the Christians in Palestine, whom he had hemmed in, as it were, with his conquests. These princes, separated into petty sovereignties, divided by mutual jealousy, and a prey to the distractions of anarchy, soon yielded to the valour of the heroic Mussulman. The battle which they fought (1187) at Hittin, near Tiberias (or Tabaria), was decisive. The Christians sustained a total defeat; and Guy of Lusignan, a weak prince without talents, and the last King of Jerusalem, fell into the hands of the conqueror. All the cities of Palestine opened their gates to Saladin, either voluntarily or at the point of the sword. Jerusalem surrendered after a siege of fourteen days. This defeat rekindled the zeal of the Christians in the West; and the most powerful sovereigns in Europe were again seen conducting innumerable armies to the relief of the Holy Land. But the talents and bravery of Saladin rendered all their efforts unavailing; and it was not till after a murderous siege of three years, that they succeeded in retaking the city of Ptolemais, or Acre; and thus arresting, for a short space, the total extermination of the Christians in the East.

On the death of Saladin, whose heroism is extolled by Christian as well as Mahometan authors, his Empire was divided among his sons. Several princes, his dependants, and known by the name of Ayoubites, reigned afterwards in Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and Yemen, or Arabia the Happy. These princes quarrelling and making war with each other, their territories fell, in the thirteenth century, under the dominion of the Mamelukes. These Mamelukes (an Arabic word which signifies a slave) were Turkish or Tartar captives, whom

the Syrian merchants purchased from the Moguls, and sent into Egypt under the reign of the Sultan Saleh, of the Ayoubite dynasty. That prince bought them in vast numbers, and ordered them to be trained to the exercise of arms in one of the maritime cities of Egypt.⁵⁵ From this school he raised them to the highest offices of trust in the state, and even selected from them his own body guard. In a very short time these slaves became so numerous and so powerful, that, in the end, they seized the government, after having assassinated the Sultan Touran Shah (son and successor of Saleh), who had in vain attempted to disentangle himself of their chains, and recover the authority which they had usurped over him. This revolution (1250) happened in the very presence of St. Louis, who, having been taken prisoner at the battle of Mansoura, had just concluded a truce of ten years with the Sultan of Egypt. The Mameluke Ibeg, who was at first appointed regent, or Atabek, was soon after proclaimed Sultan of Egypt.

The dominion of the Mamelukes existed in Egypt for the space of 263 years. Their numbers being constantly recruited by Turkish or Circas-

sian slaves, they disposed of the throne of Egypt at their pleasure; and the crown generally fell to the share of the most audacious of the gang, provided he was a native of Turkistan. These Mamelukes had even the courage to attack the Moguls, and took from them the kingdoms of Damascus and Aleppo in Syria (1210), of which the latter had dispossessed the Ayoubite princes. All the princes of this latter dynasty, with those of Syria and Yemen, adopted the expedient of submitting to the Mamelukes; who, in order to become masters of all Syria, had only to reduce the cities and territories which the Franks, or Christians of the West, still retained in their possession. They first attacked the principality of Antioch, which they soon conquered (1268). They next turned their arms against the county of Tripoli, the capital of which they took by assault (1289). The city of Ptolemais shared the same fate; after an obstinate and murderous siege, it was carried sword in hand. Tyre surrendered on capitulation; and the Franks were entirely expelled from Syria and the East in the year 1291.

PERIOD V.

FROM POPE BONIFACE VIII. TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS. A. D. 1300—1453.

At the commencement of this period the Pontifical power was in the zenith of its grandeur. The Popes proudly assumed the title of Masters of the World; and asserted that their authority, by divine right, comprehended every other, both spiritual and temporal. Boniface VIII. went even farther than his predecessors had done. According to him, the secular power was nothing else than a mere emanation from the ecclesiastical; and this double power of the Pope was even made an article of belief, and founded on the sacred Scriptures. "God has intrusted" (said he) "to St. Peter and his successors, two swords, the one spiritual, and the other temporal. The former can be exercised by the church alone; the other, by the secular princes, for the service of the church, and in submission to the will of the Pope. This latter, that is, the temporal sword, is subordinate to the former; and all temporal authority necessarily depends on the spiritual, which judges it; whereas God alone can judge the spiritual power. Finally, (added he,) it is absolutely indispensable to salvation, that every human creature be subject to the Pope of Rome." This same Pope published the first Jubilee (1300), with plenary indulgence for all who should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. An immense crowd from all parts of Christendom flocked to this capital of the Western world, and filled its treasury with their pious contributions.¹

The spiritual power of the Popes, and their jurisdiction over the clergy, was moreover increased every day, by means of *dispensations* and *appeals*, which had multiplied exceedingly since the introduction of the Decretals of Gregory IX. They

disposed, in the most absolute manner, of the dignities and benefices of the Church, and imposed taxes at their pleasure on all the clergy in Christendom. Collectors or treasurers were established by them, who superintended the levying of the dues they had found means to exact, under a multitude of different denominations. These collectors were empowered, by means of ecclesiastical censure, to proceed against those who should refuse to pay. They were supported by the authority of the legates who reside in the ecclesiastical provinces, and seized with avidity every occasion to extend the usurpation of the Pope. Moreover, in support of these legates appeared a vast number of Religious and Mendicant Orders, founded in those ages of ignorance; besides legions of monks dispersed over all the states of Christendom.

Nothing is more remarkable than the influence of the papal authority over the temporalities of princes. We find them interfering in all their quarrels—addressing their commands to all without distinction—enjoining some to lay down their arms—receiving others under their protection—rescinding and annulling their acts and proceedings—summoning them to their court, and acting as arbiters in their disputes. The history of the Popes is the history of all Europe. They assumed the privilege of legitimating the sons of kings, in order to qualify them for the succession; they forbade sovereigns to tax the clergy; they claimed a feudal superiority over all, and exercised it over a very great number; they conferred royalty on those who were ambitious of power; they released subjects from their oath of allegiance; dethroned sovereigns at their pleasure; and laid kingdoms and empires under

interdict, to avenge their own quarrels. We find them disposing of the states of excommunicated princes, as well as those of heretics and their followers; of islands and kingdoms newly discovered; of the property of infidels or schismatics; and even of Catholics who refused to bow before the insolent tyranny of the Popes.⁴

Thus, it is obvious that the court of Rome, at the time of which we speak, enjoyed a conspicuous preponderance in the political system of Europe. But in the ordinary course of human affairs, this power, vast and formidable as it was, began, from the fourteenth century, gradually to diminish. The mightiest empires have their appointed term; and the highest stage of their elevation is often the first step of their decline. Kings, becoming more and more enlightened as to their true interests, learned to support the rights and the majesty of their crowns against the encroachments of the Popes. Those who were vassals and tributaries of the Holy See gradually shook off the yoke; even the clergy, who groaned under the weight of this spiritual despotism, joined the secular princes in repressing these abuses, and restraining within proper bounds a power which was making incessant encroachments on their just prerogatives.

Among the causes which operated the downfall of the pontifical power may be ranked the excess of the power itself, and the abuses of it made by the Popes. By issuing too often their anathemas and interdicts, they rendered them useless and contemptible; and by their haughty treatment of the greatest princes, they learned to become inflexible and boundless in their own pretensions. An instance of this may be recorded, in the famous dispute which arose between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, King of France. Not content with constituting himself judge between the King and his vassal, the Count of Flanders, that pontiff maintained, that the King could not exact subsidies from the clergy without his permission; and that the right of *Regale* (or the revenues of vacant bishoprics) which the Crown enjoyed, was an abuse which should not be tolerated.⁵ He treated as a piece of insanity the prohibition of Philip against exporting either gold or silver out of the kingdom; and sent an order to all the prelates in France to repair in person to Rome on the 1st of November, there to advise measures for correcting the King and reforming the state. He declared, formally, that the King was subject to the Pope, as well in temporal as in spiritual matters; and that it was a foolish persuasion to suppose that the King had no superior on earth, and was not dependent on the supreme Pontiff.

Philip ordered the papal bull which contained these extravagant assertions to be burnt; he forbade his ecclesiastics to leave the realm; and having twice assembled the States-General of the kingdom (1302-3), he adopted, with their advice and approbation, measures against these dangerous pretensions of the court of Rome. The Three Estates, who appeared for the first time in these Assemblies, declared themselves strongly in favour of the King, and the independence of the crown. In consequence, the excommunication which the Pope had threatened against the King proved ineffectual. Philip made his appeal to a future assembly, to which the three orders of the State adhered.⁶

The Emperor Louis of Bavaria, a prince of superior merit, having incurred the censures of the Church for defending the rights and prerogatives of his crown, could not obtain absolution, notwithstanding the most humiliating condescensions, and the offer which he made to resign the Imperial dignity, and surrender himself, his crown and his property, to the discretion of the Pope. He was loaded with curses and anathemas, after a series of various proceedings which had been instituted against him. The bull of Pope Clement VI., on this occasion, far surpassed all those of his predecessors. "May God (said he, in speaking of the Emperor) smite him with madness and disease; may heaven crush him with its thunderbolts; may the wrath of God, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, fall on him in this world and the next; may the whole universe combine against him; may the earth swallow him up alive; may his name perish in the first generation, and his memory disappear from the earth; may all the elements conspire against him; may his children, delivered into the hands of his enemies, be massacred before the eyes of their father." The indignity of such proceedings roused the attention of the princes and states of the Empire; and on the representation of the Electoral College, they thought proper to check these boundless pretensions of the Popes, by a decree which was passed at the Diet of Frankfort in 1338. This decree, regarded as the fundamental law of the Empire, declared, in substance, that the Imperial dignity was held only of God; that he whom the Electors had chosen emperor by a plurality of suffrages, was, in virtue of that election, a true king and emperor, and needed neither confirmation nor coronation from the hands of the Pope; and that all persons who should maintain the contrary, should be treated as guilty of high treason.

Among other events prejudicial to the authority of the Popes, one was, the translation of the pontifical see from Rome to Avignon. Clement V., archbishop of Bourdeaux, having been advanced to the papacy (1305), instead of repairing to Rome, had his coronation celebrated at Lyons; and thence he transferred his residence to Avignon (1309), out of complaisance to Philip the Fair, to whom he owed his elevation. The successors of this Pope continued their court at Avignon until 1367, when Gregory XI. again removed the see to Rome. This sojourn at Avignon tended to weaken the authority of the Popes, and diminish the respect and veneration which till then had been paid them. The prevailing opinion beyond the Alps admitted no other city than that of Rome for the true capital of St. Peter; and they despised the Popes of Avignon as aliens, who, besides, were there surrounded with powerful princes, to whose caprice they were often obliged to yield, and to make condescensions prejudicial to the authority they had usurped. This circumstance, joined to the lapse of nearly seventy years, made the residence at Avignon be stigmatized by the Italians, under the name of the *Babylonish Captivity*. It occasioned also the diminution of the papal authority at Rome, and in the Ecclesiastical States. The Italians, no longer restrained by the presence of the sovereign pontiffs, yielded but a reluctant obedience to their representatives; while the remembrance of their ancient republicanism induced

them to lend a docile ear to those who preached up insurrection and revolt. Historians inform us, that Nicolas Gabrini de Rienzo, or Cola di Rienzi, a man of great eloquence, and whose audacity was equal to his ambition, took advantage of these republican propensities of the Romans, to constitute himself master of the city, under the popular title of Tribune (1347). He projected the scheme of a new government, called the *Good Estate*, which he pretended would obtain the acceptance of all the princes and republics of Italy; but the despotic power which he exercised over the citizens, whose liberator and lawgiver he affected to be, soon reduced him to his original insignificance; and the city of Rome again assumed its ancient form of government. Meantime the Popes did not recover their former authority; most of the cities and states of the Ecclesiastical dominions, after having been long a prey to faction and discord, fell under the power of the nobles, who made an easy conquest of them; scarcely leaving to the Pope a vestige of the sovereign authority. It required all the insidious policy of Alexander VI., and the vigilant activity of Julius II., to repair the injury which the territorial influence of the pontiffs had suffered from their residence at Avignon.

Another circumstance that contributed to humble the papal authority was the schisms which rent the Church, towards the end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century. Gregory XI., who had abandoned Avignon for Rome, being dead (1378), the Italians elected a Pope of their own nation, who took the name of Urban VI., and fixed his residence at Rome. The French cardinals, on the other hand, declared in favour of the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, known by the name of Clement VII., who fixed his capital at Avignon. The whole of Christendom was divided between these two Popes; and this grand schism continued from 1378 till 1417. At Rome, Urban VI. was succeeded by Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII.; while Clement VII. had Benedict XIII. for his successor at Avignon. In order to terminate this schism, every expedient was tried to induce the rival Popes to give in their abdication; but both having refused, several of the Cardinals withdrew their allegiance, and assembled a council at Pisa (1409), where the two refractory Popes were deposed, and the pontifical dignity conferred on Alexander V., who was afterwards succeeded by John XXIII. This election of the council only tended to increase the schism. Instead of two Popes, there arose three; and if his Pisan Holiness gained partisans, the Popes of Rome and Avignon contrived also to maintain each a number of supporters. All these Popes, wishing to maintain their rank and dignity with that splendour and magnificence which their predecessors had displayed before the schism, set themselves to invent new means of oppressing the people; hence the immense number of abuses and exactions, which subverted the discipline of the church, and roused the exasperated nations against the court of Rome.

A new General Council was convoked at Constance (1414) by order of the Emperor Sigismund; and it was there that the maxim of the unity and permanency of Councils was established, as well as of its superiority over the Pope, in all that

pertains to matters of faith, to the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the Church, both in its supreme head, and in its subordinate members. The grand schism was here terminated by the abdication of the Roman pontiff, and the deposition of those of Pisa and Avignon. It was this famous Council that gave their decision against John Huss, the Reformer of Bohemia, and a follower of the celebrated Wickliff. His doctrines were condemned, and he himself burnt at Constance; as was Jerome of Prague, one of his most zealous partizans. As to the measures that were taken at Constance for effecting the reformation of the Church, they practically ended in nothing. As their main object was to reform the court of Rome, by suppressing or limiting the new prerogatives which the Popes for several centuries had usurped, and which referred, among other things, to the subject of benefices and pecuniary exactions, all those who had an interest in maintaining these abuses, instantly set themselves to defeat the proposed amendments, and elude redress. The Council had formed a committee, composed of the deputies of different nations, to advise means for accomplishing this reformation, which the whole world so ardently desired. This committee, known by the name of the *College of Reformers*, had already made considerable progress in their task, when a question was started, Whether it was proper to proceed to any reformation without the consent and co-operation of the visible Head of the Church? It was carried in the negative, through the intrigues of the cardinals; and, before they could accomplish this salutary work of reformation, the election of a new Pope had taken place (1417). The choice fell on Otho de Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V., and in conformity with a previous decision of the Council, he then laid before them a scheme of reform. This proceeding having been disapproved by the different nations of Europe, the whole matter was remitted to the next Council; and in the meanwhile, they did nothing more than pass some concordats, with the new Pope, as to what steps they should take until the decision of the approaching Council.

This new Council, which was assembled at Basle (1431) by Martin V., resumed the suspended work of reformation. The former decrees, that a General Council was superior to the Pope, and could not be dissolved or prorogued except by their own free consent, were here renewed; and the greater part of the reserves, reversions, annats, and other exactions of the Popes, were regularly abolished. The liberty of appeals to the court of Rome was also circumscribed. Eugenius IV., successor to Martin V., alarmed at the destruction thus aimed at his authority, twice proclaimed the dissolution of the Council. The first dissolution, which occurred on the 17th of December, 1431, was revoked, at the urgent application of the Emperor Sigismund, by a bull of the same Pope, issued on the 15th of December, 1433. In this he acknowledged the validity of the Council, and annulled all that he had formerly done to invalidate its authority. The second dissolution took place on the 1st of October, 1437. Eugenius then transferred the Council to Ferrara, and from Ferrara to Florence, on pretext of his negotiating a union with the Greek church. This conduct of the Pope oc-

casioned a new schism. The prelates who remained at Basle instituted a procedure against him; they first suspended him for contumacy, and finally deposed him. Amadeus VIII., ex-Duke of Saxony, was elected in his place, under the name of Felix V., and recognised by all the partisans of the Council as the legitimate Pope. This latter schism lasted ten years. Felix V. at length gave in his demission; and the Council, which had withdrawn from Basle to Lausanne, terminated its sittings in 1449.

The French nation adopted several of the decrees of the Council of Basle in the famous Pragmatic Sanction, which Charles VII. caused to be drawn up at Bourges (1438); and whose stipulations served as the basis of what is called the *Liberties of the Gallican Church*. The example of the French was speedily followed by the Germans, who acceded to these decrees, at the Diet of Mayence, in 1439. The court of Rome at length regained a part of those honourable and lucrative rights of which the Council of Basle had deprived them, by the concordats which the Germans concluded (1448) with Nicholas V., and the French (1516) with Leo X. The Councils of which we have now spoken tended materially to limit the exorbitant power of the Roman pontiffs, by giving sanction to the principle which established the superiority of General Councils over the Popes. This maxim put a check to the enterprising ambition of the court of Rome; and kings availed themselves of it to recover by degrees the prerogatives of their crowns. The Popes, moreover, sensible of their weakness, and of the need they had for the protection of the sovereigns, learned to treat them with more attention and respect.

At length the new light which began to dawn about the fourteenth century, hastened on the progress of this revolution, by gradually dissipating the darkness of superstition into which the nations of Europe were almost universally sunk. In the midst of the distractions which agitated the Empire and the Church, and during the papal schism, several learned and intrepid men made their appearance, who, while investigating the origin and abuse of the new power of the Popes, had the courage to revive the doctrine of the ancient canons, to enlighten the minds of sovereigns as to their true rights, and to examine with care into the just limits of the sacerdotal authority. Among the first of these reformers was John of Paris, a famous Dominican, who undertook the defence of Philip the Fair, King of France, against Pope Boniface VIII. His example was followed by the celebrated poet, Dante Alighieri, who took the part of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria against the court of Rome. Marsilo de Padua, John de Janduno, William Ockam, Leopold de Babenberg, &c., marched in the track of the Italian poet; and among the crowd of writers that signalized themselves after the grand schism, three French authors particularly distinguished themselves, Peter d'Ailly, Nicholas de Clemance, and John Gerson, whose writings met with general applause. Most of these literary productions, however, were characterized by bad taste. The philosophy of Aristotle, studied in Arabic translations, and disfigured by scholastic subtleties, reigned in all the schools, imposed its fetters on the human mind, and nearly extinguished every vestige of useful knowledge. The belles

lettres were quite neglected, and as yet had shed no lustre on the sciences. Sometimes, however, genius broke with a transient splendour through the darkness of this moral horizon; and several extraordinary persons, despising the vain cavils of the schools, began to study truth in the volume of nature, and to copy after the beautiful models of antiquity. Such was Roger Bacon (who died in 1294), an Englishman, and a Franciscan friar, who has become so famous by his discoveries in chemistry and mechanical philosophy. Dante, nurtured in the spirit of the ancients, was the first that undertook to refine the Italian language into poetry, and gave it the polish of elegance and grace in his compositions (he died in 1321). He was succeeded by two other celebrated authors, Petrarch (who died in 1374), and Boccaccio (1375).

The period of which we speak gave birth to several new inventions, which proved useful auxiliaries to men of genius, and tended to accelerate the progress of knowledge, letters, and arts. Among the principal of these may be mentioned the invention of writing paper, oil-painting, printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass; to the effects of which Europe, in a great measure, owes its civilization, and the new order of things which appeared in the fifteenth century.

Before the invention of paper from linen, parchment was generally used in Europe for the transcribing of books, or the drawing out of public deeds. Cotton paper, which the Arabs brought from the East, was but a poor remedy for the scarceness and dearth of parchment. It would appear, that the invention of paper from linen, and the custom of using it in Europe, is not of older date than the thirteenth century. The famous Montfaucon acknowledges, that, in spite of all his researches, both in France and Italy, he could never find any manuscript or charter, written on our ordinary paper, older than the year 1270, the time when St. Louis died. The truth is, we know neither the exact date of the invention of this sort of paper, nor the name of the inventor.³ It is certain, however, that the manufacture of paper from cotton must have introduced that of paper from linen; and the only question is, to determine at what time the use of linen became so common in Europe, as to lead us to suppose they might convert its rags into paper. The cultivation of hemp and flax being originally peculiar to the northern countries, it is probable that the first attempts at making paper of linen rags were made in Germany, and the countries abounding in flax and hemp, rather than in the southern provinces of Europe. The most ancient manufactory of paper from linen to be met with in Germany was established at Nuremberg (1390).

The invention of oil-painting is generally ascribed to the two brothers Van-Eick, the younger of whom, known by the name of John of Bruges, had gained considerable celebrity about the end of the fourteenth century. There is, however, reason to believe that this invention is of an older date. There are two authors who have carried it back to the eleventh century, viz., Theophilus and Eraclius, whose works in manuscript have been preserved in the library at Wolfenbüttel, and in that of Trinity College, Cambridge; and who speak of this art as already known in their times. According to them, all sorts of colours could be mixed up with linseed

ters of the commerce and the current money of every country where they established themselves ; and, in all probability, they were the first that adopted the practice of letters or bills of exchange, of which we may discover traces towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Hanseatic League, which the maritime cities on the Baltic had formed in the thirteenth century, for the protection of their commerce against pirates and brigands, gained very considerable accessions of strength in the following century, and even became a very formidable maritime power. A great number of the commercial cities of the Empire, from the Scheld and the isles of Zealand, to the confines of Livonia, entered successively into this League ; and many towns in the interior, in order to enjoy their protection, solicited the favour of being admitted under its flag. The first public act of a general confederation among these cities was drawn up at the assembly of their deputies, held at Cologne, in 1364. The whole of the allied towns were subdivided into *quarters* or *circles* ; the most ancient of which were the Venedian quarter, containing the southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic ; the Westphalian, for the towns on the western side ; and the Saxon, comprehending the inland and intermediate towns. A fourth circle or quarter was afterwards added, that of the cities of Prussia and Livonia. The boundaries of these different circles and their capital towns varied from time to time. The general assemblies of the League were held regularly every three years, in the city of Lubeck, which was considered as the capital of the whole League ; while each of the three or four circles had also their particular or provincial assemblies.

The most flourishing epoch of this League was about the end of the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth century. At that time, the deputies of more than fourscore cities appeared at its assemblies ; and even some towns who had not the privilege of sending deputies were, nevertheless, regarded as allies of the League. Having the command of the whole commerce of the Baltic, their cities exercised at their pleasure the rights of peace and war, and even of forming alliances. They equipped numerous and powerful fleets, and offered battle to the sovereigns of the North, whenever they presumed to interfere with their monopoly, or to restrict the privileges and exemptions which they had had the weakness to grant them. The productions of the North, such as hemp, flax, timber, potash, tar, corn, hides, furs, and copper, with the produce of the large and small fisheries on the coasts of Schonen, Norway, Lapland, and Iceland,¹⁵ formed the staple of the Hanseatic commerce. They exchanged these commodities, in the western parts of Europe, for wines, fruits, drugs, and all sorts of cloths, which they carried back to the North in return. Their principal factories and warehouses were at Bruges for Flanders, at London for England, at Novogorod for Russia, and at Bergen for Norway. The merchandise of Italy and the East was imported into Flanders, in Genoese or Venetian bottoms, which, at that time, carried on most of the commerce of the Levant and the Mediterranean.

Extensive as the trade of the Hanseatic cities was, it proved neither solid nor durable. As they were themselves deficient in the articles of raw

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ters of the commerce and the current money of every country where they established themselves; and, in all probability, they were the first that adopted the practice of letters or bills of exchange, of which we may discover traces towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Hanseatic League, which the maritime cities on the Baltic had formed in the thirteenth century, for the protection of their commerce against pirates and brigands, gained very considerable accessions of strength in the following century, and even became a very formidable maritime power. A great number of the commercial cities of the Empire, from the Scheld and the isles of Zealand, to the confines of Livonia, entered successively into this League; and many towns in the interior, in order to enjoy their protection, solicited the favour of being admitted under its flag. The first public act of a general confederation among these cities was drawn up at the assembly of their deputies, held at Cologne, in 1364. The whole of the allied towns were subdivided into *quarters* or *circles*; the most ancient of which were the Venetian quarter, containing the southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic; the Westphalian, for the towns on the western side; and the Saxon, comprehending the inland and intermediate towns. A fourth circle or quarter was afterwards added, that of the cities of Prussia and Livonia. The boundaries of these different circles and their capital towns varied from time to time. The general assemblies of the League were held regularly every three years, in the city of Lubeck, which was considered as the capital of the whole League; while each of the three or four circles had also their particular or provincial assemblies.

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were placed by the Emperor under the jurisdiction of governors, who exercised, in his name and that of the Empire, the power of the sword in all these cantons. Such was the constitution of Switzerland, when the Emperor Albert I., of Austria, son of Rodolph of Hapsburg, conceived the project of extending his dominion in that country, where he already had considerable possessions, in his capacity of Count of Hapsburg, Kyburg, Baden, and Lentzburg. Being desirous of forming Switzerland into a principality in favour of one of his sons, he made, in course of time, several new acquisitions of territory, with the view of enlarging his estates. The Abbays of Murbach, Einsiedel, Interlaken, and Disentis, and the Canons of Lucerne, sold him their rights and possessions in Glaris, Lucerne, Schweitz, and Underwalden. He next directed his policy against the three immediate cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden; and endeavoured to make them acknowledge the superiority of Austria, by tolerating the oppressions which the governors exercised, whom he had appointed to rule them in the name of the Empire. It was under these circumstances that three intrepid individuals, Werner de Stauffach, a native of the canton of Schweitz, Walter Fürst, of Uri, and Arnold de Melchthal, of Underwalden, took the resolution of delivering their country from the tyranny of a foreign yoke.¹⁶ The conspiracy which they formed for this purpose, broke out on the 1st of January, 1308. The governors, surprised in their castles by the conspirators, were banished the country, and their castles razed to the ground. The deputies of the three cantons assembled, and entered into a league of ten years for the maintenance of their liberties and their privileges; reserving, however, to the Empire its proper rights, as also those claimed by the superiors, whether lay or ecclesiastical. Thus a conspiracy, which was originally turned only against Austria, terminated in withdrawing Switzerland from the sovereignty of the German Empire. The victory which the confederates gained over the Austrians at Morgarten, on the borders of the canton of Schweitz, encouraged them to renew their league at Brunnen (1315); and to render it perpetual. As it was confirmed by oath, the confederates, from this circumstance, got the name of *Eidgenossen*, which means, *bound by oath*. This league became henceforth the basis of the federal system of the Swiss, who were not long in strengthening their cause by the accession of other cantons. The city of Lucerne, having shaken off the yoke of Hapsburg, joined the league of Brunnen in 1332, Zurich in 1351, Glaris and Zug in 1353, and Berne in 1355. These formed the eight ancient cantons.

The situation of the confederates, however, could not fail to be very embarrassing, so long as the Austrians retained the vast possessions which they had in the very centre of Switzerland. The proscription which the Emperor Sigismund and the Council of Constance issued against Frederic, Duke of Austria (1415), as an adherent and protector of John XXIII., at length furnished the Swiss with a favourable occasion for depriving the house of Austria of their possessions. The Bernese were the first to set the example; they took from the Austrian dukes, the towns of Zoffingen, Arau, and Bruck, with the counties of Hapsburg and Lentzburg, and the greater part of Aargau. Kyburg

fell into the hands of the Zurichers; the Lucernese made themselves masters of Sursée; and the free bailiwicks, with the county of Baden, the towns of Mellingen and Bremgarten, were subdued by the combined forces of the ancient cantons, who, since then, have possessed them in common.

In the kingdom of Lorraine a new power rose about this time (1363), that of the dukes of Burgundy. Philip the Hardy, younger son of John the Good, King of France, having been created Duke of Burgundy by the king his father, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Louis III., last Count of Flanders. By this marriage he obtained Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comté, Nevers, Rethel, Malines, and Antwerp, and transmitted these estates to his son John the Fearless, and his grandson, Philip the Good. This latter prince increased them still more by several new acquisitions. The Count of Namur sold him his whole patrimony (1428). He inherited from his cousin, Philip of Burgundy, the duchies of Brabant and Limbourg (1430). Another cousin, the famous Jaqueline de Bavaria, made over to him by treaty (1433) the counties of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. Finally, he acquired also the duchy of Luxembourg and the county of Chiny, by a compact which he made with the Princess Elizabeth (1443), niece of the Emperor Sigismund. These different accessions were so much the more important, as the Low Countries, especially Flanders and Brabant, were at that time the seat of the most flourishing manufactories, and the principal mart of European commerce. Hence it happened, that the Dukes of Burgundy began to compete with the first powers in Europe, and even to rival the Kings of France.

Among the principal reigning families of the Empire, several revolutions took place. The ancient Slavonic dynasty of the Dukes and Kings of Bohemia became extinct with Wenceslaus V., who was assassinated in 1306. The Emperor Henry VII., of the House of Luxembourg, seized this opportunity of transferring to his own family the kingdom of Bohemia, in which he invested his son John (1309), who had married the Princess Elizabeth, sister to the last King of Bohemia. John, having made considerable acquisitions in Bohemia, was induced to cede, by treaty with Poland, the sovereignty of that province. The Emperor Charles IV., son of John, incorporated Silesia, as also Lusatia, with the kingdom of Bohemia, by the Pragmatics which he published in 1355 and 1370. The war with the Hussites broke out on the death of the Emperor Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia (1418), because the followers of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had refused to acknowledge, as successor of that prince, the Emperor Sigismund, his brother and heir, whom they blamed for the martyrdom of their leaders. This war, one of the most sanguinary which the spirit of intolerance and fanaticism ever excited, continued for a long series of years. John de Trocznova, surnamed Ziska, general-in-chief of the Hussites, defeated several times those numerous armies of crusaders, which were sent against him into Bohemia; and it was not till long after the death of that extraordinary man, that Sigismund succeeded in allaying the tempest, and re-establishing his own authority in that kingdom.

The house of Wittelsback, which possessed at

the same time the Palatinate and Bavaria, was divided into two principal branches, viz., that of the Electors Palatine and the Dukes of Bavaria. By the treaty of division which was entered into at Pavia (1329), they agreed on a reciprocal succession of the two branches, in case the one or the other should happen to fail of heirs-male. The direct line of the electors of Saxony, of the Ascanian House, happening to become extinct, the Emperor Sigismund, without paying any regard to the claims of the younger branches of Saxony, conferred that Electorate (1423), as a vacant fief of the Empire, on Frederic, the Warlike, Margrave of Meisia, who had rendered him signal assistance in the war against the Hussites. This prince had two grandsons, Ernest and Albert, from whom are descended the two principal branches, which still divide the House of Saxony.

The Ascanian dynasty did not lose merely the electorate of Saxony, as we have just stated; it was also deprived, in the preceding century, of the electorate of Brandenburg. Albert, surnamed the Bear, a scion of this house, had transmitted this latter electorate, of which he was the founder, to his descendants in direct line, the male-heirs of which failed about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Emperor Louis, of Bavaria, then bestowed it on his eldest son, Louis (1324), to the exclusion of the collateral branches of Saxony and Anhalt. The Bavarian princes, however, did not long preserve this electorate; they surrendered it (1373) to the Emperor Charles IV., whose son, Sigismund, ceded it to Frederic, Burgrave of Nuremberg, of the House of Hohenzollern, who had advanced him considerable sums to defray his expeditions into Hungary. This prince was solemnly invested with the electoral dignity by the Emperor, at the Council of Constance (1417), and became the ancestor of all the Electors and Margraves of Brandenburg, as well as of the Kings of Prussia.

The numerous republics which had sprung up in Italy, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were torn to pieces by contending factions, and a prey to mutual and incessant hostilities. What contributed to augment the trouble and confusion in that unhappy country was, that, during a long series of years, no emperor had repaired thither in person, or made the smallest attempt to restore the imperial authority in those states. The feeble efforts of Henry VII., Louis of Bavaria, and Charles IV., only served to prove, that in Italy the royal prerogative was without vigour or effect. Anarchy everywhere prevailed; and that spirit of liberty and republicanism which had once animated the Italians gradually disappeared. Disgusted at length with privileges which had become so fatal to them, some of these republics adopted the plan of choosing new masters; while others were subjected, against their inclinations, by the more powerful of the nobles. The Marquises of Este seized Modena and Reggio (1336), and obtained the ducal dignity (1452) from the Emperor Frederic III. Mantua fell to the house of Gonzaga, who possessed that sovereignty first under the title of Margraves, and afterwards under that of Dukes, which was conferred on them by the Emperor Charles V. in 1530. But the greater part of these Italian republics fell to the share of the Visconti of Milan. The person who founded the prosperity of their house was Matthew Visconti, nephew of

Otho Visconti, Archbishop of Milan. Invested with the titles of Captain and Imperial Viceroy in Lombardy, he contrived to make himself be acknowledged as sovereign of Milan (1315), and conquered in succession all the principal towns and republics of Lombardy. His successors followed his example: they enlarged their territories by several new conquests, till at length John Galeas, great grandson of Matthew Visconti, obtained, from the Emperor Wenceslaus (1395), for a sum of one hundred thousand florins of gold, which he paid him, the title of Duke of Milan for himself and all his descendants. The Visconti family reigned at Milan till 1447, when they were replaced by that of Sforza.

Among the republics of Italy who escaped the catastrophe of the fourteenth century, the most conspicuous were those of Florence, Genoa, and Venice. The city of Florence, like all the others in Tuscany, formed itself into a republic about the end of the twelfth century. Its government underwent frequent changes, after the introduction of a democracy about the middle of the thirteenth century. The various factions which had agitated the republic induced the Florentines to elect a magistrate (1292), called *Gonfaloniere de Justice*, or Captain of Justice: invested with power to assemble the inhabitants under his standard, whenever the means for conciliation were insufficient to suppress faction and restore peace. These internal agitations, however, did not prevent the Florentines from enriching themselves by means of their commerce and manufactures. They succeeded, in course of time, in subjecting the greater part of the free cities of Tuscany, and especially that of Pisa, which they conquered in 1406. The republic of Lucca was the only one that maintained its independence, in spite of all the efforts which the Florentines made to subdue it. The republican form of government continued in Florence till the year 1530, when the family of the Medici usurped the sovereignty, under the protection of the Emperor Charles V.

The same rivalry which had set the Genoese to quarrel with the Pisans excited their jealousy against the Venetians. The interests of these two republics thwarted each other, both in the Levant and the Mediterranean. This gave rise to a long and disastrous series of wars, the last and most memorable of which was that of Chioggia (1376-82). The Genoese, after a signal victory which they obtained over the Venetians, before Pola, in the Adriatic Gulf, penetrated to the very midst of the lagoons of Venice, and attacked the port of Chioggia. Peter Doria made himself master of this port; he would have even surprised Venice, had he taken advantage of the first consternation of the Venetians, who were already deliberating whether they should abandon their city and take refuge in the Isle of Candia. The tardiness of the Genoese admiral gave them time to recover themselves. Impelled by a noble despair, they made extraordinary efforts to equip a new fleet, with which they attacked the Genoese near Chioggia. This place was retaken (24th June, 1380), and the severe check which the Genoese there received, may be said to have decided the command of the sea in favour of the Venetians. But what contributed still more to the downfall of the Genoese, was the instability of their government, and the internal

commotions of the republic. Agitated by continual divisions between the nobles and the common citizens, and incapable of managing their own affairs, they at length surrendered themselves to the power of strangers. Volatile and inconstant, and equally impatient of liberty as of servitude, these fickle republicans underwent a frequent change of masters. Twice (1396-1458) they put themselves under the protection of the Kings of France. At length they discarded the French, and chose for their protector either the Marquis of Montferrat or the Duke of Milan. Finally, from the year 1464, the city of Genoa was constantly regarded as a dependency of the duchy of Milan, until 1528, when it recovered once more its ancient state of independence.

While the republic of Genoa was gradually declining, that of Venice was every day acquiring new accessions of power. The numerous establishments which they had formed in the Adriatic Gulf and the Eastern Seas, together with the additional vigour which they derived from the introduction of the hereditary aristocracy, were highly advantageous to the progress of their commerce and marine. The treaty which they concluded with the Sultan of Egypt (1343), by guaranteeing to their republic an entire liberty of commerce in the ports of Syria and Egypt, as also the privilege of having consuls at Alexandria and Damascus, put it in their power gradually to appropriate to themselves the whole trade of India, and to maintain it against the Genoese, who had disputed with them the commerce of the East, as well as the command of the sea. These successes encouraged the Venetians to make new acquisitions; the turbulent state of Lombardy having afforded them an opportunity of enlarging their dominions on the continent of Italy, where at first they had possessed only the single dogeship of Venice, and the small province of Istria. They seized on Treviso, and the whole Trevisan March (1388), which they took from the powerful house of Carrara. In 1420 they again got possession of Dalmatia, which they conquered from Sigismund, King of Hungary. This conquest paved the way for that of Friuli, which they took about the same time from the Patriarch of Aquileia, an ally of the King of Hungary. At length, by a succession of good fortune, they detached from the duchy of Milan (1404) the cities and territories of Vicenza, Belluno, Verona, Padua, Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona (1454), and thus formed a considerable estate on the mainland.

Naples, during the course of this period, was governed by a descendant of Charles, of the first House of Anjou, and younger brother of St. Louis. Queen Joan I., daughter of Robert, King of Naples, having no children of her own, adopted a younger prince of the Angevine family, Charles of Durazzo, whom she destined as her successor, after having given him her niece in marriage. This ungrateful prince, in his eagerness to possess the crown, took arms against the Queen his benefactress, and compelled her to solicit the aid of foreign powers. It was on this occasion that Joan, after rescinding and annulling her former deed of adoption, made another in favour of Louis I., younger brother of Charles V., King of France, and founder of the second House of Anjou. But the succours of that prince came too

late to save the Queen from the hands of her cruel enemy. Charles, having made himself master of Naples and of the Queen's person (1382), immediately put her to death, and maintained himself on the throne, in spite of his adversary, Louis of Anjou, who obtained nothing more of the Queen's estates than the single county of Provence, which he transmitted to his descendants, together with his claim on the kingdom of Naples. Joan II., daughter and heiress of Charles of Durazzo, having been attacked by Louis III. of Anjou, who wished to enforce the rights of adoption which had descended to him from his grandfather Louis I., she implored the protection of Alphonso V., King of Arragon, whom she adopted and declared her heir (1421); but afterwards, having quarrelled with that prince, she changed her resolution, and passed a new act of adoption (1423) in favour of that same Louis of Anjou who had just made war against her. René of Anjou, the brother and successor of that prince, took possession of the kingdom of Naples on the death of Joan II. (1435); but he was expelled by the King of Arragon (1445); who had procured from Pope Eugenius IV. the investiture of that kingdom, which he transmitted to his natural son Ferdinand, descended from a particular branch of the Kings of Naples. The rights of the second race of Angevine princes were transferred to the Kings of France, along with the county of Provence (1481).

Spain, which was divided into a variety of sovereignties, both Christian and Mahometan, presented at this time a kind of separate or distinct continent, whose interests had almost nothing in common with the rest of Europe. The Kings of Navarre, Castile, and Arragon, disagreeing among themselves, and occupied with the internal affairs of their own kingdoms, had but little leisure to attempt or accomplish any foreign enterprise. Of all the Kings of Castile at this period, the most famous, in the wars against the Moors, was Alphonso XI. The Mahometan Kings of Morocco and Grenada having united their forces, laid siege to the city of Tariffa in Andalusia, where Alphonso, assisted by the King of Portugal, ventured to attack them in the neighbourhood of that place. He gained a complete victory over the Moors (1340); and this was followed by the conquest of various other cities and districts; among others, Alcala-Real, and Algeziras.

While the Kings of Castile were extending their conquests in the interior of Spain, those of Arragon, hemmed in by the Castilians, were obliged to look for aggrandisement abroad. They possessed the country of Barcelona, or Catalonia, in virtue of the marriage of Count Raymond Berenger IV. with Donna Petronilla, heiress of the kingdom of Arragon. To this they added the county of Roussillon, and the seignory or lordship of Montpellier, both of which, as well as Catalonia, belonged to the sovereignty of France. Don James I., who conquered the kingdom of Valencia and the Balearic Isles, gave these, with Roussillon and Montpellier, to Don James, his younger son, and who was a descendant of the Kings of Majorca, the last of whom, Don James III., sold Montpellier to France (1349). Don Pedro III., King of Arragon, and eldest son of Don James I., took Sicily, as we have already seen, from Charles I. of Anjou. Ferdinand II., a younger son of Don Pedro,

formed a separate branch of the Kings of Sicily, on the extinction of which (1409), that kingdom reverted to the crown of Arragon. Sardinia was incorporated with the kingdom of Arragon by Don James II., who had conquered it from the Pisans. Finally, Alphonso V., King of Arragon, having deprived the Angevines of the kingdom of Naples, established a distinct line of Neapolitan kings. This kingdom was at length united with the monarchy of Arragon by Ferdinand the Catholic.

In Portugal, the legitimate line of kings, descendants of Henry of Burgundy, had failed in Don Ferdinand, son and successor of Don Pedro III. This prince had an only daughter, named Beatrix, born in criminal intercourse with Eleonora Telles de Meneses, whom he had taken from her lawful husband. Being desirous to make this princess his successor, he married her, at the age of eleven, to John I., King of Castile; securing the throne to the son who should be born of this union, and failing him, to the King of Castile, his son-in-law. Ferdinand dying soon after this marriage, Don Juan, his natural brother, and grand-master of the order of Aviz, knowing the aversion of the Portuguese for the Castilian sway, turned this to his own advantage, by seizing the regency, of which he had deprived the Queen-dowager. The King of Castile immediately laid siege to Lisbon; but having miscarried in this enterprise, the States of Portugal assembled at Coimbra, and conferred the crown on Don Juan, known in history by the name of *John the Bastard*. This prince, aided with troops from England, engaged the Castilians and their allies, the French, at the famous battle fought on the plains of Aljubarota (14th August, 1385). The Portuguese remained masters of the field, and John the Bastard succeeded in maintaining himself on the throne of Portugal. The war, however, continued several years between the Portuguese and the Castilians, and did not terminate till 1411. By the peace which was then concluded, Henry III., son of John I., King of Castile, agreed never to urge the claims of Queen Beatrix, his mother-in-law, who had no children. John the Bastard founded a new dynasty of kings, who occupied the throne of Portugal from 1385 to 1580.

In France, the direct line of kings, descendants of Hugh Capet, having become extinct in the sons of Philip the Fair, the crown passed to the collateral branch of Valois (1328), which furnished a series of thirteen kings, during a period of 261 years.

The rivalry between France and England, which had sprung up during the preceding period, assumed a more hostile character on the accession of the family of Valois. Till then, the quarrels of the two nations had been limited to some particular territory, or province; but now they disputed even the succession to the throne of France, which the kings of England claimed as their right. Edward III., by his mother, Isabella of France, was nephew to Charles IV., the last of the Capetian kings in a direct line. He claimed the succession in opposition to Philip VI., surnamed de Valois, who, being cousin-german to Charles, was one degree more remote than the King of England. The claim of Edward was opposed by the Salic law, which excluded females from the succession to the throne; but, according to the interpretation of that

prince, the law admitted his right, and must be understood as referring to females personally, who were excluded on account of the weakness of their sex, and not to their male descendants. Granting that his mother, Isabella, could not herself aspire to the crown, he maintained that she gave him the right of proximity, which qualified him for the succession. The States of France, however, having decided in favour of Philip, the King of England did fealty and homage to that prince for the duchy of Guienne; but he laid no claim to the crown until 1337, when he assumed the title and arms of the King of France. The war which began in 1338 was renewed during several reigns, for the space of a hundred years, and ended with the entire expulsion of the English from France.

Nothing could be more wretched than the situation of this kingdom during the reign of Charles VI. That prince having fallen into a state of insanity in the flower of his age, two parties, those of Burgundy and Orleans, who had disputed with each other about the regency, divided the Court into factions, and kindled the flames of civil war in the four corners of the kingdom. John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, and uncle to the king, caused Louis, Duke of Orleans, the king's own brother, to be assassinated at Paris (1407). He himself was assassinated in his turn (1419) on the bridge of Montereau, in the very presence of the Dauphin, who was afterwards king, under the name of Charles VII. These dissensions gave the English an opportunity for renewing the war. Henry V. of England gained the famous battle of Agincourt (1415), which was followed by the conquest of all Normandy. Isabella of Bavaria then abandoned the faction of Orleans, and the party of her son, the Dauphin, and joined that of Burgundy. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and son of John the Fearless, being determined to revenge the death of his father, which he laid to the charge of the Dauphin, entered into a negotiation with England, into which he contrived to draw Queen Isabella and the imbecile Charles VI. By the treaty of peace concluded at Troyes in Champagne (1420), it was agreed that Catharine of France, daughter of Charles VI. and Isabella of Bavaria, should espouse Henry V., and that, on the death of the King, the crown should pass to Henry, and the children of his marriage with the Princess of France; to the exclusion of the Dauphin, who, as an accomplice in the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, was declared to have lost his rights to the crown, and was banished from the kingdom. Henry V. died in the flower of his age, and his death was followed soon after by that of Charles VI. Henry VI., son of Henry V. and Catharine of France, being then proclaimed King of England and France, fixed his residence at Paris, and had for his regents his two uncles, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester.

Such was the preponderance of the English and Burgundian party in France at this period, that Charles VII., commonly called the Dauphin, more than once saw himself upon the point of being expelled the kingdom. He owed his safety entirely to the appearance of the famous Joan of Arc, called the Maid of Orleans. This extraordinary woman revived the drooping courage of the French. She compelled the English to raise the siege of Orleans, and brought the king to be crowned at

Rheims (1429). But what contributed still more to retrieve the party of Charles VII. was the reconciliation of that prince with the Duke of Burgundy, which took place at the peace of Arras (1435). The duke having then united his forces with those of the king, the English were in their turn expelled from France (1453), the single city of Calais being all that remained to them of their former conquests.

An important revolution happened in the government of France under the reign of Charles VII. The royal authority gained fresh vigour by the expulsion of the English, and the reconciliation of various parties that took place in consequence. The feudal system, which till then had prevailed in France, fell by degrees into disuse. Charles was the first king who established a permanent militia, and taught his successors to abandon the feudal mode of warfare. This prince also instituted *Companies of ordonnance* (1445); and, to defray the expense of their maintenance, he ordered, of his own authority, a certain impost to be levied, called the Tax of the *Gens-d'armes*. This standing army, which at first amounted only to 6000 men, was augmented in course of time, while the royal finances increased in proportion. By means of these establishments, the kings obtained such an ascendancy over their vassals that they soon found themselves in a condition to prescribe laws to them, and thus gradually to abolish the feudal system. The most powerful of the nobles could make little resistance against a sovereign who was always armed; while the kings, imposing taxes at their pleasure, by degrees dispensed with the necessity of assembling the States-general. The same prince secured the liberties of the Gallican church against the encroachments of the court of Rome, by solemnly adopting several of the decrees of the Council of Basle, which he caused to be passed in the National Council held at Bourges, and published under the title of the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1438).

In England, two branches of the reigning family of the Plantagenets, those of Lancaster and York, contested for a long time the right to the crown. Henry IV., the first king of the House of Lancaster, was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and grandson of Edward III., King of England. He usurped the crown from Richard II., whom he deposed by act of Parliament (1399). But instead of enforcing the rights which he inherited from his father and grandfather, he rested his claims entirely upon those which he alleged had devolved to him in right of his mother, Blanch of Lancaster, great grand-daughter of Edward, surnamed Hunchback, Earl of Lancaster. This prince, according to a popular tradition, was the eldest son of Henry III., who, it was said, had been excluded from the throne by his younger brother, Edward I., on account of his deformity. This tradition proved useful to Henry IV. in excluding the rights of the House of Clarence, who preceded him in the order of succession. This latter family was descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and elder brother of John of Gaunt. Philippine, daughter of Lionel, was married to Edward Mortimer, by whom she had a son, Roger, whom the Parliament, by an act passed in 1386, declared presumptive heir to the crown. Ann Mortimer, the daughter of Roger, married

Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward Langley, who was the younger brother of John of Gaunt, and thus transferred the right of Lionel to the royal House of York.

The princes of the House of Lancaster are known in English history by the name of the Red Rose, while those of York were designated by that of the White Rose. The former of these Houses occupied the throne for a period of sixty-three years, during the reigns of Henry IV., V., VI. It was under the feeble reign of Henry VI. that the House of York began to advance their right to the crown, and that the civil war broke out between the two Roses. Richard, Duke of York, and heir to the claims of Lionel and Mortimer, was the first to raise the standard in this war of competition (1452), which continued more than thirty years, and was one of the most cruel and sanguinary recorded in history. Twelve pitched battles were fought between the two Roses, eighty princes of the blood perished in the contest, and England, during the whole time, presented a tragical spectacle of horror and carnage. Edward IV., son of Richard, Duke of York, and grandson of Ann Mortimer, ascended the throne (1461), which he had stained with the blood of Henry VI., and of several other princes of the House of Lancaster.

In Scotland, the male line of the ancient kings having become extinct in Alexander III., a crowd of claimants appeared on the field, who disputed with each other the succession of the throne. The chief of these competitors were the two Scottish families of Baliol and Bruce, both descended by the mother's side from the Royal Family. Four princes of these contending families reigned in Scotland until the year 1371, when the crown passed from the House of Bruce to that of Stuart. Robert II., son of Walter Stuart and Marjory Bruce, succeeded his uncle, David II., and in his family the throne remained until the Union, when Scotland was united to England about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Under the government of the Stuarts, the royal authority acquired fresh energy after being long restrained and circumscribed by a turbulent nobility. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, James I., a very accomplished prince, gave the first blow to the feudal system and the exorbitant power of the grandes. He deprived them of several of the crown-lands which they had usurped, and confiscated the property of some of the most audacious whom he had condemned to execution. James II. followed the example of his father. He strengthened the royal authority, by humbling the powerful family of Douglas, as well as by the wise laws which he prevailed with his Parliament to adopt.

The three kingdoms of the North, after having been long agitated by internal dissensions, were at length united into a single monarchy by Margaret, called the Semiramis of the North. This princess was daughter of Valdemar III., the last King of Denmark of the ancient reigning family, and widow of Haco VII., King of Norway. She was first elected Queen of Denmark, and then of Norway, after the death of her son, Olaus V., whom she had by her marriage with Haco, and who died without leaving any posterity (1387). The Swedes, discontented with their King, Albert of Mecklenburg, likewise bestowed their crown upon this princess. Albert was vanquished and

made prisoner at the battle of Fahlkeoeping (1389). The whole of Sweden, from that time, acknowledged the authority of Queen Margaret. Being desirous of uniting the three kingdoms into one single body-politic, she assembled their respective Estates at Calmar (1397), and there caused her grand-nephew Eric, son of Wratislaw, Duke of Pomerania, and Mary of Mecklenburg, daughter of Ingeburg, her own sister, to be received and crowned as her successor. The act which ratified the perpetual and irrevocable union of the three kingdoms was approved in that assembly. It provided, that the united states should, in future, have but one and the same king, who should be chosen with the common consent of the Senators and Deputies of the three kingdoms; that they should always give the preference to the descendants of Eric, if there were any; that the three kingdoms should assist each other with their combined forces against all foreign enemies; that each kingdom should preserve its own constitution, its senate, and national legislature, and be governed conformably to its own laws.

This union, how formidable soever it might appear at first sight, was by no means firmly consolidated. A federal system of three monarchies, divided by mutual jealousies, and by dissimilarity in their laws, manners, and institutions, could present nothing either solid or durable. The predilection, besides, which the kings of the union who succeeded Margaret showed for the Danes; the preference which they gave them in the distribution of favours and places of trust, and the tone of superiority which they affected towards their allies, tended naturally to foster animosity and hatred, and, above all, to exasperate the Swedes against the union. Eric, after a very turbulent reign, was deposed, and his nephew, Christopher the Bavarian, was elected king of the union in his place. This latter prince having died without issue, the Swedes took this opportunity of breaking the union, and choosing a king of their own, Charles Canutson Bonde, known by the title of Charles VIII. It was he who induced the Danes to venture likewise on a new election; and this same year they transferred their crown to Christian, son of Therry, and Count of Oldenburg, descended by the female side from the race of their ancient kings. This prince had the good fortune to renew the union with Norway (1450); he likewise governed Sweden from the year 1457, when Charles VIII. was expelled by his subjects, till 1464, when he was recalled. But what deserves more particularly to be remarked, is the acquisition which Christian made of the provinces of Sleswic and Holstein, to which he succeeded (1459), by a disposition of the States of these provinces, after the death of Duke Adolphus, the maternal uncle of the new King of Denmark, and last male heir of the Counts of Holstein, of the ancient House of Schauenburg. Christian I. was the progenitor of all the kings who have since reigned in Denmark and Norway. His grandson lost Sweden; but, in the last century, the thrones both of Russia and Sweden were occupied by princes of his family.

Russia, during the whole of this period, groaned under the degrading yoke of the Moguls and the Tartars. The grand dukes, as well as the other Russian princes, were obliged to solicit the confirmation of their dignity from the Khan of Kip-

zac, who granted or refused it at his pleasure. The dissensions which arose among these northern princes were in like manner submitted to his decision. When summoned to appear at his horde, they were obliged to repair thither without delay, and often suffered the punishment of ignominy and death.¹⁷ The contributions which the khans at first exacted from the Russians in the shape of gratuitous donations were converted, in course of time, into regular tribute. Bereke Khan, the successor of Batou, was the first who levied this tribute by officers of his own nation. His successors increased still more the load of these taxes; they even subjected the Russian princes to the performance of military service.

The grand ducal dignity, which for a long time belonged exclusively to the chiefs of the principalities of Vladimir and Kiaso, became common, about the end of the fourteenth century, to several of the other principalities, who shared among them the dominion of Russia. The princes of Rezan, Twer, Smolensko, and several others, took the title of grand dukes, to distinguish themselves from the petty princes who were established within their principalities. These divisions, together with the internal broils to which they gave rise, emboldened the Lithuanians and Poles to carry their victorious arms into Russia; and by degrees they dismembered the whole western part of the ancient empire.

The Lithuanians,¹⁸ who are supposed to have been of the same race with the ancient Prussians, Letonians, Livonians, and Estonians, inhabited originally the banks of the rivers Niemen and Wilia; an inconsiderable state, comprehending Samogitia and a part of the ancient Palatinates of Troki and Wilna. After having been tributaries to the Russians for a long time, the princes of Lithuania shook off their yoke, and began to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the grand dukes, their former masters. Towards the middle of the eleventh century, they passed the Wilia, founded the town of Kiernow, and took from the Russians Braclaw, Nowgorodek, Grodno, Borzesc, Bielsk, Pinsk, Mozyr, Polotsk, Minsk, Witepsk, Orza, and Macialaw, with their extensive dependencies. Ringold was the first of these princes that assumed the dignity of grand duke, about the middle of the thirteenth century. His successor, Mendog or Mindow, harassed by the Teutonic knights, embraced Christianity about the year 1252, and was declared King of Lithuania by the Pope; though he afterwards returned to Paganism, and became one of the most cruel enemies of the Christian name. Gedimin, who ascended the throne of the grand duke (1315), rendered himself famous by his new conquests. After a series of victories which he gained over the Russian princes, who were supported by the Tartars, he took possession of the city and principality of Kiew (1320). The whole of the grand duchy of Kiew, and its dependant principalities on this side the Dnieper, were conquered in succession. The Grand Dukes of Lithuania, who had become formidable to all their neighbours, weakened their power by partitioning their estates among their sons; reserving to one, under the title of grand duke, the right of superiority over the rest. The civil dissensions which resulted from these divisions, gave the Poles an opportunity of seizing the

principalities of Leopold, Przemysl, and Halitsch (1340), and of taking from the Lithuanians and their grand duke, Olgerd, the whole of Volhynia and Podolia, of which they had deprived the Russians (1349).

Nothing more then remained of the ancient Russian Empire except the grand duchy of Wolodimir, so called from the town of that name on the river Kliarna, where the Grand Dukes of Eastern and Northern Russia had their residence, before they had fixed their capital at Moscow; which happened about the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. This grand duchy, which had several dependant and subordinate principalities, was conferred by the Khan of Kipzac (1320) on Iwan or John Danilovitch, Prince of Moscow, who transmitted it to his descendants. Demetrius Iwanovitch, grandson of Iwan, took advantage of the turbulence which distracted the grand horde, and turned his arms against the Tartars. Assisted by several of the Russian princes his vassals, he gained a signal victory near the Don (1380), over the Khan Temric-Mamai, the first which gained the Russians any celebrity, and which procured Demetrius the proud epithet of *Donski*, or conqueror of the Don. This prince, however, gained little advantage by his victory; and for a long time after, the Tartars gave law to the Russians and made them their tributaries. Toktamish Khan, after having vanquished and humbled Mamai, penetrated as far as Moscow, sacked the city, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants. Demetrius was forced to implore the mercy of the conqueror, and to send his son a hostage to the horde in security for his allegiance.

The chief residence of the Teutonic order, which had formerly been at Verden, was fixed at Marienburg, a city newly built, which from that time became the capital of all Prussia. The Teutonic knights did not limit their conquests to Prussia; they took from the Poles Dantzic or Eastern Pomerania (1311), situated between the Netze, the Vistula, and the Baltic Sea, and known since by the name of Pomerelia. This province was definitely ceded to them, with the territory of Culm, and Michelau, by a treaty of peace which was signed at Kalitz (1343). The city of Dantzic, which was their capital, increased considerably under the dominion of the Order, and became one of the principal entrepôts for the commerce of the Baltic. Of all the exploits of these knights, the most enterprising was that which had for its object the conquest of Lithuania. Religion, and a pretended gift of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, served them as a pretext for attacking the Lithuanians, who were Pagans, in a murderous war, which continued almost without interruption for the space of a century. The Grand Dukes of Lithuania, always more formidable after their defeat, defended their liberties and independence with a courage and perseverance almost miraculous; and it was only by taking advantage of the dissensions which had arisen in the family of the grand duke, that they succeeded in obtaining possession of Samogitia, by the treaty of peace which was concluded at Racianz (1404).

The Knights of Livonia, united to the Teutonic order under the authority of one and the same Grand Master, added to their former conquests the province of Estonia, which was sold to them

by Valdemar IV., King of Denmark.¹⁹ The Teutonic knights were at the zenith of their greatness about the beginning of the fifteenth century. At that time they were become a formidable power in the North, having under their dominion the whole of Prussia, comprehending Pomerania and the New March, as also Samogitia, Courland, Livonia and Estonia.²⁰ A population proportioned to the extent of their dominions, a well regulated treasury, and a flourishing commerce, seemed to guarantee them a solid and durable Empire. Nevertheless, the jealousy of their neighbours, the union of Lithuania with Poland, and the conversion of the Lithuanians to Christianity, which deprived the knights of the assistance of the crusaders, soon became fatal to their order, and accelerated their downfall. The Lithuanians again obtained possession of Samogitia, which, with Sudavia, was ceded to them by the various treaties which they concluded with that Order, between 1411—1436.

The oppressive government of the Teutonic knights—their own private dissensions, and the intolerable burden of taxation—the fatal consequence of incessant war—induced the nobles and cities of Prussia and Pomerania to form a confederacy against the Order, and to solicit the protection of the Kings of Poland. This was granted to them, on their signing a deed of submission to that kingdom (1454). The result was a long and bloody war with Poland, which did not terminate till the peace of Thorn (1466). Poland then obtained the cession of Culm, Michelau, and Dantzic; that is to say, all the countries now comprehended under the name of Polish Prussia. The rest of Prussia was retained by the Teutonic order, who promised, by means of their Grand Master, to do fealty and homage for it to the Kings of Poland. The chief residence of the Order was then transferred to Koningsberg, where it continued until the time when the knights were deprived of Prussia by the House of Brandenburg.

At length, however, Poland recovered from this state of weakness into which the unfortunate divisions of Boleslaus III. and his descendants had plunged it. Uladislaus IV., surnamed the Dwarf, having combined several of these principalities, was crowned King of Poland at Cracow (1320). From that time the royal dignity became permanent in Poland, and was transmitted to all the successors of Uladislaus.²¹ The immediate successor of that prince was his son Casimir the Great, who renounced his rights of sovereignty over Silesia in favour of the King of Bohemia, and afterwards compensated this loss by the acquisition of several of the provinces of ancient Russia. He likewise took possession of Red Russia (1340), as also of the provinces of Volhynia, Podolia, Chelm, and Belz, which he conquered from the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (1349), who had formerly dismembered them from the Russian Empire.

Under Casimir the Great, another revolution happened in the government of Poland. That Prince, having no children of his own, and wishing to bequeath the crown to his nephew Louis, his sister's son, by Charles Robert, King of Hungary, convoked a general assembly of the nation at Cracow (1339), and there got the succession of the Hungarian Prince ratified, in opposition to the legitimate rights of the Piast dynasty, who reigned

in Masovia and Silesia. This subversion of the hereditary right of the different branches of the Piasts, gave the Polish nobles a pretext for interfering in the election of their kings, until at last the throne became completely elective. It also afforded them an opportunity for limiting the power of their kings, and laying the foundation of a republican and aristocratic government. Deputies were sent into Hungary (1355), even during the life of Casimir, who obliged King Louis, his intended successor, to subscribe an act which provided that, on his accession to the crown, he should bind himself, and his successors, to disburden the Polish nobility of all taxes and contributions; that he should never, under any pretext, exact subsidies from them; and that, in travelling, he should claim nothing for the support of his court, in any place during his journey. The ancient race of the Piast sovereigns of Poland ended with Casimir (1370), after having occupied the throne of that kingdom for several centuries.

His successor in Poland and Hungary was Louis, surnamed the Great. In a Diet assembled in 1382, he obtained the concurrence of the Poles, in the choice which he had made of Sigismund of Luxembourg, as his son-in-law and successor in both kingdoms. But on the death of Louis, which happened immediately after, the Poles broke their engagement, and conferred the crown on Hedwiga, a younger daughter of that prince. It was stipulated, that she should marry Jagello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who agreed to incorporate Lithuania with Poland, to renounce Paganism, and embrace Christianity, himself and all his subjects. Jagello was baptized, when he received the name of Uladislaus, and was crowned King of Poland at Cracow (1386).²¹ It was on the accession of Jagello, that Poland and Lithuania, long opposed in their interests, and implacable enemies of each other, were united into one body politic under the authority of one and the same king. Nevertheless, for nearly two centuries, Lithuania still preserved its own grand dukes, who acknowledged the sovereignty of Poland; and it was not, properly speaking, till the reign of Sigismund Augustus, that the union of the two states was finally accomplished (1569). This important union rendered Poland the preponderating power of the North. It became fatal to the influence of the Teutonic order, who soon yielded to the united efforts of the Poles and Lithuanians.

Uladislaus Jagello did not obtain the assent of the Polish nobility to the succession of his son, except by adding new privileges to those which they had obtained from his predecessor. He was the first of the Polish kings who, for the purpose of imposing an extraordinary taxation, called in the *Nuncios* or Deputies of the Nobility to the General Diet (1404), and established the use of the *Dietines* or provincial diets. His descendants enjoyed the crown until they became extinct, in the sixteenth century. The succession, however, was mixed; and although the princes of the House of Jagello might regard themselves as hereditary possessors of the kingdom, nevertheless, on every change of reign, it was necessary that the crown should be conferred by the choice and consent of the nobility.

In Hungary, the male race of the ancient kings, descendants of Duke Arpad, had become extinct

in Andrew III. (1301). The crown was then contested by several competitors, and at length fell into the hands of the House of Anjou, the reigning family of Naples. Charles Robert, grandson of Charles II. King of Naples, by Mary of Hungary, outstripped his rivals, and transmitted the crown to his son Louis, surnamed the Great (1308). This prince, characterized by his eminent qualities, made a distinguished figure among the Kings of Hungary. He conquered from the Venetians the whole of Dalmatia, from the frontiers of Istria, as far as Durazzo; he reduced the Princes of Moldavia, Walachia, Bosnia and Bulgaria, to a state of dependence; and at length mounted the throne of Poland on the death of his uncle Casimir the Great.²² Mary his eldest daughter succeeded him in the kingdom of Hungary (1382). This princess married Sigismund of Luxembourg, who thus united the monarchy of Hungary to the Imperial crown.

The reign of Sigismund in Hungary was most unfortunate, and a prey to continual disturbances. He had to sustain the first war against the Ottoman Turks; and, with the Emperor of Constantinople as his ally, he assembled a formidable army, with which he undertook the siege of Nicopolis in Bulgaria. Here he sustained a complete defeat by the Turks. In his retreat he was compelled to embark on the Danube, and directed his flight towards Constantinople. This disaster was followed by new misfortunes. The malecontents of Hungary offered their crown to Ladislaus, called the Magnanimous, King of Naples, who took possession of Dalmatia, which he afterwards surrendered to the Venetians. Desirous to provide for the defence and security of his kingdom, Sigismund acquired, by treaty with the Prince of Serbia, the fortress of Belgrade (1425), which, by its situation at the confluence of the Danube and the Save, seemed to him a proper bulwark to protect Hungary against the Turks. He transmitted the crown of Hungary to his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, who reigned only two years. The war with the Turks was renewed under Uladislaus of Poland, son of Jagello, and successor to Albert. That prince fought a bloody battle with them near Varna in Bulgaria (1444). The Hungarians again sustained a total defeat, and the King himself lost his life in the action.²³ The safety of Hungary then depended entirely on the bravery of the celebrated John Hunniades, governor of the kingdom during the minority of Ladislaus, the posthumous son of Albert of Austria. That general signalized himself in various actions against the Turks, and obliged Mahomet II. to raise the siege of Belgrade (1456), where he lost above twenty-five thousand men, and was himself severely wounded.

The Greek Empire was gradually approaching its downfall, under the feeble administration of the House of Paleologus, who had occupied the throne of Constantinople since the year 1261. The same vices of which we have already spoken, the great power of the patriarchs and the monks, the raucour of theological disputes, the fury of sectaries and schismatics, and the internal dissension to which they gave rise, aggravated the misfortunes and disorders of the state, and were instrumental in hastening on its final destruction. John I. and his successors, the last Emperors of Constantinople, being reduced to the sad necessity of pay-

ing tribute to the Turks, and marching on military expeditions, at the command of the sultans, owed the preservation of their shattered and declining Empire, for some time, entirely to the reverses of fortune which had befallen the Ottomans; and to the difficulties which the siege of their capital presented to a barbarous nation unacquainted with the arts of blockade.

The power of the Ottoman Turks took its rise about the end of the thirteenth century. A Turkish emir, called Ottoman, or Osman, was its original founder in Asia Minor. He was one of the number of those emirs, who, after the subversion of the Seljukians of Roum or Iconium, by the Moguls, shared among them the spoils of their ancient masters. A part of Bithynia, and the whole country lying round Mount Olympus, fell to the share of Ottoman, who afterwards formed an alliance with the other emirs, and invaded the possessions of the Greek Empire, under the feeble reign of the Emperor Andronicus II. Prusa, or Bursa, the principal city of Bithynia, was conquered by Ottoman (1327). He and his successors made it the capital of their new state, which, in course of time, gained the ascendancy over all the other Turkish sovereignties, formed, like that of Ottoman, from the ruins of Iconium and the Greek Empire.

Orchan, the son and successor of Ottoman, instituted the famous Order of the Janissaries, to which in a great measure the Turks owed their success. He took from the Greeks the cities of Nice and Nicomedia in Bithynia; and, after having subdued most of the Turkish emirs in Asia Minor, he took the title of sultan or king, as well as that of pacha, which is equivalent to the title of emperor. His son Soliman crossed the Hellespont, by his orders, near the ruins of ancient Troy, and took the city of Gallipoli, in the Thracian Chersonesus (1358). The conquest of this place opened a passage for the Turks into Europe, when Thrace and the whole of Greece was soon inundated by these new invaders. Amurath I., the son and successor of Orchan, made himself master of Adrianople and the whole of Thrace (1360); he next attacked Macedonia, Servia and Bulgaria, and appointed the first *Beylerbeg*, or Governor-General of Roumelia. Several Turkish princes of Asia Minor were obliged to acknowledge his authority; he made himself master of Kiutaja, the metropolis of Phrygia, which afterwards became the capital of Anatolia, and the residence of the governor of that province (1389). Amurath was slain at the battle of Cassova, which he fought with the despot of Servia, assisted by his numerous allies. In this bloody battle the despot himself was slain, and both sides equally claimed the victory. Bajazet I., the successor of Amurath, put an end to all the Turkish sovereignties which still subsisted in Asia Minor. He completed the reduction of Bulgaria, and maintained the possession of it by the signal victory which he gained at Nicopolis (1396) over Sigismund, King of Hungary. The Greek Empire would have yielded to the persevering efforts of that prince, who had maintained, for ten years, the siege of Constantinople, had he not been attacked, in the midst of these enterprises, by the famous Timour, the new conqueror of Asia.

Timour, commonly called Tamerlane, was one of those Mogul Emirs who had divided amongst

them the sovereignty of Transoxiana, after the extinction of the Mogul dynasty of Zagatai. Transoxiana was the theatre of his first exploits; there he usurped the whole power of the Khans, or Emperors of Zagatai, and fixed the capital of his new dominions at the city of Samarand (1369). Persia, the whole of Upper Asia, Kipzac, and Hindostan, were vanquished by him in succession; wherever he marched, he renewed the same scenes of horror, bloodshed, and carnage, which had marked the footsteps of the first Mogul conqueror.²⁵ Timour at length attacked the dominions of Bajazet in Anatolia (1400). He fought a bloody and decisive battle near Angora, in the ancient Gallogrecia, which proved fatal to the Ottoman Empire. Bajazet sustained an entire defeat, and fell himself into the hands of the conqueror. All Anatolia was then conquered and pillaged by the Moguls, and there Timour fixed his winter quarters. Meantime he treated his captive Bajazet with kindness and generosity; and the anecdote of the iron cage, in which he is said to have confined his prisoner, merits no credit. Sherefeddin Ali, who accompanied Timour in his expedition against Bajazet, makes no mention of it; on the contrary, he avers that Timour consented to leave him the Empire, and that he granted the investiture of it to him and two of his sons. Bajazet did not long survive his misfortune; he died of an attack of apoplexy (1403) with which he was struck in the camp of Timour in Caramania.

Timour, a short time after, formed the project of an expedition into China; but he died on the route in (1405), at the age of sixty-nine. His vast dominions were dismembered after his death. One of his descendants, named Babour, founded a powerful Empire in India, the remains of which are still preserved under the name of the Empire of the Great Mogul. The invasion of Timour retarded for some time the progress of the Turkish Empire. The fatal dissensions, which arose among the sons of Bajazet, set them at open war with each other. At length Amurath II., the son of Mahomet I., and grandson of Bajazet, succeeded in putting a stop to these divisions, and restored the Empire to its primitive splendour. He deprived the Greeks of all the places which still remained in their hands on the Black Sea, along the coast of Thrace, in Macedonia and Thessaly. He even took, by assault, the wall and forts which they had constructed at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth, and carried his ravages to the very centre of the Peloponnesus.

The two heroes of the Christians, John Hunniades and Scanderbeg, arrested the progress of the Ottoman Sultan. The former, who was general of the Hungarians, boldly repulsed the Sultan of Servia, whom he was ambitious to conquer. The other, a Greek prince, who possessed one of the petty states of Albania of which Croja was the capital, resisted with success the repeated attacks of the Turks. Supported by a small but well disciplined army, and favoured by the mountains with which his territory was surrounded, he twice compelled Amurath to raise the siege of Croja. At length appeared Mahomet II., the son and successor of Amurath (1451). This prince, who was raised to the Ottoman throne in the twentieth year of his age, conceived the design of achieving the conquest of the Greek Empire, by the taking

of Constantinople. He succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties which obstructed this enterprise, in which several of his predecessors had failed. At the head of an army of 300,000 combatants, supported by a fleet of 300 sail, he appeared before that capital, and commenced the siege on the 6th April, 1453. The besieged, having only from 8000 to 10,000 men to oppose the superior force of the enemy, yielded to the powerful and redoubled efforts of the Turks, after a vigorous defence of fifty-three days. The city was carried by assault, 29th May, and delivered up to the unrestrained pillage of the soldiers. Constantine, surnamed Dragases, the last of the Greek emperors, perished in the first onset; and all the inhabitants of that great and opulent city were carried into slavery.⁶⁰ Mahomet, on entering the very day of the sack, saw nothing but one vast and dismal solitude. Wishing afterwards to attract new inhabitants to this city, which he proposed to make the seat of his Empire, he guaranteed an entire liberty of conscience to the Greeks who might come to settle there; and authorized them to proceed to the election of a new patriarch, whose dignity he enhanced by the honours and privileges which he attached to it. He restored also the fortifications of the city, and, by way of precaution against the armaments of the Venetians and other western nations, which he had some reason to dread, he

constructed the famous castle of the Dardanelles, at the entrance of the Hellespont.

This conquest was followed by that of Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Greece, and the whole Peloponnesus or Morea, as well as most of the islands of the Archipelago. The Greek Empire of Trebizond, on the coast of Asia Minor, submitted in like manner to the law of the conqueror (1460). David Comnenus, the last emperor, fell by the swords of the Mahometans, and with him perished many of his children and relations. Such a rapid succession of conquests created an alarm among the powers of Christendom. In an assembly, which Pope Pius II. held at Mantua (1459), he proposed a general association among the powers of the West against the Turks. A crusade was published by his orders, and he was on the point of setting out in person at the head of this expedition, when he was suddenly cut off by death at Ancona (1464), where he had appointed the general rendezvous of the confederate troops. This event, added to the terror which the arms of Mahomet had created among the nations of the West, disconcerted the plans of the crusaders, and was the means of dissolving their confederacy. The Turkish Empire thus became firmly established in Europe, and the Tartars of the Crimea put themselves at the same time under the protection of the Porte.

PERIOD VI.

FROM THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA. A.D. 1453—1648.

THE revolution which happened in the fifteenth century entirely changed the face of Europe, and introduced a new system of politics. This revolution was not achieved by any combinations of profound policy, nor by the operation of that physical force which generally subverts thrones and governments. It was the result of those progressive changes which had been produced in the ideas and understandings of the nations of Europe, by the improvements and institutions of preceding times; as well as by the invention of paper and printing, of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass. By means of these, the empire of letters and arts was greatly extended, and various salutary improvements made in the religion, manners, and governments of Europe. The people by degrees shook off the yoke of barbarism, superstition, and fanaticism, which the revolution of the fifth century had imposed on them; and from that time the principal states of Europe began to acquire the strength, and gradually to assume the form, which they have since maintained.

Several extraordinary events, however, conspired to accelerate these happy changes. The belles lettres and the fine arts broke out with new splendour, after the downfall of the Greek Empire. The celebrated Petrarch, and his disciples Boccaccio and John of Ravenna, were the first that brought the Italians acquainted with ancient literature,

as the true source and standard of good taste. They prepared the way for a vast number of the Grecian literati, who, to escape the barbarity of the Turks, had fled into Italy, where they opened schools, and brought the study of Greek literature into considerable repute. The most celebrated of these Greek refugees were, Manuel Chrysoloras, Cardinal Bessarion, Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, John Argyrophilus, and Demetrius Chalcondyles. Protected by the family of the Medicis at Florence, they assisted in forming those fine geniuses which arose in Italy during the fifteenth century, such as Leonardo Aretino, the two Guarini, Poggio of Florence, Angelo Politian, and many others. Academies, or free societies, were founded at Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, Ferrara and Florence, for the encouragement of ancient literature.

From Italy the study of the ancient arts passed to the other states of Europe. They soon diffused their influence over every department of literature and science, which by degrees assumed an aspect totally new. The scholastic system, which till then had been in vogue in the pulpits and universities, lost its credit, and gave place to a more refined philosophy. Men learned to discriminate the vices of the feudal system, and sought out the means of correcting them. The sources of disorder and anarchy were gradually dried up, and gave

place to better organized governments. Painting, sculpture, and the arts in general, cleared from the Gothic rust which they had contracted during the barbarous ages, and finished after the models of the ancients, shone forth with renewed lustre. Navigation, under the direction of the compass, reached a degree of perfection which attracted universal attention; and while the ancients merely coasted along their own shores in the pursuit of commerce or maritime exploits, we find the modern Europeans extending their navigation over the whole globe, and bringing both hemispheres under their dominion.

America, unknown to the ancients, was discovered during this period; as well as the route to India and the East, round the continent of Africa. The notion of a fourth quarter of the world had long been prevalent among the ancients. We all recollect the Atlantides of Plato, which, according to the assertion of that philosopher, was larger than Asia and Africa; and we know that Elian the historian, who lived in the reign of Adrian, affirmed in like manner the existence of a fourth continent of immense extent. This opinion had got so much into fashion, during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, that Lactantius and St. Augustine thought themselves bound in duty to combat it in their writings; inveighing against the antipodes by reasons and arguments, the frivolousness of which is now very generally admitted; but, whatever were the notions which the ancients might have entertained as to a fourth quarter of the globe, it is very certain that they knew it only from conjecture, and that their navigation never extended so far.

The honour of this important discovery belongs to modern navigators, more especially to Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa. From the knowledge which this celebrated man had acquired in the sciences of navigation, astronomy, and geography, he was persuaded that there must be another hemisphere lying to the westward, and unknown to Europeans, but necessary to the equilibrium of the globe. These conjectures he communicated to several of the courts of Europe, who all regarded him as a visionary; and it was not till after many solicitations, that Isabella, Queen of Castile, granted him three vessels, with which he set sail in quest of the new continent, 3rd August, 1492. After a perilous navigation of some months, he reached the Island Guanahani or Cat Island, one of the Lucayos or Bahamas, to which he gave the name of St. Salvador. This discovery was followed soon after by that of the Islands of St. Domingo and Cuba; and in the second and third voyages which that navigator undertook to America (1493-1498), he discovered the mainland or continent of the New World; especially the coast of Paria, as far as the point of Araya, making part of the province known at present by the name of Cumana.

The track of the Genoese navigator was followed by a Florentine merchant, named Amerigo Vesputio. Under the conduct of a Spanish captain, called Alfonso de Ojeda, he made several voyages to the New World after the year 1497. Different coasts of the continent of South America were visited by him; and in the maps of his discoveries which he drew up, he usurped a glory which did not belong to him, by applying his own name

to the new continent; which it has since retained.

The Spaniards conquered the islands, and a great part of the continent of America; extending their victories along with their discoveries. Stimulated by the thirst of gold, which the New World offered to them in abundance, they committed crimes and barbarities which make humanity shudder. Millions of the unfortunate natives were either massacred or buried in the sea, in spite of the efforts which the Spanish bishop, Barthelemi de Las Casas, vainly made to arrest the fury of his countrymen.¹ In the year after the first discovery of Columbus, Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, obtained a bull from Pope Alexander VI., by which that pontiff made him a gift of all the countries discovered, or to be discovered, towards the west and the south; drawing an imaginary line from one pole to the other, at the distance of a hundred leagues westward of Cape Verd and the Azores. This decision having given offence to the King of Portugal, who deemed it prejudicial to his discoveries in the East, an accommodation was contrived between the two courts, in virtue of which the same Pope, by another bull, removed the line in question further west, to the distance of four hundred and seventy leagues; so that all the countries lying to the westward of this line should belong to the King of Spain, while those which might be discovered to the eastward, should fall to the possession of the King of Portugal.² It was on this pretended title that the Spaniards founded their right to demand the submission of the American nations to the Spanish crown. Their principal conquests in the New World commence from the reign of the Emperor Charles V. It was in his name that Ferdinand Cortes, with a mere handful of troops, overthrew the vast Empire of Mexico (1521); the last emperors of which, Montezuma and Guatimozin, were slain, and a prodigious number of the Mexicans put to the sword. The conqueror of Peru was Francis Pizarro (1533). He entered the country, at the head of 300 men, at the very time when Atabalipa was commencing his reign as Inca, or sovereign, of Peru. That prince was slain, and the whole of Peru subdued by the Spaniards.

[The Spaniards founded various colonies and establishments in that part of America which they had subjected to their dominion. The character of these colonies differed from that of the establishments which the Portuguese had founded in India, and the Dutch, the English, and the French, in different parts of the world. As the Spaniards were by no means a commercial nation, the precious metals alone were the object of their cupidity. They applied themselves, in consequence, to the working of mines; they imported negroes to labour in them, and made slaves of the natives. In process of time, when the number of Europeans had increased in these countries, and the precious metals became less abundant, the Spanish colonists were obliged to employ themselves in agriculture, and in raising what is commonly called colonial produce. What we have now said, accounts for the limitations and restrictions which were imposed on the trade of these colonies by the Spanish government; they wished to reserve to themselves exclusively the profits of the mines. Commerce, which at first had been confined to the single en-

trepôt of Seville, fell into the hands of a small number of merchants, to the entire exclusion of foreigners. As for the Spanish possessions in America, they were planted with Episcopal and metropolitan sees, missions, convents, and universities. The Inquisition was also introduced; but the hierarchy which was founded there, instead of augmenting the power of the popes, remained in a state of complete dependence upon the sovereigns.]

The discovery of Brazil belongs to the Portuguese. Alvarez Cabral, the commander of their fleet, while on his route to India, was driven, by contrary winds, on the coast of Brazil (1500), and took possession of the country in the name of the King of Portugal. This colony, in the course of time, became highly important, from the rich mines of diamonds and gold which were discovered there.

The Spaniards and Portuguese were at first the only masters of America; but in a short time, establishments were formed there by some of the other maritime nations of Europe. The first English colony was that of Virginia, which was conducted to North America by Sir Walter Raleigh (1584-1616), but it did not gain a permanent settlement till the reign of James I. This was afterwards followed by several other colonies which had settled in that part of the American continent, on account of the persecution carried on by the Stuart kings against the nonconformists. The first settlements of the English in the Antilles were those which they formed in the islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher (1629); to these they added the island of Jamaica, which they took from the Spaniards (1655). The date of the French establishments in Canada is as old as the reigns of Francis I. and Henry IV., in the years 1534 and 1604. The city of Quebec was founded in 1608. It was at a later period when the French established themselves in the Antilles. The origin of their colonies in Martinique and Guadaloupe is generally referred to the year 1635. They gained a footing in St. Domingo as early as 1630, but the flourishing state of that remarkable colony did not begin, properly speaking, till 1722. All the establishments which the English and French had formed in America were purely agricultural; and in this respect they were distinguished from the Spanish colonies.

The discovery of a passage by sea to the East Indies round Africa belongs also to the Portuguese. It forms one of those great events which often take their first impulse from very slender causes. John I., surnamed the Bastard, the new founder of the kingdom of Portugal, being desirous of affording to his sons an opportunity of signalizing themselves, and earning the honour of knighthood, planned an expedition against the Moors in Africa; he equipped a fleet, with which he landed in the neighbourhood of Ceuta (1415), of which he soon made himself master, and created his sons knights in the grand mosque of that city. After this event, the Portuguese began to have a taste for navigation and maritime discoveries. In this they were encouraged by the Infant Don Henry, Duke of Viseau, and one of the sons of King John, who had particularly distinguished himself in the expedition of which we have just spoken. That prince, who was well skilled in mathematics and the art

of navigation, established his residence at Cape St. Vincent, on the western extremity of Algarva. There he ordered vessels to be constructed at his own expense, and sent them to reconnoitre the coasts of Africa. From that time the Portuguese discovered, in succession, the islands of Madeira (1420), the Canaries (1424), the Azores (1431), and Cape Verd (1460). There they founded colonies; and, advancing by degrees along the southern shores of Africa, they extended their navigation as far as the coasts of Guinea and Nigritia. The islands which they had newly discovered, were confirmed to the kings of Portugal by several of the Popes. The Canaries, however, having been claimed by the Spaniards, a treaty was negotiated between the two kingdoms, in virtue of which these islands were abandoned to Spain (1481).

It was under the reign of John II. that the Portuguese extended their navigation as far as the most southerly point of Africa. Barthelmei Diaz, their admiral, was the first who doubled the Cape, which he called the Stormy Cape; a name which King John changed into that of Good Hope. At length, after twelve years of toils, Vasco di Gama, another Portuguese admiral, had the glory of carrying his national flag as far as India. He landed at the Port of Calicut (1498), on the Malabar coast, in the third year of the reign of Erimannuel. Several other celebrated Portuguese navigators, such as Almeida, Albuquerque, Acunga, Silveira, and de Castro, following the track of Vasco di Gama, laid the foundation of the power of the Portuguese in India. Francis Almeida defeated the fleet of the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, in conjunction with that of the kings of India (1509). Alfonso Albuquerque conquered Goa (1511), and made it the capital of all the Portuguese settlements in that part of the world. About the same time, the Portuguese established themselves in the Molucca Islands, with some opposition on the part of the Spaniards. Anthony Silveira signalized himself by his able defence of Diu (1588). He repulsed the Turks, and ruined the fleet which Soliman the Great had sent to the siege of that place (1547). The King of Cambay having resumed the siege, he experienced likewise a total defeat from John de Castro, who then conquered the whole kingdom of Diu.

The Portuguese found powerful kingdoms in India, and nations rich and civilized. There, nature and the industry of the natives, produced or fabricated those articles of commerce and merchandize which have since become an object of luxury to Europeans; at least until the activity of the Venetians had furnished the inhabitants of this part of the world with them in such abundance, as to make them be regarded as articles of absolute necessity. This circumstance was the reason why the Portuguese never formed any other than mercantile establishments in India, which they erected on the coasts, without extending them into the interior. The working of the mines, and the cares of agriculture, were abandoned entirely to the natives.

This era produced a total change in the commerce of the East. Formerly the Venetians were the people that carried on the principal traffic to India. The Jewish or Mahometan merchants purchased, at Goa, Calicut, and Cochin, those spices

and other productions of the East, which they imported into Syria by the Persian gulf, and into Egypt by the Red Sea. They were then conveyed by a laborious and expensive land-carriage, either to the port of Alexandria, or that of Bairout in Syria. Thither the Venetians repaired in quest of the luxuries of India; they fixed their price, and distributed them over all Europe. This commerce proved a source of vast wealth to these republicans; it furnished them with the means of maintaining a formidable marine, and of very often dictating the law to the other European powers; but after the discovery of the new passage round the Cape, and the conquests of the Portuguese in India, the Venetians saw themselves compelled to abandon a traffic in which they could not compete with the Portuguese. This was a terrible blow to that republic, and the principal cause of its downfall. The Portuguese, however, did not profit by this exclusive commerce as they might have done. They did not, like other nations, constitute companies, with exclusive commercial privileges; they carried it on by means of fleets, which the government regularly despatched at fixed periods. In this manner, the commodities of the East were imported to Lisbon; but the indolence of the native merchants left to other nations the care of distributing them through the markets of Europe. The Dutch were the people that profited most by this branch of industry; they cultivated it with so much success, and under such favourable circumstances, that they at length succeeded in excluding the Portuguese themselves from this lucrative traffic, by dispossessing them of their colonies in the East.

If the events which we have now briefly detailed proved fatal to the Venetians, and afflicting to humanity, by the wars and misfortunes which they occasioned, it is nevertheless certain, that commerce and navigation gained prodigiously by these new discoveries. The Portuguese, after having maintained for some time the exclusive possession of the navigation and trade of the East, found afterwards powerful competitors in the Spaniards, the Dutch, English, French, and Danes, who all established mercantile connexions both in India and America.³ Hence innumerable sources of wealth were opened up to the industry of the Europeans; and their commerce, formerly limited to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the Northern Seas, and confined to a few cities in Italy, Flanders, and Germany, was now, by means of their colonies in Africa, and the East and West Indies, extended to all parts of the globe.⁴ The intercourse of the Portuguese with China was as early as the year 1517, and with Japan it began in 1542. Ferdinand Magellan undertook the first voyage round the world (1519), and his example found afterwards a number of imitators.⁵ By degrees the maritime power of Europe assumed a formidable aspect; arts and manufactures were multiplied; the states, formerly poor, became rich and flourishing. Kingdoms at length found, in their commerce, resources for augmenting their strength and their influence, and carrying into execution their projects of aggrandisement and conquest.

[Among the causes of this revolution, which took place in commerce, it is necessary to take into account a discovery apparently of trivial importance, but which exercised a most extraordinary in-

fluence over the civilization of Europe, viz., that of horse-posts for the conveyance of letters. Before the sixteenth century, the communications between distant countries were few and difficult. Messengers, travelling on short journeys, on foot or on horseback, were their only couriers. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, and during the reign of Maximilian I., an Italian gentleman, of the name of Francis de la Tour et Taxis, established the first posts in the Low Countries. Their object at first was merely for the conveyance of letters, for which he provided regular relays. By and by, for the sake of despatch, the use of horses was introduced, placed at certain distances. From the Low Countries this system found its way into Germany, where it was conferred on the family of Taxis as a regalian right; and from thence it spread over every civilized country in the world.]

A revolution, not less important, is that which took place in religion about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The abuses which disgraced the court of Rome, the excess of the power, and the depravity of the morals of the clergy, had excited a very general discontent. A reformation had for a long time been deemed necessary, but there was a difference of opinion as to the method of effecting it. The common notion was, that this task could be legally accomplished only by General Councils, convoked under the authority of the popes. It was easy, however, to perceive the inefficacy of any remedy left at the disposal of those very persons from whom the evil proceeded; and the unsuccessful results of the Councils of Constance and Basle had taught the people, that, in order to obtain redress for the abuses of which they complained, it was necessary to have recourse to some other scheme than that of general councils. This scheme was attempted by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, who were persuaded, that, in order to restrain the exorbitant power of the clergy, they ought to reject the infallibility of the pope, as well as that of general councils; admitting no other authority in ecclesiastical matters, than that of the sacred Scriptures, interpreted by the lights of reason and sound criticism.

The immediate and incidental cause of this change in religion was the enormous abuse of indulgences. Pope Leo X., who was of the family of the Medicis, and well known for his extensive patronage of literature and the fine arts, having exhausted the treasury of the church by his luxury and his munificence, had recourse to the expedient of indulgences, which several of his predecessors had already adopted as a means of recruiting their finances. The ostensible reason was, the basilicon of St. Peter's at Rome, the completion of which was equally interesting to the whole of Christendom. Offices for the sale of indulgences were established in all the different states of Europe. The purchasers of these indulgences obtained absolution of their sins, and exemption from the pains of purgatory after death. The excesses committed by the emissaries who had the charge of those indulgences, and the scandalous means which they practised to extort money, brought on the schism to which we are about to advert.

Two theologians, Martin Luther and Ulric Zuingle, opposed these indulgences, and inveighed against them in their sermons and their writings;

the former at Wittenberg, in Saxony; the other, first at Einsiedeln, and afterwards at Zurich, in Switzerland. Leo X. at first held these adversaries in contempt. He did not attempt to allay the storm, until the minds of men, exasperated by the heat of dispute, were no longer disposed to listen to the voice of calmness and conciliation. The means which he subsequently tried to induce Luther to retract having proved abortive, he launched a thundering Bull against him (1520), which, so far from abating the courage of the Reformer, tended, on the contrary, to embolden him still more. He publicly burnt the pope's bull, together with the canon law, at Wittenberg (10th December), in presence of a vast concourse of doctors and students from different nations, whom he had assembled for the purpose. From that moment Luther and Zuingle never ceased to preach against the abuses of the indulgences. They completely undermined this system of abomination, and even attacked various other dogmas and institutions of the Romish church, such as monastic vows, the celibacy of the priests, the supremacy of the pope, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These two celebrated men, who agreed in the greater part of their opinions, soon attracted a number of followers. The people, long ago prepared to shake off a yoke which had been so oppressive, applauded the zeal of the Reformers; and the new opinions, promptly and easily diffused by means of the press, were received with enthusiasm throughout a great part of Europe.

John Calvin, another Reformer, trod nearly in the footsteps of Zuingle. He was a native of Noyon in Picardy, and began to distinguish himself at Paris in 1532. Being compelled to leave that city on account of his opinions, he withdrew to Switzerland (1538); thence he passed to Straasbourg, where he was nominated to the office of French preacher. His erudition and his pulpit-talents gained him disciples, and gave the name of Calvinists to those who had at first been called Zuinglians. The Lutherans, as well as the Zuinglians or Calvinists, in Germany, were comprehended under the common appellation of Protestants, on account of the *Protest* which they took against the decrees of the Diet of Spire (1529), which forbade them to make any innovations in religion, or to abolish the mass, until the meeting of a general council. The name of Lutherans was applied more particularly to those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, that is, the Confession of Faith, which they presented to the Emperor Charles V., at the famous Diet of Augsburg, held in 1530.

In this manner a great part of Europe revolted from the pope and the Romish church, and embraced either the doctrines of Luther, or those of Zuingle and Calvin. The half of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Prussia, and Livonia, adopted the Confession of Augsburg; while England, Scotland, the United Provinces, and the principal part of Switzerland, declared themselves in favour of the opinions of Zuingle and Calvin. The new doctrines made likewise great progress in France, Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland.

This revolution did not convulse merely the church; it influenced the politics, and changed the form of government, in many of the states of

Europe. The same men who believed themselves authorized to correct abuses and imperfections in religion, undertook to reform political abuses with the same freedom. New states sprang up; and princes took advantage of these commotions to augment their own power and authority. Constituting themselves heads of the church and of the religion of their country, they shook off the fetters of priestly influence; while the clergy ceased to form a counteracting or controlling power in the state. The freedom of opinion which characterized the Protestant faith awoke the human mind from its intellectual lethargy, infused new energy into it, and thus contributed to the progress of civilization and science in Europe. Even the systems of public instruction underwent a considerable change. The schools were reformed, and rendered more perfect. A multitude of new seminaries of education, academies, and universities, were founded in all the Protestant states. This revolution, however, was not accomplished without great and various calamities. A hierarchy, such as that of the Church of Rome, supported by all that was dignified and venerable, could not be attacked, or shaken to its foundation, without involving Europe in the convulsion. Hence we find that wars and factions arose in Germany, France, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Hungary, and Poland. The march of reformation was every where stained with blood.

[This, however, was not always shed on account of religion, which was made the pretext for the greater part of the wars that raged for two hundred years. All the passions of the human breast—the ambition of the great—and the turbulent spirits of the disaffected—assumed that mask. If the Reformation contributed ultimately to the progress of learning in the Protestant states, it arrested these improvements in the Catholic countries, and gave birth to a headlong fanaticism which shut men's eyes to the truth. Even in the Protestant states, it occupied the attention with the study of a theology full of scholastic subtleties, instead of directing the mind to the pursuit of more useful sciences. If this liberty of opinion, and the absence of all authority in matters of faith, gave new energy to human thought, it also led men into errors of which the preceding ages had seen no example. The republicanism which desolated France in the sixteenth century, the rebellions which distracted England in the seventeenth, the pestilential doctrines that were broached in the eighteenth, and the revolutionary spirit which overturned all Europe in the nineteenth, may justly be regarded as the consequences of the Reformation, whose evils have, in a great measure, counterbalanced its advantages.*]

The means that were employed to bring the quarrels of the church to an amicable conclusion, tended rather to exasperate than allay the mischief; and if the conferences among the clergy of different persuasions failed, it was not to be expected that a better agreement, or a re-union of parties, could be founded on the basis of a General Council. The Protestants demanded an uncontrolled liberty for the council. They wished it to be assembled by order of the Emperor, in one of the cities of the Empire; and that their divines should have a voice and a seat in its meetings. The pope was to sub-

* This is one of the paragraphs interpolated by M. Schoell, whose opinion in this matter we by no means subscribe to.—T.

mit to its authority, and all matters should there be decided according to the rule of the sacred Scriptures. These terms were by no means agreeable to the Catholics. Paul III. summoned a council at Mantua (1557), and another at Vicenza (1558); but both of these convocations were ineffectual, as was also the proposed reform in the court of Rome, made by the same pontiff. It was resolved at last, at the instance of the Catholic princes (1542), to convoke the Council of Trent, though the opening of it was deferred till 1545.

This famous council met with two interruptions; the first took place in 1547, when the pope, who had become alarmed at the success of the imperial arms, transferred the council to Bologna, on pretence that an epidemic distemper had broken out at Trent. All the prelates of the emperor's party remained at Trent, in obedience to the command of their master, who protested loudly against the assembly at Bologna, which, nevertheless, held its ninth and tenth sessions at that city. This latter council having been dissolved by Paul III. (1548), its affairs continued in a languid state for the next two years, when Pope Julius III., the successor of Paul, revived it, and transferred it once more to Trent (1551). Another interruption took place at the time when Maurice, Elector of Saxony, had made himself master of Augsburg, and was marching against the emperor towards Inspruck. It was then agreed to prorogue the council, now in its sixteenth session, for two years; and to assemble again at the end of that period, if peace should happen in the mean time to be established. At length, in 1560, Pius IV. summoned the council, for the third and last time, to meet at Trent. The session, however, did not commence till 1562, and next year its sittings were finally terminated.

In this council, matters were not treated in the same way as they had been at Constance and Basle, where each nation deliberated separately, and then gave their suffrage in common, so that the general decision was taken according to the votes of the different nations. This form of deliberation was not at all palatable to the court of Rome, who, in order to gain a preponderance in the assembly, thought proper to decide by a majority of the votes of every individual member of the council. The Protestant princes rejected entirely the authority of this council; which, far from terminating the dispute, made the schism wider than ever. Its decisions were even condemned by several of the Catholic sovereigns. In France, more especially, it was never formally published, and they expressly excluded such of its acts of discipline as they considered contrary to the laws of the kingdom, to the authority of the sovereign, and the maxims of the Gallican church.

It is, nevertheless, certain that this council was instrumental in restoring the tottering power of the Roman pontiffs; which received at the same time a new support by the institution of the Order of the Jesuits. The founder of this order was Ignatius Loyola, who was born at the castle of Loyola in Guipuscoa. He made the declaration of his vows in the church of Montmartre, at Paris (1534), and obtained from Paul III. the confirmation of his new society. This Order was bound, by a particular vow of obedience, more intimately to the court of Rome, and became one of the main instruments of its enormous power. From Spain

the society was speedily propagated in all the other Catholic states; they filled cities and courts with their emissaries; undertook missions to China, Japan, and the Indies; and, under the special protection of the see of Rome, they soon surpassed in credit and wealth every other religious order.

In the midst of these changes which took place in civil and ecclesiastical matters, we find a new system arising in the political government of Europe; the consequence of those new ties and relations which had been established amongst the different powers since the close of the fifteenth century. Prior to this date, most of the European states were feeble, because insulated and detached. Occupied with their own particular interests and quarrels, the nations were little acquainted with each other, and seldom had any influence on their mutual destinies. The faults and imperfections inherent in the feudal system had pervaded all Europe, and crippled the power and energies of government. The sovereigns, continually at war with their factious and powerful vassals, could neither form plans of foreign conquest, nor carry them into execution; and their military operations were in general without unity or effect. [Hence it happened, that in the middle ages, changes were produced in the different states, which so little alarmed their neighbours, that it may be said they were scarcely conscious of their existence. Such were the conquests of the English in France, which might certainly have compromised the independence of Europe.]

A combination of causes and circumstances, both physical and moral, produced a revolution in the manners and governments of most of the Continental states. The disorders of feudal anarchy gradually disappeared; constitutions better organised were introduced; the temporary levies of vassals were succeeded by regular and permanent armies; which contributed to humble the exorbitant power of the nobles and feudal barons. The consequence was, that states formerly weak and exhausted acquired strength; while their sovereigns, freed from the turbulence and intimidation of their vassals, began to extend their political views, and to form projects of aggrandisement and conquest.

From this period the reciprocal influence of the European States on each other began to be manifest. Those who were afraid for their independence would naturally conceive the idea of a balance of power capable of protecting them against the inroads of ambitious and warlike princes. Hence those frequent embassies and negotiations; those treaties of alliance, subsidies, and guarantees; those wars carried on by a general combination of powers, who deemed themselves obliged to bear a part in the common cause; and hence too those projects for establishing checks and barriers on each other, which occupied the different courts of Europe.

[The system of equilibrium, or the balance of power, originated in Italy. That peninsula, separated from the rest of the continent by the sea and the Alps, had outstripped the other countries in the career of civilization. There a multitude of independent states had been formed, unequal in point of power and extent; but none of them had sufficient strength to resist the united power of the rest, or usurp dominion over them; while at the

same time, none of them were sufficiently contemptible in point of weakness, as not to be of some weight in the scale. Hence that rivalry and jealousy among them, which was incessantly watching over the progress of their neighbours; and hence, too, a series of wars and confederacies, whose object was to maintain some degree of equality among them; or at least a relative proportion, which might inspire the weaker with courage and confidence. The popes, who were exceedingly active in these transactions, employed all their policy to prevent any foreign power from interfering, or establishing itself in Italy. The doctrine of political equilibrium passed the Alps about the end of the fifteenth century. The House of Austria, which had suddenly risen to a high pitch of grandeur, was the first against which its efforts were directed.]

This House, which derived its origin from Rodolph of Hapsburg, who was elected Emperor of Germany towards the end of the thirteenth century, owed its greatness and elevation chiefly to the Imperial dignity, and the different marriage-alliances which this same dignity procured it. Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic III., married Mary of Burgundy (1477), daughter and heiress of Charles the Rash, last Duke of Burgundy. This alliance secured to Austria the whole of the Low Countries, including Franche-Comté, Flanders and Artois. Philip the Fair, the son of this marriage, espoused the Infanta of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castille. They had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, the former of whom, known in history by the name of Charles V., inherited the Low Countries in right of his father Philip (1506). On the death of Ferdinand, his maternal grandfather (1516), he became heir to the whole Spanish succession, which comprehended the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, together with Spanish America. To these vast possessions were added his patrimonial dominions in Austria, which were transmitted to him by his paternal grandfather the Emperor Maximilian I. About the same time (1519), the Imperial dignity was conferred on this prince by the electors; so that Europe had not seen, since the time of Charlemagne, a monarchy so powerful as that of Charles V.

This emperor concluded a treaty with his brother Ferdinand, by which he ceded to him all his hereditary possessions in Germany. The two brothers thus became the founders of the two principal branches of the House of Austria, viz. that of Spain, which began with Charles V. (called Charles I. of Spain), and ended with Charles II. (1700); and that of Germany, of which Ferdinand I. was the ancestor, and which became extinct in the male line in the Emperor Charles VI. (1740). These two branches, closely allied to each other, acted in concert for the advancement of their reciprocal interests; moreover they gained each their own separate advantages by the marriage connexions which they formed. Ferdinand I. of the German line, married Anne (1521), sister of Louis King of Hungary and Bohemia, who having been slain by the Turks at the battle of Mohacs (1526), these two kingdoms devolved to Ferdinand of the House of Austria. Finally, the marriage which Charles V. contracted with the Infant

Isabella, daughter of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, procured Philip II. of Spain, the son of that marriage, the whole Portuguese monarchy, to which he succeeded on the death of Henry, called the Cardinal (1580). So vast an aggrandisement of power alarmed the sovereigns of Europe, who began to suspect that the Austrian Princes, of the Spanish and German line, aimed at the universal monarchy. The unbounded ambition of Charles V., and his son Philip II., as well as that of Ferdinand II., grandson of Ferdinand I., tended to confirm these suspicions, and all felt the necessity of uniting to oppose a barrier to this overwhelming power. For a long time the whole policy of Europe, its wars and alliances, had no other object than to humble the ambition of one nation, whose preponderance seemed to threaten the liberty and independence of the rest.

[The system of political equilibrium, which from this period became the leading object of every European cabinet, until it was undermined by unjust and arbitrary interferences, and threatened to bury the independence of Europe in its ruins, did not aim at maintaining among the different states an equality of power or territorial possession. This would have been chimerical. The object of this system was to maintain a perfect equality of rights, in virtue of which the weaker might enjoy in security all that they held by a just claim. It was purely a defensive and preservative system; nor did it affect to put an end to all wars; it was directed solely against the ambition and usurpation of conquerors. Its fundamental principle was to prevent any one state from acquiring sufficient power to resist the united efforts of the others.]

France was the leading power that undertook the task of regulating the balance against the House of Austria. Francis I. and Henry II. used every effort to excite combinations against Charles V. Francis was the first sovereign in Europe that entered into treaties of alliance with the Turks against Austria; and in this way the Porte was, to a certain extent, amalgamated with the political system of Europe. So long as their object was to subvert the feudal aristocracy, and the Protestant religion in France, Francis and Henry were strenuous defenders of the Germanic system, and extended their protection to the sovereigns of the Protestant states of the empire, under the persuasion that all Europe would bend to the Austrian yoke, if the emperors of that house should succeed in rendering their power absolute and hereditary in the Empire. Henry IV., Louis XIII., and the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, adopted the same line of policy.⁶ They joined in league with the Protestant Princes, and armed by turns the greater part of Europe against Austria, and the Emperor Ferdinand II., whose ambitious designs threatened to subvert the constitution of the Empire. This was the grand motive for the famous thirty years' war, which was put an end to by the treaties of Westphalia (1648), and of the Pyrenees (1659). France succeeded, not however without prodigious efforts, in supporting the balance against Austria; while the federative system of the Empire, consolidated by the former of these treaties, and guaranteed by France and Sweden, became a sort of artificial barrier, for preserving the equilibrium and the general tranquillity of Europe.

It was during this period that almost every kingdom in Europe changed their condition, and assumed by degrees, the form which they have still retained. The German Empire continued to experience those calamities to which every government is exposed, when its internal springs have lost their vigour and activity. Private wars and feuds, which the laws authorized, were then regarded as the chief bulwark of the national liberty; the noblesse and the petty states in general, knew no other justice than what the sword dispensed. Oppression, rapine and violence, were become universal; commerce languished; and the different provinces of the empire presented one melancholy scene of ruin and desolation. The expedients that were tried to remedy these disorders, the truces, the treaties (called the Peace of God), and the different confederacies of the Imperial states, served only to palliate, but not to cure the evil. The efforts which some of the Emperors made to establish the public tranquillity on some solid basis, proved equally abortive.

It was not until near the end of the fifteenth century that the states of the Empire, impressed with juster notions of government and civil subordination, consented to the total and entire abolition of feuds and intestine wars. This was accomplished under the reign of Maximilian I., by the *Perpetual Public Peace*, drawn up at the Diet of Worms in 1495. All violent means of redress among the members of the Germanic Body were rigorously interdicted; and all who had any complaint to make against each other, were enjoined to apply to the regular courts of justice. This ordinance of the public peace, which was afterwards renewed and enlarged in several diets, has been regarded, since that time, as one of the principal and fundamental laws of the Empire.

The establishment of the public peace rendered a reformation necessary in the administration of justice, which had long been in a languid and disordered state. For this purpose, the Imperial Chamber, which sat at first at Spire, and was afterwards transferred to Wetzlar, was instituted at the Diet of Worms (1495). Its object was to judge of any differences that might arise among the immediate members of the Germanic body; as also to receive any appeals that might be referred to them from the subordinate tribunals. It was composed of a chief or head, called the Judge of the Chamber, and of a certain number of assessors, chosen from among the electors and independent nobility. The institution of the Aulic Council, another sovereign court of the Empire, followed soon after that of the Imperial Chamber. Its origin is generally referred to the Diet of Cologne (1512). Of the same date also is the plan which they adopted of dividing the Empire into ten Circles, as a proper expedient for maintaining the public peace, and facilitating the execution of the sentences of the two Imperial Courts. Over each of these circles were placed conveners, directors, and colonels, whose duty it was to superintend and command the troops of their respective districts.

The custom of imperial capitulations was introduced at the time of the accession of Charles V. to the imperial throne (1519). The electors, apprehensive of the formidable power of that prince, thought proper to limit it by a capitulation,

which they made him sign and solemnly swear to observe. This compact between the new emperor and the electors, renewed under every subsequent reign, has been always considered as the grand charter of the liberties of the Germanic body.

The dissensions on the score of religion that happened about the beginning of the sixteenth century, gave rise to a long series of troubles and civil wars, which proved of advantage to the House of Austria, by the confirmation of their power in the Empire. The first of these is known by the name of the war of Smalcalde, of which the following is a brief sketch. The Emperor Charles V., in the first diet which he held at Worms (1521), had issued an edict of proscription against Luther and his adherents, ordaining that they should be treated as enemies of the Empire, and prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law. The execution of this edict was incessantly urged by the emperor and the pope's legates, until the whole Empire was in a state of combustion. The Catholic princes, at the instigation of Cardinal Campeggio, assembled at Ratisbon (1524), and there adopted measures of extreme rigour, for putting the edict into execution within their respective states. The case was by no means the same with the princes and states who adhered to the reformation, or who gave it their protection. To apply the conditions of the edict to them, it would have been necessary to come to a civil war, which the more prudent members of the Germanic body sought to avoid. This religious schism was still more aggravated at the Diet of Augsburg, where the emperor issued a decree, condemning the Confession of Faith which the Protestant princes had presented to him. This decree limited a time within which they were commanded, in so far as regarded the articles in dispute, to conform to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Thus urged to extremities, the Protestant leaders determined to assemble at Smalcalde before the end of this very year (1530), where they laid the foundation of a *Union*, or defensive alliance, which was afterwards renewed at different times. John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, declared themselves chiefs of this union. In opposition to this confederacy, the Catholic princes instituted the *Holy League*; so called because its object was the defence of the Catholic religion.

Everything seemed to announce a civil war, when a new irruption of the Turks into Hungary and Austria induced the Catholics to sign, at Nuremberg (1530), a truce, or accommodation, with the princes of the union; in virtue of which, a peace between the states of the two religions was concluded, and approved by the emperor; to continue till a general council, or some new assembly, should decide otherwise. This peace was renewed in various subsequent assemblies. The Protestant princes, however, still persisted in their refusal to acknowledge the authority of councils convoked by the popes; and their confederacy daily receiving new accessions, the emperor, after having made peace with France, at Crepy (1544), and concluded an armistice of five years with the Turks, resolved to declare war against these schismatics, who, presuming on their union and their amicable relations with foreign powers, thought

themselves capable of dictating laws to the Empire. He issued an edict of proscription (1546) against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the two chiefs of the union; and having entered into a secret alliance with Duke Maurice, a younger branch of the family of Saxony, and a near relation of the elector, he succeeded in transferring the theatre of war from the Danube to the Elbe. The elector being defeated by the emperor, in an action which took place at Mecklenburg (1547), fell into the hands of the conqueror; and the Landgrave of Hesse met with the same fate two months after. The union of Smalcalde was then dissolved, and the emperor, who now saw himself master of Germany, assembled a diet at Augsburg in which he acted the part of a dictator. A large detachment of his troops, billeted on the city, served as his body guard, while the rest of his army was encamped in the neighbourhood. At this diet he conferred on Duke Maurice the Electorate of Saxony, of which he had deprived his prisoner, John Frederick. The investiture of the new elector took place at Augsburg (1548); and what deserves to be particularly remarked in this diet is, that the emperor entered into a scheme for the entire ruin and extirpation of Protestantism, by compelling the princes and states of the reformation to rejoin the Catholic Church, by means of a formula which he made them adopt, known by the name of the *Interim*; and which, by its preliminary arrangement, allowed them only the use of the communion in both kinds, and the marriage of their priests, until the whole matter should be decided by a council.

The victories of Charles V., which seemed to have made him absolute master of the Empire, were soon followed by reverses, which eclipsed all the former glory of his reign. The Elector Maurice, though indebted to him for his new dignity, thought he might take advantage of the distressed condition to which that prince was reduced by the low state of his finances, to make a new attempt to limit his authority, and restore the Protestant religion. With this view, having enlisted some of the princes of the Empire in his cause, and concluded a secret treaty with Henry II. of France, at Chambord, he marched with such rapidity against the Emperor, that he nearly surprised him at Inspruck, and obliged him to have recourse to the mediation of his brother Ferdinand, when a treaty was concluded with Maurice, which was signed at Passau (1552). There the liberty of the Protestant worship was sanctioned; and it was agreed that a General Council should be summoned to draw up the articles of a solid and permanent peace between the states of both religions.

This diet, which was long retarded by political events, did not assemble at Augsburg till the year 1555. There a definitive peace was concluded on the subject of religion, and it was ordained that both Protestant and Catholic states should enjoy a perfect liberty of worship; and that no reunion should ever be attempted by any other than amicable means. The secularizing of the ecclesiastical revenues, which the Protestant princes had introduced into their states, was ratified; but there was one of the articles of the treaty which expressly provided, that every prelate or churchman, who renounced his ancient faith to embrace the Con-

fession of Augsburg, should lose his benefice. This latter clause, known by the name of *Ecclesiastical Reserve*, did not pass but with the most determined opposition.

Differences of more kinds than one sprang from this treaty of peace,—the articles of which each party interpreted to their own advantage. Hence those stratagems which at length occasioned a new war (1618)—that of the Thirty Years. The Protestant Princes and States, wishing to provide for their own security, and to put an end to those arbitrary measures, of which they thought they had reason to complain, assembled at Heilbronn (1594), and there laid the foundation of a new union, which was confirmed in the assemblies held at Halle, in Suabia, in the years 1608 and 1610. The chief promoter of this union was Henry IV. of France, who designed to use it as a check on the ambition of the House of Austria; and as a means for carrying into execution the grand project which he meditated with regard to the pacification of Europe. He concluded an alliance with the princes of the Union, and determined the number of troops to be furnished by each of the contracting parties. The Catholic princes and States, afraid of being taken unawares, renewed their League, which they signed at Wurzburg (1609). The rich duchy of Juliers, which had become vacant this same year, was contested by several claimants; and as Austria was equally desirous of possessing it, this was made the occasion of raising powerful armies in France, Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries. A considerable number of troops had already taken the field about the beginning of the year 1610, when the unexpected death of Henry IV. disconcerted all their measures. This changed the politics of the French court, and also induced the princes of the Union to conclude a treaty with the League,—the articles of which were signed at Munich and Wildstett (1610).

In this manner the resentment of both parties was suspended for the moment; but the cause of their disunion still remained, which at length (1618) kindled a war that extended from Bohemia over all Germany, and involved, in course of time, a great part of Europe. The history of this tedious war, in which politics had as great a share as zeal for religion, may be divided into four principal periods, namely, the Palatine, the Danish, the Swedish, and the French war. Frederick V., Elector Palatine, and head of the Protestant Union, having been raised to the throne by the Bohemian States (1619), which had rebelled against the Emperor Ferdinand II., engaged in a war with that prince; but being deserted by his allies, and defeated at the battle of Prague (1620), he was driven from Bohemia, and stripped of all his dominions. The victorious arms of Austria soon extended their conquests over a great part of the Empire.

Christian IV., King of Denmark, who was in alliance with most of the Protestant princes, next undertook the defence of the federal system; but he was not more fortunate than the Elector Palatine had been. Being defeated by Tilly, at the famous battle of Lutzen (1625), he was compelled to abandon the cause of his allies, and to sign a separate peace with the Emperor at Lubeck (1629). Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden,

pursued the career of the Danish monarch. Encouraged by France, he put himself at the head of the Protestant princes, with the view of checking the ambitious projects of Ferdinand II., who, by means of his general, Wallenstein, whom he had created Duke of Friedland, and invested in the duchy of Mecklenburg, was dictating the law to the whole Empire, and even threatening the kingdoms of the North. Nothing could be more splendid than the campaigns of the Swedish hero in Germany, and the victories which he obtained at Leipsic (1631), and Lutzen (1632); but having been slain in the latter action, the affairs of the Swedes began to decline; and they were totally ruined by the defeat which they sustained at Nordlingen (1634). From that time the Elector of Saxony, John George I., renounced the alliance of Sweden; and in yielding up Lusace to the Emperor, he consented to a separate treaty of peace, which was signed at Prague (1635).

It was at this period that France, which till then had but feebly supported the Swedes and the Protestant princes, thought it of advantage to her interests to undertake their defence against Austria. Having declared war against Spain, she marched numerous armies at once into Italy, Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries. Bernard, Prince of Saxe Weimar, and the three French generals, Guebriant, Turenne, and the Duke d'Enghien, signalized themselves by their exploits in the Imperial war; while the disciples of Gustavus Adolphus, Banier, Torstenston, and Wrangel, distinguished themselves at the head of the Swedish armies, in the various campaigns which took place, from the year 1635 till the conclusion of the peace. Never were negotiations more tedious or more complicated than those which preceded the treaty of Westphalia. The preliminaries were signed at Hamburg in 1641; but the opening of the Congress at Munster and Osnaburg did not take place till 1644. The Counts D'Avaux and Servien, the plenipotentiaries of France, shared with Oxenstiern and Salvius, the Swedish envoys, the principal glory of this negotiation, which was protracted on purpose, as the belligerent powers were daily expecting to see the events of the war change in their favour. It was not until the 24th of October, 1648, that the peace was finally signed at Munster and Osnaburg.

This peace, which was renewed in every subsequent treaty, and made a fundamental law of the Empire, fixed definitively the constitution of the Germanic body. The territorial rights of the states, known by the name of *superiority*—the privilege of making alliances with each other, and with foreign powers—and advising with the Emperor at the Diets, in everything that concerned the general administration of the Empire, were confirmed to them in the most authentic manner, and guaranteed by the consent of foreign powers. As to ecclesiastical affairs, the Religious Peace of 1555 was confirmed anew, and extended to those who were known by the name of the *Reformed*, or *Calvinists*. The state of religion, the forms of public worship, and the enjoyment of ecclesiastical benefices, throughout the whole Empire, were regulated according to the decree, called *Ut possidetis*, of the 1st of January, 1624, which was termed the *normal*, or *decretory* year. In this treaty, France obtained, by way of indemnity, the sove-

reignty of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, as well as that of Alsace. The compensation of the other parties interested was settled in a great measure at the expense of the Church, and by means of secularizing several bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices.

Besides Pomerania and the city of Wismar, Sweden got the archbishopric of Bremen and the bishopric of Verdun. To the House of Brandenburg they assigned Upper Pomerania, the archbishopric of Magdeburg, the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin. The House of Mecklenburg received, in lieu of the city of Wismar, the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg. The princely abbey of Hirschfeld was adjudged to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the alterity of the bishopric of Osnaburg to the House of Brunswick-Luneburg. An eighth Electorate was instituted in favour of the Elector Palatine, whom the Emperor, during the war, had divested of his dignity, which, with the Upper Palatinate, he had conferred on the Duke of Bavaria.

The greater part of the provinces known by the name of the Low Countries, made part of the ancient kingdom of Lorraine, which had been united to the German Empire since the tenth century. The principal of these had been acquired by the dukes of Burgundy, who made them over, with other estates, to the House of Austria (1477). Charles V. added the provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Gueldres, to the states to which he had succeeded in Burgundy. He united the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries into one and the same government; and ordered, by the *Pragmatic* which he published (1549), that they should never henceforth be disunited. This same prince, at the diet of Augsburg (1548), entered into a negotiation with the Germanic body, in virtue of which he consented to put these provinces under their protection; under condition of their observing the public peace, and paying into the exchequer of the Empire double the contribution of an electorate. He guaranteed to the princes of the Low Countries a vote and a seat at the Diet, as chiefs of the circle of Burgundy. These provinces, moreover, were to be considered as free and independent sovereignties, without being subject to the jurisdiction either of the Empire or of the Imperial Chamber, who were not authorized to proceed against them, except when they were found in arrears with the payment of their contingent, or when they infringed the law of the public peace.

Charles V. having transferred these countries to his son, Philip II. of Spain, they were then incorporated with the Spanish monarchy; and it was under the reign of this latter prince that those troubles began which gave rise to the republic of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. The true origin of these troubles is to be found in the despotism of Philip II., and in his extravagant and fanatical zeal for the Catholic religion. This prince, the declared enemy of the rights and liberties of the Belgic provinces, was mortified to witness the religious privileges which they enjoyed; under favour of which the doctrines of the Reformation were daily making new progress. Being resolved to extirpate this new faith, together with the political liberties which served to protect it, he introduced the tribunal of the Inquisition

(1550), as the most sure and infallible support of despotism. With the consent and authority of Pope Paul IV., he suppressed, for this purpose, the metropolitan and diocesan rights which the archbishops and bishops of the Empire and of France had exercised in the Low Countries; he instituted three new bishoprics at Utrecht, Cambray, and Malines; and under their jurisdiction he put thirteen new bishoprics which he had erected, besides those of Arras and Tournay. Having in this way augmented the number of his satellites in the assembly of the States-General, he suppressed a great multitude of abbeys and monasteries, the revenues of which he applied to the endowment of his newly made bishoprics.

These innovations, added to the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent, according to his orders, excited a very general discontent. The repeated remonstrances on the part of the States, having produced no effect on the inflexible mind of Philip, the nobility took the resolution of forming a confederacy at Breda, known by the name of the *Compromis*. The confederates drew up a request, which was addressed to Margaret of Austria, the natural daughter of Charles V., and Regent of the Low Countries, under the King of Spain. Four hundred gentlemen, headed by Henry de Brederodé, a descendant of the ancient Counts of Holland, and Louis of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange, repaired to Brussels (1566), and there presented this request, which may be considered as the commencement of the troubles in the Low Countries. It was on this account that the name of *Gueux*, or *Beggars*, was given to the Confederates, which has become so famous in the history of these wars.

About this same time, the populace collected in mobs in several towns of the Low Countries, and fell upon the churches and monasteries; and having broken down their altars and images, they introduced the exercise of the Protestant religion by force. The storm, however, was calmed; the Catholic worship was re-established everywhere; and the confederacy of the nobles dissolved, several of whom, distrustful of this apparent tranquillity, retired to foreign countries. William Prince of Orange, Louis of Nassau, the Counts de Culemburg and Berg, and the Count de Brederodé, were in the number of these emigrants. Philip II., instead of adopting measures of moderation and clemency, according to the advice of the Regent, was determined to avenge, in the most signal manner, this outrage against his religion and the majesty of his throne. He sent the famous Duke of Alba, or Alva, into the Low Countries, at the head of an army of 20,000 men (1567). The Regent then gave in her resignation. A general terror overspread the country. Vast numbers of manufacturers and merchants took refuge in England, carrying along with them their arts and their industry. Hence the commerce and manufactures of the Low Countries, which had formerly been the most flourishing in Europe, fell entirely into decay.

The Duke of Alva, immediately on his arrival, established a tribunal or court, for investigating the excesses that had been committed during these commotions. This council, which the Flemings called the "Council of Blood," informed against all those who had been in any way concerned with

the *Beggars* (a sort of *Huguenots*); who had frequented their preachings, contributed to the support of their ministers or the building of their churches; or harboured and protected these heretics, either directly or indirectly. Before this council, whose only judges were the Duke of Alva and his confidant John de Vargas, were cited high and low, without distinction; and all those whose wealth excited their cupidity. There they instituted proceedings against the absent and the present, the dead and the living, and confiscated their goods. Eighteen thousand persons perished by the hands of the executioner, and more than 30,000 others were entirely ruined. Among the number of those illustrious victims of Alva's cruelty, were the Counts Egmont and Horn, who were both beheaded. Their execution excited a general indignation, and was the signal of revolt and civil war throughout the Low Countries.

The *Beggars*, who seemed almost forgotten, began to revive; and were afterwards distinguished into three kinds. All the malecontents, as well as the adherents of Luther and Calvin, were called simply by this name. Those were called *Beggars of the Woods*, who concealed themselves in the forests and marshes; never sallying forth but in the night, to commit all sorts of excesses. Lastly, the *Maritime or Marine Beggars*, were those who employed themselves in piracy; infesting the coasts, and making descents on the country.

It was in this situation of affairs that the Prince of Orange, one of the richest proprietors in the Low Countries, assisted by his brother, the Count of Nassau, assembled different bodies of troops in the Empire, with which he attacked the Low Countries in several places at once (1568). Failing in these first attempts, he soon changed his plan; and associating the *Marine Beggars* in the cause, he ventured to attack the Spaniards by sea. The *Beggars*, encouraged by that Prince, and William Count de la Mark, surnamed the *Boar of Ardennes*, took the city of Brille by surprise (1572), situated in the Isle of Voorn, and regarded as the stronghold of the new republic of the Belgic provinces. The capture of the port of Brille caused a revolution in Zealand. All the cities of that province, except Middleburg, opened their gates to the *Beggars*; and their example was followed by most of the towns in Holland. An assembly of the states of this latter province met this same year at Dort, where they laid the foundation of their new republic. The Prince of Orange was there declared *Stadtholder* or governor of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht; and they agreed never to treat with the Spaniards, except by common consent. The public exercise of the reformed religion was introduced, according to the form of Geneva.

This rising republic became more firmly established in consequence of several advantages which the Confederates had gained over the Spaniards, whose troops being badly paid, at length mutinied; and breaking out into the greatest disorders, they pillaged several cities, among others Antwerp, and laid waste the whole of the Low Countries. The States General, then assembled at Brussels, implored the assistance of the Prince of Orange and the Confederates. A negotiation was then opened at Ghent (1576), between the states of Brussels and those of Holland and Zealand; where a general

union, known by the name of the *Pacification of Ghent*, was signed. They engaged mutually to assist each other, with the view of expelling the Spanish troops, and never more permitting them to enter the Low Countries. The Confederates, who were in alliance with Queen Elizabeth of England, pursued the Spaniards every where, who soon saw themselves reduced to the single provinces of Luxemburg, Limburg, and Namur.

They were on the point of being expelled from these also, when the government of the Low Countries was intrusted to Alexander Farnesé, Prince of Parma. Equally distinguished as a politician and a warrior, this prince revived the Spanish interests. Taking advantage of the dissensions which had arisen among the Confederates from the diversity of their religious opinions, he again reduced the provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, under the Spanish dominion. He took the city of Maestricht by assault, and entered into a negotiation with the States-General of the Low Countries at Cologne, under the mediation of the Emperor Rodolph II., the Pope, and some of the princes of the Empire. This negotiation proved unsuccessful; but the Prince of Orange, foreseeing that the general confederacy could not last, conceived the plan of a more intimate union among the provinces; which he regarded as the most fit to make head against the Spaniards. He fixed on the maritime provinces, such as Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; and above all, on those whom the same religious creed, viz., the Calvinistic, had attached to the same interests. The commerce of Holland, and Zealand, and Friesland, began to make new progress daily. Amsterdam was rising on the ruins of Antwerp. The flourishing state of their marine rendered these provinces formidable by sea; and gave them the means not only of repelling the efforts of the Spaniards, but even of protecting the neighbouring provinces which might join this union. Such were the motives which induced the Prince of Orange to form the special confederacy of the Seven Provinces, the basis of which he laid by the famous treaty of union concluded at Utrecht (1579). That union was there declared perpetual and indissoluble; and it was agreed that the Seven Provinces, viz., those of Gueldres, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overysse, Freisland, and Groningen, should henceforth be considered as one and the same province. Each of these, nevertheless, was guaranteed in the possession of their rights and privileges—that is, their absolute superiority in everything regarding their own internal administration.

[We may remark, however, that these insurrectionary provinces had not originally the design of forming a republic. Their intention, at first, was only to maintain their political privileges; and they did not absolutely shake off the Spanish authority until they despaired of reconciliation. Moreover, they repeatedly offered the sovereignty of their states to different foreign princes; and it was not till the union of Utrecht that the Seven Provinces became a federal republic. Consequently everything remained on its ancient footing; and some of the provinces even retained their Stadtholders or governors at the head of their administration. Hence that mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which prevailed in these countries; and hence, too, the feeble tie

which united them with each other, and which would probably have speedily broken, if Holland had not, by its riches and its power, obtained an influence and a preponderance which maintained the union.]

The declaration of the independence of the United Provinces did not take place till 1581; when the Prince of Orange induced the States-General to make a formal proclamation of it, out of revenge for the furious edicts of proscription which the court of Spain had issued against him. The prince, however, was assassinated at Delft in 1564;⁷ and the Spaniards took advantage of the consternation which this event had spread among the Confederates, to reconquer most of the provinces of the Low Countries. The general Confederacy languished away by degrees; and the union of Utrecht was the only one maintained among the Seven Provinces. This new republic, which was in strict alliance with England, not only made head against the Spaniards, but gained a considerable increase of strength by the vast numbers of refugees from the different Belgic provinces, who took shelter there; as well as from France, where the persecution still raged violently against the Protestants. It is calculated that after the taking of Antwerp by the Prince of Parma in 1585, above a hundred thousand of these fugitives transported themselves to Holland and Amsterdam, carrying with them their wealth and their industry.

From this date the commerce of the Confederate States increased every day; and in 1595 they extended it as far as India and the Eastern Seas. The Dutch India Company was established in 1602. Besides the exclusive commerce of India, which was guaranteed to them by their charter, they became likewise a political body, under the sovereignty of the States-General of the United Provinces. Supported by a formidable marine, they acquired vast influence in the East by their conquests over the Portuguese, whom they dispossessed, by degrees, of all their principal establishments in India. The Spaniards, finding their efforts to reduce the Confederates by force of arms ineffectual, set on foot a negotiation at Antwerp (1609), under the mediation of France and England; in consequence of which, a truce of twelve years was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces. It was chiefly during this time that the Confederates extended their commerce over all parts of the globe, while their marine daily increased in strength and importance; which soon raised them to the rank of being the second maritime power, and gave them a decisive influence over the political affairs of Europe.

At the expiry of this truce hostilities were renewed with Spain. The Dutch carried on the war for twenty-five years with great glory, under the auspices of their Stadtholders, Maurice and Henry Frederic, Princes of Orange, who discovered great military talents. One event, which proved favourable for the republicans, was the war that broke out between France and Spain, and which was followed by a strict alliance between France and the States-General. The partition of the Spanish Netherlands was settled by this treaty; and the allied powers entered into an engagement never to make peace or truce with Spain, except by common consent. This latter clause, however,

did not prevent the States-General from concluding at Munster a separate peace with Spain, to the exclusion of France (1648). By this peace the King of Spain acknowledged the United Provinces as free and independent States; he gave up to them all the places which he had seized in Brabant, Flanders, and Limburg, viz., Bois-le-Duc, Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Maastricht; as also their possessions in the East and West Indies, in Asia, Africa, and America. The closing of the Scheld, which was granted in favour of the United Provinces, entirely ruined the city of Antwerp, and shut out the Spanish Netherlands from all maritime commerce.

The feudal system of the Swiss, which had originated in the fourteenth century, acquired a new importance towards the end of the fifteenth, by reason of the success of the confederates in their war with Charles, Duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was of a hot and turbulent spirit, was constantly occupied with projects of conquest. Taking advantage of the ruinous state of the finances of the Archduke Sigismund of Austria, he induced him to sell him the territories of Brisgau and Alsace, with the right of repurchase. Peter de Hagenbach, a gentleman of Alsace, who had been appointed governor of these countries by the Duke, had oppressed the Austrian subjects, and harassed the whole neighbouring states; especially the Swiss. The complaints which were made on this score to the Duke having only rendered Hagenbach still more insolent, the Swiss, with the concurrence of several states of the Empire, paid down, at Basle, the sums stipulated in the contract for repurchasing the two provinces; and, by force of arms, they re-established the Austrian prince in the possession of Alsace and Brisgau. They even went so far as to institute legal proceedings against Hagenbach, who was in consequence beheaded at Brisach in 1474.

The Duke, determined to avenge this insult, assembled an army of 100,000 men, with which he penetrated through Franche-Comté into Switzerland. He was defeated in the first action, which took place at Granson (1476); after which he reinforced his troops, and laid siege to Morat. Here he was again attacked by the Swiss, who killed 18,000 of his men, and seized the whole of his camp and baggage. The Duke of Lorraine, an ally of the Swiss, was then restored to those states of which the Duke of Burgundy had deprived him. This latter prince, in a great fury, came and laid siege to Nancy. The Swiss marched to the relief of this place, where they fought a third and last battle with the Duke, who was here defeated and slain (1477).

These victories of the Swiss over the Duke of Burgundy, one of the most powerful princes of his time, raised the fame of their arms; and made their friendship and alliance be courted by the first sovereigns in Europe, especially by France. Their confederacy, which had formerly been composed of only eight cantons, was augmented by the accession of two new states, Friburg and Soleure, which were enrolled in the number of cantons.

From this time the Swiss were no longer afraid to break the ties that bound them to the Germanic body, as members of the ancient kingdom of Arles. The Diet of Worms, in 1495, having granted the Emperor Maximilian succours against the French

and the Turks, the Swiss alleged their immunities, and their alliance with France, as a pretext for refusing their contingent of supplies. This demand, however, was renewed at the Diet of Lindau, in 1496, which required them to renounce their alliance with France, and accede to the League of Swabia; as also to submit themselves to the Imperial Chamber, and the law of the public peace; and to furnish their quota for the support of that Chamber, and the other contributions of the Empire. All these demands were resisted by the Helvetic body, who regarded them as contrary to their rights and privileges. Meantime the Grisons had allied themselves with the Swiss, in order to obtain their protection under the existing differences between them and the Tyrolese.

The Emperor Maximilian seized this pretext for making war against the Cantons. Being desirous of vindicating the dignity of the Empire, which had been outraged by the Swiss, and of avenging the insults offered to his own family, he stirred up the League of Swabia to oppose them; and attacked them in different points at once. Eight battles were fought in succession, in course of that campaign; all of which, with one solitary exception, were in favour of the Swiss, while the Imperialists lost more than 20,000 men. Maximilian and his allies, the Swabian League, then came to the resolution of making their peace with the Cantons, which was concluded at Basle (1499). Both parties made a mutual restitution of what they had wrested from each other; and it was agreed, that the differences between the Emperor, as Count of Tyrol, and the Grisons, should be brought to an amicable termination. This peace forms a memorable era in the history of the Helvetic Confederacy, whose independence, with regard to the German emperor, was from that time considered as decided; although no mention of this was made in the treaty, and although the Swiss still continued for some time to request from the emperors the confirmation of their immunities. Two immediate cities of the Empire, those of Basle and Schaffhausen, took occasion, from these latter events, to solicit their admission into the Confederacy. They were received as allies, under the title of Cantons (1501); and the territory of Appenzel, which was admitted in like manner (1513), formed the thirteenth and last canton.

The alliance which the Swiss had kept up with France, since the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI., tended greatly to secure the independence of the Helvetic body.⁶ This alliance, which Louis XI. had made an instrument for humbling the power of the Duke of Burgundy, was never but once broken, in the reign of Louis XII., on account of the Holy League, into which the Swiss were drawn by the intrigues of the Bishop of Sion (1512). The French were then expelled from the Milanese territory by the Swiss, who placed there the Duke Maximilian Sforza. It was in gratitude for this service, that the duke ceded to the Swiss, by a treaty which was concluded at Basle, the four bailiwicks of Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio, and Val-Maggio, which he dismembered from the Milanais. Though conquerors at the battle of Novara, the Swiss experienced a sanguinary defeat at Marignano; when they judged it for their interest to renew their alliance with France (1515). A treaty of perpetual peace was signed at Friburg

between these two states (1516), which was soon after followed by a new treaty of alliance, concluded with Francis I. at Lucerne (1521), and regularly renewed under the subsequent reigns.

The change which took place in religion, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, extended its influence to Switzerland, where it kindled the flame of civil discord. Four cantons, those of Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, and Basle, renouncing entirely the Romish faith, had embraced the doctrines of Zuingli and Calvin; while two others, viz., Glaris and Appenzel, were divided between the old and the new opinions. The Reformation having likewise found its way into the common bailiwicks, the Catholic Cantons rose in opposition to it (1531); denying liberty of conscience to the inhabitants. Hence, a war arose between the Cantons of the two religions; which, however, was terminated the same year by a treaty of peace, guaranteeing to such parishes within the bailiwicks as had embraced the new doctrines, the liberty of still adhering to them. The same revolution extended to Geneva, whose inhabitants had declared solemnly in favour of the reformed worship, and erected themselves into a free and independent republic (1534). The church of Geneva, under the direction of Calvin, became the centre and citadel of the Reformation; while the academy founded in that city, produced a vast number of theologians and celebrated scholars. It was at this time that the Duke of Savoy planned the blockade of Geneva, to enforce certain ancient rights which he claimed over that city; but the Bernese espoused the cause of the Genevans, in virtue of the treaties of common citizenship which subsisted between them. This Canton having entered into alliance with Francis I., declared war against the Duke of Savoy (1536); and in less than three months took from him the Pays de Vaud. Being desirous of interesting their neighbours the Friburgers in their cause, they invited them to take possession of all those places that might suit their convenience; and it was on this occasion that the city of Friburg acquired the principal part of its territory. These acquisitions were confirmed to the two Cantons, by the treaty which the Bernese concluded at Lausanne with the Duke of Savoy (1564).

The German Empire from time to time renewed its pretensions on Switzerland, and the Imperial Chamber usurped an occasional jurisdiction over one or other of the Cantons. Negotiations for a general peace having commenced at Munster and Osnaburg, the thirteen Cantons sent their minister or envoy to watch over the interests of the Helvetic Body at that congress; and they obtained, through the intervention of France and Sweden, that in one of the articles of the treaty it should be declared, that the city of Basle, and the other Swiss Cantons, were in possession of full liberty, and independent of the Empire, and in no respect subject to its tribunals.

In Italy, the authority of the Emperor of Germany, which had silently declined during the preceding centuries, languished more and more under the long and feeble reign of Frederic III. At length it was reduced to the mere ceremony of coronation, and the simple exercise of some honorary and feudal rights, such as the investitures which the Imperial Court continued to grant to the vassals of Lombardy. Although the Imperial

dignity implied the royalty of Italy, which was considered as indissolubly united to it, nevertheless it was the custom that the kings of Germany should have themselves crowned separately, kings of Italy at Milan, and emperors at Rome. Frederic III., having had certain reasons for avoiding his coronation at Milan, received from the hands of Pope Nicholas V., in his own capital, the two crowns of Italy and Rome. Maximilian I., being prevented by the Venetians from repairing to Italy for his coronation (1508), was content to take the title of *Emperor Elect*, which his successors in the Empire have retained till the present time. Charles V. was the last emperor to whom the Pope, Clement VII., administered this double coronation of king of Italy and emperor, at Bologna, in 1530.

The popes, the kings of Naples, the dukes of Milan, and the republics of Venice and Florence, were the principal powers that shared among them the dominion of Italy towards the end of the fifteenth century. The continual wars which these states waged with each other, added to the weakness of the German emperors, encouraged foreign powers to form plans of aggrandisement and conquest over these countries. The kings of France, Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I., led away by a mania for conquest, undertook several expeditions into Italy, for enforcing their claims either on the kingdom of Naples, or the duchy of Milan. They were thwarted in their schemes by the kings of Spain, who, being already masters of Sicily and Sardinia, thought they behoved also to extend their views to the continent of Italy. Ferdinand the Catholic deprived the French of the kingdom of Naples (1500). His successor, Charles V., expelled them from the Milanais, and obliged Francis I., by the treaties of Madrid (1526), Cambrai (1529), and Crepy (1544), to give up his pretensions on the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan. From this time the Spaniards were the predominating power in Italy for more than a hundred years.

In the midst of these revolutions, there arose three new principalities within that kingdom; those of Florence, Parma, and Malta. The republic of Florence held a distinguished rank in Italy during the fifteenth century, both on account of the flourishing state of its commerce, and the large extent of its territory, which comprehended the greater part of Tuscany, and gave to this republic the means of holding the balance between the other powers of Italy. The opulent family of the Medici here exercised a high degree of influence; they ruled not by force but by their munificence, and the judicious use which they made of their great riches. The credit and popularity of the Medici excited envy and persecution against them, and caused them to be several times banished from Florence. They were expelled from this latter place at the same time that Pope Clement VII., who was of this family, was besieged by the Imperialists in Rome (1527). That pontiff, in making his peace with Charles V., obtained his consent that the Medici should be re-established at Florence, in the state in which they were before their last banishment. The Emperor even promised the Pope to give Alexander de' Medici his natural daughter in marriage, with a considerable dowry. The Florentines, however, having shown some re-

lucance to receive the Medici, their city was besieged by the Imperial army, and compelled to surrender by capitulation (1530).

The Emperor, by a charter dated at Augsburg on the 28th of August following, preserved to the city of Florence its ancient republican forms. Alexander de' Medici was declared governor-in-chief of the state; but this dignity was vested in himself and his male descendants, who could only enjoy it according to the order of primogeniture. He was authorized, moreover, to construct a citadel at Florence, by means of which he afterwards exercised an absolute power over his fellow-citizens. As for the ducal dignity with which the new prince of Florence was vested, it properly belonged to the duchy of Parma, in the kingdom of Naples, which the Emperor had conferred on him.

Alexander de' Medici did not long enjoy his new honours. He was universally abhorred for his cruelties, and assassinated by Laurentio de' Medici, one of his own near relations (1537). His successor in the duchy was Cosmo de' Medici, who annexed to the territory of Florence that of the ancient republic of Sienna, which the Emperor, Charles V., had conquered, and conferred on his son Philip II. in name of the Empire (1554). This latter prince being desirous of seducing Cosmo from his alliance with the Pope and the King of France, with whom the Spaniards were at war, granted him the investiture of the territory of Sienna, as a *mesnie-tenure* holding of the crown of Spain, by way of equivalent for the considerable sums which he had advanced to Charles V. while he was carrying on the siege of Sienna. In transferring the Siennois to the Duke, Philip reserved for himself the ports of Tuscany, such as Porto Ercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Monte-Argentaro, St. Stefano, Longone, Piombino, and the whole island of Elba, with the exception of Porto Ferrajo. By the same treaty, Cosmo engaged to furnish supplies to the Spaniards, for the defence of Milan and the kingdom of Naples.

At length the Medici obtained the dignity of grand dukes, on occasion of the difference that had risen between them and the dukes of Ferrara, on the subject of precedency. The Pope terminated this dispute, by granting to Cosmo the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, with the royal honours (1569). The Emperor, however, took it amiss that the Pope should undertake to confer secular dignities in Italy; thus encroaching on a right which he alleged belonged only to himself in virtue of his being king of Italy. The quarrels which this affair had occasioned between the court of Rome and the Empire, were adjusted in 1576, when the Emperor Maximilian II. granted to Francis de' Medici, the brother and successor of Cosmo, the dignity of Grand Duke, on condition that he should acknowledge it as a tenure of the Empire, and not of the Pope.

Among the number of those republics which the Visconti of Milan had subdued and overthrown in the fourteenth century, were those of Parma and Placentia. They had formed a dependency of the duchy of Milan until 1512, when Louis XII. having been expelled from the Milanais by the allies of the Holy League, these cities were surrendered by the Swiss to Pope Julius II., who laid some claim to them, as making part of the dowry

of the famous Countess Matilda. The Emperor Maximilian ceded them to the Pope by the treaty of peace which he made with him in 1512. Francis I. took these cities again from the court of Rome, when he reconquered the duchy of Milan (1515); but this prince having also been expelled from the Milanais (1521), the Pope again got possession of Parma and Placentia, in virtue of the treaty which he had concluded with Charles V., for the re-establishment of Francis Sforza in the duchy of Milan. These cities continued to form part of the ecclesiastical states until 1545, when they were dismembered from it by Paul III., who erected them into duchies, and conferred them on his son Peter Louis Farnese, and his heirs-male in the order of primogeniture; to be held under the title of fiefs of the holy see, and on condition of paying an annual tribute of 9000 ducats.

This elevation of a man, whose very birth seemed a disgrace to the pontiff, gave universal offence. The new Duke of Parma soon rendered himself so odious by his dissolute life, his crimes and scandalous excesses, that a conspiracy was formed against him; and he was assassinated in the citadel of Placentia in 1547. Ferdinand Gonzaga, who was implicated, as is alleged, in this assassination, then took possession of Placentia in name of the Emperor; and it was not till 1557 that Philip II. of Spain restored that city, with its dependencies, to Octavius Farnese, son and successor of the murdered Prince. The house of Farnese held the duchy of Parma as a fief of the ecclesiastical states, until the extinction of the male line in 1731.

The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, after their expulsion from the Holy Land, had retired to the Isle of Cyprus, and from thence to Rhodes, in 1310, of which they had dispossessed the Greeks. They did not maintain possession of this place longer than 1523, when Soliman the Great undertook the siege of Rhodes, with an army of 200,000 men, and a fleet of 400 sail. The knights boldly repulsed the different attacks of the Turks; but being entirely dependent on their own forces, and receiving no succour from the powers of Christendom, they were compelled to capitulate, after an obstinate defence of six months. Leaving Rhodes, these knights took shelter in Viterbo, belonging to the states of the church, where they were cordially received by Pope Clement VII. There they remained until the Emperor Charles V. granted them the Isle of Malta, which became their principal residence (1530). That prince ceded to them the islands of Malta and Gozzo, with the city of Tripoli in Africa, on condition of holding them from him and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, as noble fiefs, frank and free, without any other obligation than the annual gift of a falcon, in token of their domanial tenure, and presenting to the King of Sicily three of their subjects, of whom he was to choose one, on each vacancy of the bishopric of Malta. Charles V. added another clause, that if ever the Order should leave Malta and fix their residence elsewhere, that island should revert to the King of Sicily. The Knights of St. John continued in the sovereignty of Malta and Gozzo till 1798; but they lost Tripoli in 1551, which was taken from them by the Turks.

A memorable revolution happened at Genoa, about the beginning of the sixteenth century.

That republic, after having for a long time formed part of the duchy of Milan, recovered its ancient independence about the time when the French and Spaniards disputed the sovereignty of Italy, and the conquest of the Milanais. Expelled by the Imperialists from the city of Genoa in 1522, the French had found means to repossess it (1527), with the assistance of the celebrated Andrew Doria, a noble Genoese, who had been in the service of Francis I. This distinguished admiral, supplanted by favourites, and maltreated by the court, abandoned the cause of France in the following year, and espoused that of the Emperor Charles V.

The French then laid siege to the city of Naples, which was reduced to the last extremity and on the point of surrendering, when Doria, having hoisted the Imperial flag, set sail for Naples, with the galleys under his command, and threw abundance of provisions into the besieged city. The French army, now cut off from all communication by sea, soon began to experience those calamities from which the Imperialists had just been delivered. Their whole troops being destroyed by famine and contagious disease, the expedition to Naples fell to the ground, and the affairs of the French in Italy were totally ruined. It is alleged that Charles V., to recompense Doria for this important service, offered him the sovereignty of Genoa; and that, instead of accepting this honour, that great man stipulated for the liberty of his country, whenever it should be delivered from the yoke of France. Courting the glory of being the liberator of his native city, he sailed directly for Genoa, of which he made himself master, in a single night, without shedding one drop of blood (1528). The French garrison retired to the citadel and were obliged to capitulate for want of provisions.

This expedition procured Doria the title of Father of his Country, which was conferred on him by a decree of the senate. It was by his advice that a committee of twelve persons was chosen to organize a new scheme of government for the republic. A register was drawn up of all those families who were to compose the grand council, which was destined to exercise the supreme power. The doge was to continue in office ten years; and great care was taken to remove those causes which had previously excited factions and intestine disorders. Hence the establishment of the Genoese aristocracy, whose forms have since been preserved, with some few modifications which were introduced afterwards, in consequence of certain dissensions which had arisen between the ancient and the new nobility.

Venice, the eldest of the European republics, had reached the zenith of its greatness about the end of the fifteenth century. The vast extent of its commerce, supported by a powerful marine, the multiplied sources of its industry, and the monopoly of the trade in the East, had made it one of the richest and most formidable states in Europe. Besides several ports on the Adriatic, and numerous settlements which they had in the Archipelago, and the trading towns on the Levant, they gained ground more and more on the continent of Italy, where they formed a considerable territory. Guided by an artful and enterprising policy, this republic seized with marvellous avidity

every circumstance which favoured its views of aggrandisement. On the occasion of their quarrels with the Duke of Ferrara, they obtained possession of the province of Polesino de Rovigo, by a treaty which they concluded with that prince in 1484.

Afterwards, having joined the league which the powers of Italy had opposed to Charles VIII. and his projects of conquest, they refused to grant supplies to the King of Naples for the recovery of his kingdom, except by his consenting to yield up the cities of Trani, Otranto, Brindisi, and Gallipoli. Louis XII., being resolved to enforce his claims on the duchy of Milan, and wishing to gain over this republic to his interest, gave up to them, by the treaty of Blois (1499), the town of Cremona, and the whole country lying between the Oglio, the Adda, and the Po. On the death of Pope Alexander VI. (1503), they took that favourable opportunity of wresting from the ecclesiastical states several towns of the Romagna; among others, Rimini and Faenza.

Of all the acquisitions which the Venetians made, the most important was that of Cyprus. That island, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean, had been conquered from the Greeks, by Richard Cœur de Lion, King of England, who surrendered it to Guy of Lusignan (1192), the last king of Jerusalem, in compensation for the loss of his kingdom. From Guy de Lusignan descended a long line of Cypriot kings; the last of whom, John III., left an only daughter, named Charlotte, who succeeded him in that kingdom, and caused her husband, Louis of Savoy, to be also crowned king. There still remained a bastard son of John III., called James, who was protected by the Sultan of Egypt, to whom the kings of Cyprus were tributaries, and who succeeded in expelling Charlotte and her husband, the prince of Savoy, from the throne (1460). James, who was desirous of putting himself under the protection of the Venetians, married Catherine Cornaro, daughter of Marco Cornaro, or Cornelio, a patrician of Venice. The Senate, in honour of this marriage, adopted Catherine, and declared her daughter of St. Mark, or the Republic. James died in 1473, leaving a posthumous son, who died also in the second year of his age. The republic then, considering the kingdom of Cyprus as their own inheritance, took possession of the natural children of James, and induced Queen Catherine, by various means, to retire to Venice, and there to resign her crown into the hands of the Senate, who assigned her a pension, with the castle of Azolo, in Trevisano, for her residence; and obtained for themselves the investiture of that island from the Sultan of Egypt (1480).

A career so prosperous was eventually followed by a reverse of fortune; and several circumstances concurred to accelerate the decline of this flourishing republic. They received a terrible blow by the discovery of the new passage to India round the Cape, which deprived them of the commerce of the East; thus drying up the principal source of their wealth, as well as of their revenue and their marine. In vain did they put in practice all the arts of their policy to defeat the commercial enterprises of the Portuguese in India; exciting against them, first the sultans of Egypt, and afterwards the Turkish Emperors, and furnishing these Ma-

hometan powers with supplies. The activity of the Portuguese surmounted all these obstacles. They obtained a firm settlement in the East, where, in course of time, they became a very formidable power. Lisbon, in place of Venice, became the emporium for the productions of India; and the Venetians could no longer compete with them in this field of Eastern commerce. Besides, the good fortune which so long attended the undertakings of the republic, had inspired them with a passion for conquest. They took every opportunity of making encroachments on their neighbours; and, sometimes forgetting the counsels of prudence, they drew down upon themselves the jealousy and resentment of the principal states of Italy.

To this jealousy must be attributed the famous league, which Pope Julius II., the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII., Ferdinand of Spain, and several of the Italian states, concluded at Cambray (1508), for the partition of the Venetian territory on *Terra Firma*. Louis XII. gained a signal victory over the republicans near Agnadello, which was followed by such a rapid succession of conquests, that the senate of Venice were struck with consternation; and the republic must have been infallibly lost, had Louis been supported by his allies. But the pope and the King of Spain, who dreaded the preponderance of the French in Italy, suddenly abandoned the league, and concluded separate treaties of peace with the republicans; nor was the Emperor Maximilian long in following their example. In consequence of this, the Venetians, after having been menaced with a total overthrow, lost only, in the course of the war, the territory of Cremona and Ghiera d'Ada, with the cities and ports of Romagna and Apulia. But this loss was far surpassed by that which they experienced in their finances, their commerce, and manufactures, on account of the expensive efforts which they were obliged to make in resisting their numerous enemies.

The ruin of this republic was at length completed by the prodigious increase of the power of the Ottomans, who took from them, by degrees, their best possessions in the Archipelago and the Mediterranean. Dragged, as it were, in spite of themselves, into the war of Charles V. against the Turks, they lost fourteen islands in the Archipelago; among others Chios, Patmos, Ægina, Nio, Stampalia, and Paros; and were obliged, by the peace of Constantinople (1540), to surrender to the Turks, Malvasia and Napoli di Romagna, the only two places which remained to them in the Morea.

The Turks also took from them the Isle of Cyprus, the finest of their possessions in the Mediterranean. The Sultan, Selim II., being determined to conquer that island, attacked it with a superior force (1570), although the Venetians had given him no ground for hostilities. He made himself master of the cities of Nicosia and Famagusta; and completed the conquest of the whole island, before the succours which the King of Spain and the pope had granted to the Venetians, could join their fleet. On the approach of the Christian army, the Turkish fleet retired within the Gulf of Lepanto, where they were attacked by the allies under the command of Don Juan of Austria, a natural son of Charles V. The Christians gained a complete victory (1571). The whole Turkish fleet was

destroyed, and the confederates took immense booty. The news of this defeat struck terror into the city of Constantinople, and made the Grand Signior transfer his court to Adrianople. The Christians, however, reaped no advantage from their victory. A misunderstanding arose among the confederates, and their fleets dispersed without accomplishing anything. The Venetians did not return to the Isle of Cyprus; and knowing well that they could not reckon on any effectual aid on the part of their allies, they determined to make peace with the Turks (1573). By this treaty they left the Porte in possession of Cyprus, and consented to pay it a sum of 300,000 ducats, to obtain the restitution of their ancient boundaries in Dalmatia. From this epoch, the republic of Venice dates its entire decay. It was evident, that it must thenceforth resign its pretensions as a leading power, and adopt a system of neutrality which might put it in condition to maintain peace with its neighbours.

England, as we have mentioned above, had been the rival of France, while the latter now became the rival of Austria. This rivalry commenced with the marriage of Maximilian of Austria, to Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles, last Duke of Burgundy, by which the House of Austria succeeded to the whole dominions of that prince. The Low Countries, which at that time were the principal emporium for the manufactures and commerce of Europe, formed a part of that opulent succession. Louis XI., King of France, was unable to prevent the marriage of the Austrian prince with the heiress of Burgundy, but he took advantage of that event to detach from the territories of that princess whatever he found convenient. He seized on the duchy of Burgundy as a vacant fief of his crown, as well as the seigniories of Auxerrois, Maconnois, Bar-sur-Seine, and the towns of the Somme; and these different countries were preserved to France by the treaties of peace concluded at Arras (1482), and Senlis (1493). Such was the origin of the rivalry and bloody wars between France and Austria. The theatre of hostilities, which, under Louis XI., had been in the Low Countries, was transferred to Italy, under Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. From thence it was changed to Germany, in the reign of Henry II.

In Italy, besides this rivalry between the two powers, there was another motive, or pretext, for war, viz., the claims of France on the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan. The claim of Louis XI. on the kingdom of Naples had devolved to him with the county of Provence, which he inherited in virtue of the will of Charles, Count of Provence, and the last male descendant of the House of Anjou (1481). Charles VIII., the son and successor of Louis XI., urged on by youthful ambition, was determined to enforce this claim. He undertook an expedition into Italy (1494), and took possession of the kingdom of Naples without striking a blow. But being opposed by a formidable confederacy of the Italian princes, with Maximilian at their head, he was obliged to abandon his conquests with the same facility he had made them; and he was fortunate in being able to effect his retreat, by the famous victory which he gained over the allies, near Foronovo, in the duchy of Parma.

The claim to the duchy of Milan was founded

on the contract of marriage between Louis, Duke of Orleans, the grandfather of Louis XII., and Valentine of Milan. That contract provided, that failing heirs-male of John Galeas, Duke of Milan, the duchy should fall to Valentine, and the children of her marriage with the Duke of Orleans. Louis XII. claimed the rights of Valentine, his grandmother, in opposition to the princes of the family of Sforza, who had taken possession of the duchy of Milan, on the extinction of the male heirs of the Visconti, which happened in 1447. The different expeditions which he undertook into Italy, both for the conquest of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, met with no better success than that of his predecessor had done, in consequence of a new league, called the *Holy League*, which Pope Julius II. raised against him, and into which he drew the Emperor Maximilian, the Kings of Arragon and England, with the Venetians and the Swiss. Louis XII. lost all the advantages of his conquests. The kingdom of Naples fell under the power of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the family of Sforza were reinstated in the duchy of Milan.

These Italian wars, which were renewed at different times under the reign of Francis I., cost France much blood and immense sums. In this struggle she was forced to succumb, and Francis I. bound himself, by the treaty of Crepy, to abandon his claims on Italy in favour of Charles V. The kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan remained incorporated with the Spanish monarchies. Francis I., nevertheless, had the glory of arresting the progress of his rival, and effectually counterbalancing a power which, at that time, made all Europe to tremble.

Henry II., the son and successor of Francis I., adopted a new line of policy. He attacked the House of Austria, in Germany, having entered into a league with Maurice, Elector of Saxony, and the Protestant princes of the Empire, to oppose Charles V. That league, which was ratified at Chambord (1552), procured for Henry II. possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and he even succeeded in forcing the Emperor to raise the siege of Metz, which that prince had undertaken about the end of the year 1552. A truce of five years was agreed on between these two sovereigns at Vaucelles; but, in the course of a few months, the war was renewed, and Philip II., who had succeeded his father, Charles V., induced his Queen, Mary of England, to join in it. Among the events of this war, the most remarkable are the victory of St. Quentin, gained by the Spaniards (1557), and the conquest of the city of Calais, by Francis, Duke of Guise, the last possession of the English in France (1558). The death of Queen Mary prepared the way for a peace, which was signed at Chateau-Cambresis (1559), between France, England, and Spain. The Duke of Savoy obtained the restitution of his estates, of which Francis I. had deprived him in 1536. Calais remained annexed to France.

A series of wars, both civil and religious, broke out under the feeble reigns of the three sons and successors of Henry II. The great influence of the Guises, and the factions which distracted the court and the state, were the true source of hostilities, though religion was made the pretext. Francis II. having espoused Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, the whole power and authority of the

government passed into the hands of Francis, Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal de Lorraine, his brother, who were the queen's maternal uncles. The power which these noblemen enjoyed excited the jealousy of Anthony, King of Navarre, and his brother Louis, Prince of Condé, who imagined that the precedence in this respect was due to them as princes of the blood, in preference to the Lorraine family, who might be considered as strangers in France. The former being Calvinists, and having enlisted all the leaders of that party in their cause, it was not difficult for the Lorraine princes to secure the interest of all the most zealous Catholics.

The first spark that kindled these civil wars was the conspiracy of Amboise. The intention of the conspirators was to seize the Guises, to bring them to trial, and throw the management of affairs into the hands of the princes of the blood. The conspiracy having been discovered, the Prince of Condé, who was suspected of being at its head, was arrested; and he would have been executed, had not the premature death of Francis II. happened in the meantime. The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, who was intrusted with the regency during the minority of Charles IX., and desirous of holding the balance between the two parties, set Condé at liberty, and granted the Calvinists the free exercise of their religion, in the suburbs and parts lying out of the towns. This famous edict (January 1562) occasioned the first civil war, the signal of which was the massacre of Vassy of Champagne.

Of these wars, there have been commonly reckoned eight under the family of Valois, viz., four in the reign of Charles IX., and four in that of Henry III. The fourth, under Charles IX., began with the famous massacre of St. Bartholomew, authorized and directed by the king (1572).

It is of some importance to notice here the *Edict of Pacification* of Henry III., of the month of May, 1576. The new privileges which this edict granted to the Calvinists, encouraged the Guises to concoct a league this same year, ostensibly for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, but whose real object was the dethronement of the reigning dynasty, and the elevation of the Guises. The Duke of Alençon, only brother of Henry III., being dead, and the King of Navarre, who professed the Calvinistic faith, having become presumptive heir to the crown, the chiefs of the Catholic League no longer made a secret of their measures. They concluded a formal alliance (1584), with Philip II. of Spain, for excluding the Bourbons from the throne of France. Henry III. was obliged, by the Leaguers, to recommence the war against the Calvinists; but perceiving that the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal his brother, took every occasion to render his government odious, he caused them both to be assassinated at Blois (1588), and threw himself on the protection of the King of Navarre. In conjunction with that Prince, he undertook the siege of Paris, during which he was himself assassinated at St. Cloud, by a Jacobin of the name of James Clement (1589).

The dynasty of Valois ended with Henry III., after having occupied the throne for 261 years. Under this dynasty the royal authority had gained considerably, both by the annexation of the great fiefs to the crown-lands, and by the introduction of

regular armies, which put an end to the feudal power. Louis XI. was chiefly instrumental in bringing the *grandeurs* under subjection, and putting an end to the cruelties and oppressions of anarchy. If these changes, however, contributed to public order, it is nevertheless true that the national liberty suffered by them; that the royal authority daily received new augmentations; and that, so early as the reign of Louis XII., it was considered as high treason to speak of the necessity of assembling the States-General. The practice of these assemblies, however, was renewed under the successors of that prince; they even became frequent under the last kings of the House of Valois, who convoked them chiefly with the view of demanding supplies. Francis I. augmented his influence over the clergy by the concordat which he concluded with Leo X. (1516), in virtue of which he obtained the nomination to all vacant prelatures; leaving to the Pope the confirmation of the prelates, and the liberty of receiving the annats.

The race of Valois was succeeded by that of the Bourbons, who were descended from Robert, Count of Clermont, younger son of St. Louis. Henry IV., the first king of this dynasty, was related in the twenty-first degree to Henry III., his immediate predecessor. This prince, who was a Calvinist, the more easily reduced the party of the League, by publicly abjuring his religion at St. Denis. He concluded a peace with the Spaniards, who were allies of the League, at Vervins; and completely tranquillized the kingdom by the famous edict of Nantes, which he published in favour of the reformed religion. By that edict he guaranteed to the Protestants perfect liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their worship, with the privilege of filling all offices of trust; but he rendered them, at the same time, a piece of disservice, by granting them fortified places, under the name of places of security. By thus fostering a spirit of party and intestine faction, he furnished a plausible pretext to their adversaries for gradually undermining the edict, and finally proscribing the exercise of the reformed religion in France.

This great prince, after having established the tranquillity of his kingdom at home and abroad, encouraged arts and manufactures, and put the administration of his finances into admirable order, was assassinated by Ravaillac (1610), at the very moment when he was employed in executing the grand scheme which he had projected for the pacification of Europe. Cardinal Richelieu, when he assumed the reins of government under Louis XIII., had nothing so much at heart as the expulsion of the Calvinists from their strongholds. This he accomplished by means of the three wars which he waged against them, and by the famous siege of Rochelle, which he reduced in 1628. That great statesman next employed his policy against the House of Austria, whose preponderance gave umbrage to all Europe. He took the opportunity of the vacant succession of Mantua to espouse the cause of the Duke of Nevers against the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, who supported the Duke of Guastalla; and maintained his protégé in the duchy of Mantua, by the treaties of peace which were concluded at Ratisbon and Querasnee (1631). Having afterwards joined Sweden, he made war against the two branches of Austria,

and on this occasion got possession of the places which the Swedes had seized in Alsace.

Louis XIV. was only four years and seven months old when he succeeded his father (1643). The queen-mother, Anne of Austria, assumed the regency. She appointed Cardinal Mazarin her prime minister, whose administration, during the minority of the King, was a scene of turbulence and distraction. The same external policy which had directed the ministry of Richelieu was followed by his successor. He prosecuted the war against Austria with vigour, in conjunction with Sweden and their confederates in Germany. By the peace which was concluded with the Emperor at Munster, besides the three bishoprics of Lorraine, France obtained the Landgraviate of Lower and Upper Alsace, Sungaw, and the prefecture of the ten Imperial cities of Alsace. Spain was excluded from this treaty; and the war continued between that kingdom and France until the peace of the Pyrenees, by which the counties of Roussillon and Cerdans were ceded to France, as well as several cities in Flanders, Hainault, and Luxembourg.

Spain, which had long been divided into several states, and a stranger, as it were, to the rest of Europe, became all of a sudden a formidable power, turning the political balance in her own favour. This elevation was the work of Ferdinand the Catholic, a prince born for great exploits; of a profound and fertile genius; but tarnishing his bright qualities by perfidy and unbounded ambition. He was heir to the throne of Arragon, and laid the foundation of his greatness by his marriage with Isabella (1469), sister to Henry VI. last King of Castile. That match united the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, which were the two principal Christian states in Spain. Henry of Castile had left a daughter, named Jane, but she being considered as illegitimate by the Castilians, the throne was conferred on Isabella and her husband Ferdinand (1474). The Infanta Jane, in order to enforce her claims, betrothed herself to Alphonso V. King of Portugal; but that prince, being defeated by Ferdinand at the battle of Toro (1476), was obliged to renounce Castile and his marriage with the Infanta.

At the accession of Isabella to the throne of Castile, that kingdom was a prey to all the miseries of anarchy. The abuses of the feudal system were there maintained by violence and injustice. Ferdinand demolished the fortresses of the nobles who infested the country; he gave new vigour to the laws; liberated the people from the oppression of the great; and, under pretence of extirpating the Jews and Mahometans, he established the tribunal of the Inquisition (1478), which spread universal terror by its unheard of cruelties. Torquemada, a Dominican, who was appointed grand Inquisitor (1483), burnt in the space of four years near 6000 individuals.

The Moors still retained the kingdom of Grenada. Ferdinand took advantage of their dissensions to attempt the conquest of it, in which he succeeded, after a vigorous war of eighteen years. Abo Abdeli, the last King of Grenada, fled to Africa. An edict, which was published immediately after, ordered the expulsion of all the Jews; about 100,000 of whom fled from Spain, and took shelter, some in Portugal and others in Africa.

Ferdinand did not include the Moors in this proscription, whom he thought to gain over to Christianity by means of persecution; but having revolted in the year 1500, he then allowed them to emigrate. It was this blind and headlong zeal that procured Ferdinand the title of the *Catholic King*, which Pope Alexander III. conferred on him and his successors (1493). This prince also augmented his power by annexing to his crown the Grand Mastership of the Military Orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and St. James of Compostella.

Everything conspired to aggrandize Ferdinand; and, as if the Old World had not been sufficient, a New one was opened up to him by the discovery of America. He was heir, by the father's side, to the kingdoms of Arragon, Sicily, and Sardinia. He got possession of Castile by his marriage, and of Grenada by force of arms; so that nothing was wanting except Navarre to unite all Spain under his dominion. The Holy League, which Pope Julius II. had organized against Louis XII. (1511), furnished him with a pretext for seizing that kingdom. Entering into an alliance with the Pope, he concerted with the King of England to invade Guienne, on which the English had some ancient claims. They demanded of the King of Navarre that he should make common cause with the allies of the Holy League against Louis XII. That prince, however, wishing to preserve neutrality, they prescribed conditions so severe, that he had no other alternative left than to seek protection in France. Ferdinand then obtained possession of all that part of Navarre which lay beyond the Pyrenees. Twelve years before that time Ferdinand had, by the treaty of Grenada, planned with Louis XII. the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Frederic of Arragon was then deprived of that kingdom, and his states were divided between the two allied kings; but Ferdinand having soon quarrelled with Louis XII. as to their respective boundaries, this was made a pretext for expelling the French from Naples, which was again united to the Spanish monarchy, in the years 1503 and 1505.

Charles V. of Austria, grandson of Ferdinand, and his successor in the Spanish monarchy, added to that crown the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, which he inherited in right of his father, Philip of Austria, and his grandmother Mary of Burgundy. He added likewise the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, on the continent of America, and the duchy of Milan in Italy, in which he invested his son Philip, after having repeatedly expelled the French in the years 1522 and 1525.

These were all the advantages he derived from his wars against Francis I., which occupied the greater part of his reign. Blinded by his animosity against that prince, and by his ruling passion for war, he only exhausted his kingdom and impaired his true greatness. Charles resigned the Spanish monarchy to his son Philip II., which then comprehended the Low Countries, the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish possessions in America. The peace of Château Cambresis, which Philip II. signed in 1559, after a long war against France, may be regarded as the era of Spanish greatness. To the states which were left him by his father, Philip added the kingdom of Portugal, with the Portuguese possessions in Africa, Asia, and America;

but this was the termination of his prosperity. His reign after that was only a succession of misfortunes. His revolting despotism excited the Belgians to insurrection, and gave birth to the republic of the United Provinces. Elizabeth of England having joined with the confederates of the Low Countries, Philip, out of revenge, equipped a formidable fleet, known by the name of the *Invincible Armada*, which was composed of 130 vessels of enormous size, manned with 20,000 soldiers, exclusive of sailors, and armed with 1360 pieces of cannon. On entering the channel they were defeated by the English (21st of July, 1588), and the greater part of them destroyed by a storm.

From this calamity may be dated the decline of the Spanish monarchy, which was exhausted by its expensive wars. Philip, at his death, left an enormous debt, and the whole glory of the Spanish nation perished with him. The reigns of his feeble successors are only remarkable for their disasters. Philip III. did irreparable injury to his crown by the expulsion of the Moors or Morescoes (1610), which lost Spain nearly a million of her industrious subjects. Nothing can equal the misfortunes which she experienced under the reign of Philip IV. During the war which he had to support against France, the Catalans revolted, and put themselves under the protection of that crown (1640). Encouraged by their example, the Portuguese likewise shook off the yoke, and replaced the House of Braganza on their throne. Lastly, the Neapolitans, harassed by the Duke d'Olivarez, prime minister of Philip IV., revolted, and attempted to form themselves into a republic (1647). These reverses on the part of Spain added to the number of her enemies. The famous Cromwell, having entered into an alliance with France (1655), dispossessed the Spaniards of Jamaica, one of their richest settlements in America.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Portugal had reached a high pitch of elevation, which she owed to the astonishing progress of her navigation and her commerce. John II., whose fleets first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, augmented the royal authority, by humbling the exorbitant and tyrannical power of the grandees. In the diet which was assembled at Evora, he retracted the concessions which his predecessors had made to the nobles, to the prejudice of the crown. He abolished the power of life and death, which the lords exercised over their vassals, and subjected their towns and their territories to the jurisdiction of officers appointed by the king. The nobles, who were displeased at these innovations, having combined in defence of their privileges, and chosen the Duke of Braganza for their leader, John, without being disconcerted by this opposition, had the Duke brought to a trial, and his head cut off; while his brother was hanged in effigy. This example of severity intimidated the grandees, and made them submit to his authority. The most brilliant era of Portugal was that of Emanuel and John III., who reigned between the years 1495 and 1557. It was under these two princes that the Portuguese formed their powerful empire in India, of which nothing now remains but the ruins.

The glory of Portugal suffered an eclipse under the feeble reign of Sebastian, grandson and immediate successor of John. That prince, who came to the throne at the age of three years, had been

brought up by the Jesuits, who, instead of instructing him in the important arts of government, had given him the education of a monk. They had inspired him with a dislike for matrimony, but with a decided attachment for the crusades. Muley Mahomet, King of Morocco, having requested his assistance against his uncle Moluc, who had dethroned him, Sebastian undertook an expedition into Africa in person, carrying with him the flower of his nobility. A great battle was fought near Alcaçar, in the kingdom of Fez (1578), where the Portuguese sustained a complete defeat. Sebastian was slain; and, what is sufficiently remarkable, his enemy Moluc died a natural death during the action, while Muley Mahomet was drowned in the flight.

[During the reign of this king, every thing had fallen into decay; even the character of the nation had begun to degenerate. The spirit of chivalry which had distinguished them was exchanged for mercantile adventures, which even infected the higher classes; while avarice, luxury, and effeminacy brought on a universal corruption. The governors of their colonies indulged in all sorts of violence and injustice. They seized the more lucrative branches of commerce. The military force, which Emanuel and John III. had kept up in India, was neglected. The clergy usurped the whole wealth of the colonies, and exercised an absolute power by means of the Inquisition, which was no where more terrible than at Goa.]

As Sebastian had never been married, the throne passed, at his death, to Henry the Cardinal, his grand uncle by the father's side, who was already far advanced in life. Perceiving his end approach, and that his death would involve the kingdom in confusion, he summoned an assembly of the States at Lisbon (1579), in order to fix the succession. The states appointed eleven commissioners, who were to investigate the claims of the different candidates for the crown. Philip II. of Spain, who was one of this number, did not pay the least regard to the decision of the States. No sooner had he learned the death of Henry (1580), than he sent the Duke of Alva, at the head of an army, to take possession of Portugal. The duke defeated the troops of his opponent, Anthony, Prior of Crato, one of the claimants, who had proclaimed himself king, pretending that he was the legitimate son of the Infant Don Louis, son of Emanuel. Anthony had no other alternative left than to take shelter in France, and the whole of Portugal yielded to the yoke of the Spaniards.

An inveterate antipathy, however, subsisted between the two nations, which made the Portuguese detest their Spanish masters. This hatred was still more increased, on account of the losses which the Portuguese sustained, in the mean time, in their commerce and possessions in the East Indies. The lucrative traffic which the confederates in the Low Countries, called the *Dutch*, carried on by importing the merchandise of the East from Portugal, and hawking them over the north of Europe, having enabled them to support the war against Spain, Philip II. thought to strike a fatal blow at their prosperity, by forbidding them all commerce with Portugal. That prince, however, was deceived in his expectation. The confederates, deprived of this lucrative branch of their industry, and after having made some unsuccessful attempts to find a

north-west passage to India, took the resolution of sailing directly thither (1595), under the conduct of Cornelius Houtman and Molinaar, in order to seek, at the fountainhead, those commodities which were refused them in Portugal. No sooner had they attempted to form settlements in India than the Portuguese determined to prevent them, and fought with them, near Bantam, a town in Java, a naval battle, which ended in favour of the confederates.

Encouraged by this first success, the Dutch undertook to deprive the Portuguese of their principal possessions in India. The conquest which they made of the Moluccas precluded them the spice trade. They likewise formed settlements in the island of Java, where they founded the city of Batavia, which became the capital and emporium of their settlements in India. At length Goa and Diu were the only places that remained to the Portuguese of their numerous possessions in India. These important losses greatly exasperated the Portuguese against the Spaniards. What added still more to their resentment was, that in the court of Madrid they saw a premeditated design to make vassals of the Portuguese; and to cut off the most likely means of enabling them, sooner or later, to recover their ancient independence. It was with this view that their army and their marine were disorganized, their crown revenues dissipated, their nobility precluded from the management of affairs, and the nation exhausted by exorbitant assessments.

The revolt of the Catalans, which happened in 1640, at length determined the Portuguese to shake off the Spanish yoke. A conspiracy was entered into by some of the grandees, in concert with the Duke of Braganza, which broke out on the 1st December that same year. On that day, at eight o'clock in the morning, the conspirators, to the number of about 400, repaired by different routes to the palace of Lisbon, where the vice-queen, Margaret of Savoy, and dowager of Mantua, resided, with Vasconcellos the secretary of state, who exercised the functions of prime minister of the kingdom. Part of them disarmed the guard of the palace, while others seized Vasconcellos, who was the only victim that fell a sacrifice to the public vengeance. They secured the person of the vice-queen, and took measures to protect her from insult or violence. The conspirators then proclaimed the Duke of Braganza king, under the title of John IV. That prince arrived at Lisbon on the 6th December, and his inauguration took place on the 15th. It is not a little surprising that this revolution became general in eight days time, and that it was not confined merely to Portugal, but extended even to India and Africa. Everywhere the Portuguese expelled the Spaniards, and proclaimed the Duke of Braganza. The city of Ceuta in Africa was the only town which the Spaniards found means to retain possession of.

John IV. was descended in a direct line from Alphonso, natural son of John the Bastard, who was created Duke of Braganza. The first care of this new king of Portugal, on his accession to the throne, was to convene an assembly of the states at Lisbon, in order to make them acknowledge his right to the crown. The states, conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, declared that Catherine, daughter of the infant Don Edward,

and grandmother of King John, having become the true and legitimate heiress to the throne on the death of Henry the Cardinal, her grandson John IV. was entitled to the repossession of those rights of which that princess had been unjustly deprived by the Spaniards. The better to establish himself on the throne, John concluded treaties of peace with France, the United Provinces, the Netherlands, and Sweden; but confining his whole ambition to the maintaining the ancient limits of the kingdom, he remained completely inactive with regard to Spain, which being overpowered by numerous enemies, was quite incapable of carrying on the war with vigour against Portugal. The truce and alliance which that prince had entered into with the Dutch, did not prevent these republicans from continuing their conquests in India; where, in process of time, they stript the Portuguese of their finest settlements.

England, long before this time, had emerged from the state of turbulence and desolation into which she had been plunged by the destructive wars of the two Roses. A new family, that of the Tudors, had mounted the throne; Henry VII., who was its founder, claimed the crown in right of his mother Margaret Beaufort, alleged heiress of the house of Lancaster, or the Red Rose; and raised an insurrection against Richard III., the last king of the house of York. This prince being defeated and slain at the battle of Bosworth (1485), Henry, who was then proclaimed King of England, united the titles or claims of the two Roses, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and heiress of York, or the White Rose. The country being thus restored to tranquillity after thirty years of civil war, everything assumed a more prosperous appearance. Agriculture and commerce began to flourish anew. Henry applied himself to the restoration of order and industry. He humbled the factious nobles, and raised the royal authority almost to a state of absolute despotism.

The reformation of religion in England began in the reign of his son Henry VIII. That prince, who was of a very capricious character, vacillating continually between virtue and vice, appeared at first as the champion of popery, and published a treatise against Luther, which procured him, from the court of Rome, the title of *Defender of the Faith*. But a violent passion, which he had conceived for Anne Boleyn, having induced him to attempt a divorce from Catherine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, he addressed himself for this purpose to Pope Clement VII., alleging certain scruples of conscience which he felt on account of his marriage with Catherine, who was within the degrees of affinity prohibited in the sacred Scriptures. The Pope being afraid to displease the Emperor Charles V., who was the nephew of Catherine, thought proper to defer judgment in this matter; but the King, impatient of delay, caused his divorce to be pronounced by Thomas Cramer, Archbishop of Canterbury (1532), and immediately married Anne Boleyn. The sentence of the Archbishop was annulled by the Pope, who published a threatening bull against Henry. This incensed the King, who caused the Papal authority in England to be abrogated by the parliament, and installed himself in the capacity of supreme head of the English church (1534); a title

which was conferred on him by the clergy, and confirmed by the parliament. He also introduced the oath of supremacy, in virtue of which all who were employed in offices of trust, were obliged to acknowledge him as head of the church. A court of high commission was established, to judge ecclesiastical causes in name of the king, and from whose sentence there was no appeal. The convents or monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues confiscated to the crown (1536-1539). Henry even became a dogmatist in theology; and discarding the principles of Luther, as well as those of Calvin and Rome, he framed a religion according to his own fancy. Rejecting the worship of images, relics, purgatory, monastic vows, and the supremacy of the Pope, he gave his sanction, by the law of the Six Articles, to the doctrine of the real presence, the communion in one kind, the vow of chastity, the celibacy of the priests, the mass, and auricular confession; inflicting very severe penalties on all who should deny or disobey one or other of these articles.

This monarch, who was the first of the English kings that took the title of King of Ireland (1542), was involved in the disputes which then embroiled the continental powers; but instead of holding the balance between France and Austria, he adhered in general to his friend and ally Charles V. against France. This conduct was regulated less by politics than by passion, and the personal interest of his minister Cardinal Wolsey, whom the emperor had attached to his cause, by the hope of the papal tiara.

The religion which Henry had planted in England did not continue after his death. Edward VI., his son and immediate successor, introduced pure Calvinism or Presbyterianism. Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., by Catherine of Arragon, on her accession to the throne, restored the Catholic religion (1553), and likewise received the new legate of the Pope into England. She inflicted great cruelties on the Protestants, many of whom were burnt at the stake; among others, Cramer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Worcester. With the view of more firmly establishing the Catholic religion in her dominions, she espoused Philip, presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy (1554). The restrictions with which the English parliament fettered his contract of marriage with the Queen, so displeased that prince, that, finding himself without power or authority, he speedily withdrew from England. Mary's reign lasted only five years: she was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth (1558), daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn. This princess once more abrogated the authority of the Pope, and claimed to herself the supreme administration, both spiritual and temporal, within her kingdom. Though she adopted the Calvinistic principles in everything regarding the doctrines of the church, she retained many of the Romish ceremonies, and the government of bishops. It was this that gave rise to the distinction between the *English* or *High Church*, and the *Calvinistic* or *Presbyterian*.

About the time when the High Church party rose in England, a change of religion took place in Scotland, protected by Queen Elizabeth. The regency of that kingdom was then vested in the Queen-dowager, Mary of Lorraine, the widow of

James V., and mother of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and France. That princess, who was guided solely by the councils of her brothers of Lorraine, had introduced a body of French troops to repress the followers of the new doctrines, who had formed a new league, under the name of the *Congregation*. These, reinforced by the Catholic malecontents, who were apprehensive of falling under a foreign yoke, took the resolution of applying for assistance to the English queen, which it was by no means difficult to obtain. Elizabeth readily foresaw, that so soon as Francis became master of Scotland, he would attempt to enforce Mary's claims to the throne of England, grounded partly on the assumption of her being illegitimate. A considerable number of English troops were then marched to Scotland, and having formed a junction with the Scottish malecontents, they besieged the French in the town of Leith, near Edinburgh. The latter were soon obliged to capitulate. By the articles signed at Leith (1560), the French and English troops were to evacuate Scotland; Francis II., King of France, and his wife Mary Stuart, were to renounce the titles and arms of the sovereigns of England, which they had assumed; while a parliament was to be assembled at Edinburgh for the pacification of the kingdom.

The parliament which met soon after, ratified the Confession of Faith, drawn up and presented by the Presbyterian ministers. The Presbyterian worship was introduced into Scotland; and the parliament even went so far as to prohibit the exercise of the Catholic religion. Mary Stuart, on her return to Scotland (1561), after the death of her husband Francis, was obliged to acquiesce in all these changes; and it was with difficulty she was allowed the liberty of having a Catholic chapel attached to her court. This unfortunate princess was afterwards accused of having caused the assassination of Henry Darnley, her second husband; and being obliged to fly the country, she took shelter in England (1568), where she was arrested and imprisoned by order of Queen Elizabeth. After a captivity of nineteen years she was sentenced to death, and beheaded (18th February, 1587), as an accomplice in the different plots which had been formed against the life of her royal relative.

The troubles which the reformation of religion had excited in Scotland, extended also to Ireland. A kind of corrupt feudal system had prevailed originally in that island, which Henry II. had not been able to extirpate. The English proprietors, who were vassals of the crown, and governed by the laws of England, possessed nearly one-third of the whole country; while the rest of the island was in the hands of the Irish proprietors, who, although they acknowledged the sovereignty of the English kings, preserved nevertheless the language and manners of their native land; and were inclined to seize every opportunity of shaking off the English yoke, which they detested. Hence, a continued series of wars and feuds, both among the Irish themselves, and against the English, who on their part had no other object than to extend their possessions at the expense of the natives. The kings of England, guided by an injudicious policy, for several centuries exhausted their resources in perpetual wars, sometimes against France, sometimes against Scotland, and some-

times against their own subjects, without paying the least attention to Ireland, of which they appear to have known neither the importance nor the effectual advantages which they might have reaped from it by means of a wise administration. The progress of agriculture and industry became thus completely impracticable; a deep-rooted hatred was established between the islanders and the English, who in fact seemed two distinct nations, enemies of each other, and forming no alliances either by marriage or reciprocal intercourse.

The resentment of the Irish against the English government was aggravated still more, at the time of the Reformation, by the vigorous measures that were taken, subsequently to the reign of Henry VIII., to extend to Ireland the laws framed in England against the court of Rome and the Catholic clergy. A general insurrection broke out in the reign of Elizabeth (1598), the chief instigator of which was Hugh O'Neal, head of a clan in the province of Ulster, and Earl of Tyrone. Having gained over the whole Irish Catholics to his cause, he planned an extensive conspiracy, with the design of effecting the entire expulsion of the English from the island. Philip II., King of Spain, supplied the insurgents with troops and ammunition; and Pope Clement VIII. held out ample indulgences in favour of those who should enlist under the banners of O'Neal, to combat the English heretics. This insurgent chief met at first with considerable success; he defeated the English in a pitched battle, and maintained his ground against the Earl of Essex, whom Elizabeth had despatched to the island with a formidable army. The rebels, however, ultimately failed in their enterprise, after a sanguinary war which lasted seven years. Charles, Lord Mountjoy, governor of Ireland, drove the insurgents to their last recesses, and had the glory of achieving the entire reduction of the island.³

The maritime greatness of England began in the reign of Elizabeth. That princess gave new vigour to industry and commerce; and her efforts were seconded by the persecuting zeal of the French and Spanish governments. The numerous refugees from France and the Netherlands found a ready asylum in England, under the protection of Elizabeth; and her kingdom became, as it were, the retreat and principal residence of their arts and manufactures. She encouraged and protected navigation, which the English, by degrees, extended to all parts of the globe. An Englishman, named Richard Chancellor, having discovered the route to Archangel in the Icy Sea (1555), the Czar, John Basilovitz II., granted to an English company the exclusive privilege of trading with Russia (1569). The commerce of the English with Turkey and the Levant, which began in 1579, was likewise monopolized by a company of merchants. Sir Francis Drake, a distinguished navigator, and the rival of Magellan, was the first Englishman that performed a voyage round the world, between 1577 and 1580. The intercourse between England and the East Indies began in 1591; and the East India Company was instituted in 1600. Attempts were also made, about the same time, to form settlements in North America; and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had obtained a charter from the Queen (1584), endeavoured to found a colony in that part of the

American continent, now called Virginia, in compliment to Elizabeth. That colony, however, did not, properly speaking, take root or flourish till the reign of James I. The competition with Spain, and the destruction of the Invincible Armada of Philip II., by the combined fleets of England and Holland, gave a new energy to the English marine, the value of which they had learned to appreciate, not merely in guarding the independence of the kingdom, but in securing the prosperity of their commerce and navigation.

The House of Tudor ended with Queen Elizabeth (1603), after having occupied the throne of England about 118 years. It was replaced by that of Stuart. James VI., King of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart and Henry Darnley, succeeded to the throne of England, and took the title of King of Great Britain, which his successors still retain. This prince derived his right to the crown from the marriage of his great grandmother, Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII., with James IV. of Scotland. Vain of his new elevation, and fond of prerogative, James constantly occupied himself with projects for augmenting his royal power and authority in England; and by instilling these principles into his son, he became the true architect of all the subsequent misfortunes of his house.

Charles I., the son and successor of James (1625), seldom convened the Parliament; and when they did assemble, he provoked them by the measures he proposed, and was then obliged to dissolve them. Being entirely guided by his ministers, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Strafford and Hamilton, and his queen, Henrietta of France, he ventured to levy taxes and impositions without the advice of Parliament. This conduct on the part of the king produced a general discontent. The flames of civil war began to kindle in Scotland, where Charles had introduced Episcopacy, as more favourable than Presbyterianism to royalty. But the Scottish nobility having formed a confederacy, known by the name of the *Covenant*, for the maintenance of their ecclesiastical liberties, abolished Episcopacy (1638), and subsequently took up arms against the king. The Parliament of England, under such circumstances, rose also against Charles (1641), and passed an act that they should not be dissolved without previously obtaining redress for the complaints of the nation. This act, which deprived the king of his principal prerogative, proved fatal to the royal dignity. A trial was instituted by the Parliament against the king's ministers. The Earl of Strafford and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, were beheaded (1640—1642); and Charles had the weakness to sign the death-warrant of his faithful servants.

The Presbyterians soon became the prevailing party, and excluded the bishops from the Upper House. The management of affairs fell then into the hands of the House of Commons; Episcopacy were abolished; and the Parliament of England acceded to the Scottish Covenant. War now broke out between the king and the Parliament; a battle was fought near York, in which the latter was victorious (1644). Charles, seeing his affairs ruined, took the determination to throw himself into the arms of the Scots (1646), who, he supposed, might still retain an affection for the race of their ancient kings. He soon found reason,

however, to repent of this step; the Scots did not hesitate to sell him to the English Parliament for a sum of £400,000 sterling, which they found necessary for the payment of their troops.

A new revolution, which soon after happened in the Parliament, completed the ruin of the king. The Presbyterians, or Puritans, who had suppressed the Episcopalians, were crushed, in their turn, by the Independents. These latter were a sort of fanatics, who admitted no subordination whatever in the church, entertained a perfect horror for royalty, and were inclined for a republican or democratic form of government. The head and soul of this faction was the famous Oliver Cromwell, who, with great dexterity, made it an engine for raising himself to the sovereign authority. The whole power of the Legislature fell entirely into the hands of the Independent party; who, by one act, expelled sixty members from the House of Commons. The Parliament, now completely under their dominion, appointed a commission of 150 persons, whom they vested with power to try the king. In vain did the Upper House oppose this resolution; in vain did the king object to the judges named by the House; the commission proceeded, and pronounced the famous sentence, by virtue of which Charles was beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649. His family were dispersed, and saved themselves by flight.

The revolutions in the North of Europe, about the period of which we now speak, were not less important than those which agitated the West and the South. These arose chiefly from the dissolution of the Union of Calmar, and the reformation in religion; both of which happened about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Union of Calmar, between the three kingdoms of the North, had been renewed several times; but, being badly cemented from the first, it was at length irreparably broken by Sweden. This latter kingdom had been distracted by intestine feuds, occasioned by the ambition and jealousy of the nobles, which continued during the whole reign of Charles VIII., of the House of Bonde. After the death of that prince (1470), the Swedes, without renouncing the Union, had regularly appointed as administrators of the kingdom, from the year 1471 till 1520, three individuals of the family of Sture, viz. Steno Sture, called the *Old*, Suante Sture and Steno Sture, called the *Young*.

Meantime John, King of Denmark, and son of Christian I., had governed the three kingdoms since 1497, when Steno Sture the elder had resigned, until 1501, when he resumed the administration. At length, however, Christian II., son of John, made war on Steno Sture, surnamed the *Young*, with a view to enforce the claims which he derived from the act of union. Being victorious at the battle of Bogesund, where Sture lost his life, he succeeded in making himself acknowledged by the Swedes as king, and was crowned at Stockholm (1520). Within a short time after this ceremony, he violated the amnesty which he had publicly announced; and to gratify the revenge of Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsal, whom the Swedes had deposed, he caused ninety-four of the most distinguished personages in the kingdom to be arrested, and publicly beheaded at Stockholm.

This massacre caused a revolution, by which

Sweden recovered its ancient state of independence. Gustavus Vasa put himself at the head of the Dalcarlians, ambitious to become the liberator of his country (1521). He was declared Regent, and two years after, King of Sweden (1523). The example of the Swedes was soon followed by the Danes, who, indignant at the excesses and cruelties of Christian II., deposed him, and conferred their crown on Frederic, Duke of Holstein, and paternal uncle to that prince. Christian, after having long wandered about the Low Countries, was made prisoner by the Danes, and remained in captivity the rest of his days. The Kings of Denmark having renewed, from time to time, their pretensions to the Swedish throne, and still continued the three crowns on their escutcheon, several wars broke out on this subject between the two nations; and it was not till the peace of Stettin (1570), that the Danes acknowledged the entire independence of Sweden.

Denmark then lost the ascendancy which she had so long maintained in the North. The government of the kingdom underwent a radical change. A corrupt aristocracy rose on the ruins of the national liberty. The senate, composed wholly of the nobles, usurped all authority; they overruled the election of the kings, and appropriated to themselves the powers of the States-general, which they had not convoked since 1536; they encroached even on the royal authority, which was curtailed more and more every day; while the prerogatives of the nobility were extended by the conditions which the senate prescribed to the kings on their accession to the crown. The reformation of religion took place in Denmark, in the reign of Frederic I., the successor of Christian II. That prince employed an eloquent preacher, named John Tausen, and several other disciples of Luther, to promulgate the Protestant doctrines in his kingdom. In a diet held at Odensee (1527), the king made a public profession of the new faith; and, in spite of the remonstrances of the bishops, he passed a decree, in virtue of which liberty of conscience was established, and permission granted to the priests and monks to marry. These articles were renewed in another diet, assembled at Copenhagen (1530); where the king ratified the Confession of Faith presented to him by the Protestant ministers, similar to what had taken place the same year at the Diet of Augsburg.

At length Christian III., who was elected in 1534, brought these changes in religion to a close. The bishops, during the last interregnum, had done everything to stop the progress of the Reformation. The king, desirous of annihilating their temporal power, colluded with the principal nobility to have all the bishops in the kingdom arrested; and having then assembled a meeting of the States at Copenhagen, he abolished Episcopacy, and suppressed the public exercise of the Catholic religion. The castles, fortresses, and vast domains of the prelates were annexed to the crown; and the other benefices and revenues of the clergy were appropriated to the support of the ministers of religion, public schools, and the poor. The monks and nuns were left at liberty, either to quit their convents, or remain there during their lives. The bishops were replaced by superintendents, the nomination of whom was vested in the king; while each congregation retained the privilege of

choosing its own pastors. From Denmark this revolution passed to Norway, which at that time, on account of having joined the party of Christian II., who was deposed by the Danes, lost its independence, and was declared a province of the kingdom of Denmark.

The House of Oldenburg, which had occupied the throne of Denmark since 1448, was separated in the reign of Christian III. into two powerful branches, viz. the royal, descended from that prince; and the family of Holstein-Gottorp, descended from his brother, the Duke Adolphus. This latter branch was afterwards divided into three others, viz. those of Russia, Sweden, and Holstein-Oldenburg. As the law of primogeniture was not established in the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, which had fallen into the succession of the House of Oldenburg, the Kings of Denmark soon found themselves under the necessity of dividing these duchies among the younger princes of their family. The treaty of partition, which was entered into (1544) between Christian III. and his brother, had been preceded by a treaty of perpetual union, annexing these duchies to the kingdom, and intended to preserve the throne, which was elective, in the House of Oldenburg; as well as to prevent any portion of these two duchies from falling into the possession of strangers. The union was to endure as long as the descendants of Frederic I. reigned in Denmark. They promised to settle, by arbitration, whatever differences might arise between the states of the union; to afford each other mutual succour against every external enemy; and to undertake no war but by common consent.

The treaty of 1544, which regulated this partition, made several exceptions of matters that were to be managed and administered in common; such as the customs, jurisdiction over the nobles, the bishops, and certain cities. This gave rise to a sort of copartnership of power, common to all the princes of the union. Everything regarding either the general safety as stipulated in the treaty, or the exercise of these privileges included in the exceptions, was to be discussed and settled by unanimous consent; and for this purpose a council of regency, an exchequer, and common courts were established. This union and community of rights were followed, as a natural consequence, by long and destructive feuds between the Kings of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, in which the other powers of the North were also implicated.

Christian IV., grandson of Christian III., was distinguished not more by the superiority of his talents, than by the indefatigable zeal with which he applied himself to every department of the administration (1588). It was in his reign that the Danes extended their commerce as far as India. He founded the first Danish East India Company (1616), who formed a settlement in Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast, which had been ceded to them by the Rajah of Tanjore. Various manufactories of silk stuffs, paper, and arms, were constructed, and several towns built under the auspices of Christian IV. The sciences were also much indebted to him; he gave a new lustre to the University of Copenhagen, and founded the Academy of Soroe in Zealand, besides a number of colleges. If he was unsuccessful in his wars

against Sweden and Austria, it must be ascribed to the narrow limits of his power, to the influence of the aristocratic spirit, and of the feudal regime which still prevailed in Denmark. He succeeded, however, in excluding the Swedes from access to the Icy Sea, which opened them a way to the coasts of Lapland, by obtaining possession, at the peace of Siorod (1613), of that part of Lapland which extends along the Northern and Icy Seas, from Titisford to Waranger and Wardhuys. The disputes concerning the three crowns were settled by the same treaty, in such a way that both sovereigns were permitted to use them, without authorizing the King of Denmark to lay any claim to the Swedish crown.

Sweden, which had long maintained a struggle against Denmark, at length acquired such a preponderance over her as to threaten, more than once, the entire subversion of the throne. This preponderance was the achievement of two great men, who rose in the period we now speak of, viz. Gustavus Vasa, and his grandson, Gustavus Adolphus. Gustavus Vasa was not merely the liberator, but the restorer of his country. Elevated to the throne by the free choice of the nation, he gave Sweden a power and influence which it never had before. Everything under him assumed a new aspect, the government, the religion, the finances, the commerce, the agriculture, the sciences, and the morals of the Swedes. Instead of the assemblies of the nobles, formerly in use, and destructive of the national liberty, he substituted diets composed of the different orders of the state, the nobility, the clergy, the citizens, and the peasantry. By this means he acquired a new influence, of which he took advantage to humble the power of the church and the nobles, which had long been a source of oppression to Sweden.

The reformation of religion, which then occupied every mind, appeared to Gustavus a very proper expedient to second his views, and introduce a better order of things. On his accession to the throne, he authorized the two brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri to preach publicly at Stockholm the doctrines of Luther, and did everything in his power to accelerate the progress of the Reformation in his kingdom. The bishops, who were apprehensive for their benefices and their authority, having drawn the greater part of the nobility over to their interest, the king, in the presence of a diet of the four orders assembled at Westeras, took the determination of formally abdicating the crown. This step threw the diet into a state of consternation, and encouraged the two lower orders, the citizens and peasants, to declare themselves loudly for the king. The bishops and nobles were obliged to comply; and the king, resuming the reins of government, succeeded in overruling the deliberations of the diet. By the authority of a decree, he annexed the strong castles of the bishops to the demesnes of the crown, and retrenched from their vast possessions whatever he judged convenient. The prelates at the same time were excluded from the senate; the ties that bound them to the court of Rome were broken; and they were enjoined henceforth to demand confirmation from the king, and not from the Pope. The revenues of the clergy in general, and those of the convents, were left at the free disposal of the king, and the nobles were permitted to bring

forward whatever claims they could adduce over lands granted to these convents by their ancestors. There was nothing now to retard the march of reformation. The Lutheran religion was introduced universally into Sweden, and that event contributed not a little to exalt the royal authority.

Gustavus secured the hereditary succession of the crown in favour of his male descendants. The states, anxious to obviate the troubles and disorders which the demise of their kings had often produced, regulated the succession by an act known by the name of the *Hereditary Union*. It was passed at Orebro (1540), and ratified anew by the states assembled at Westeras. The Union Act was renewed at the Diet of Nordkoping, in the reign of Charles IX. (1604), when the succession was extended to females.

The reign of Gustavus Adolphus, the son of Charles IX., forms the brightest gem in the glory of Sweden. The virtues and energies of that prince, the sagacity of his views, the admirable order which he introduced into every branch of the administration, endeared him to his subjects; while his military exploits, and his superiority in the art of war, fixed upon him the admiration of all Europe.

Gustavus brought the wars, which he had to sustain against the different powers of the North, to a most triumphant conclusion. By the peace which he concluded at Stolbova with Russia (1617), he obtained possession of all Ingria, Kexholm, and Russian Carelia; and even cut that Empire off from all communication with Europe by the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea. His success was not less brilliant in his campaigns against Sigismund III., King of Poland, who persisted in contesting with him his right to the crown of Sweden. He took from the Poles the whole of Livonia, with a part of Prussia; and kept possession of these conquests by the six years truce which he concluded with the latter at Altmork (1629).

It was about this time that Sweden began to occupy a distinguished place among the powers of Europe; and that she was called on to take the lead in the league which was to protect the princes and states of the Empire against the ambition of Austria. Gustavus, who was in alliance with France, undertook a task as difficult as it was glorious. In the short space of two years and a half, he overran two-thirds of Germany with his victorious arms. He vanquished Tilly at the famous battle of Leipsic (1631), and extended his conquests from the shores of the Baltic to the Rhine and the Danube. Everything yielded before him, and every place opened its gates to him. This great prince, who had made war a new art, and accustomed his army to order, and a system of tactics never before known, perished at the memorable battle of Lutzen (1632), which the Swedes gained after his death, in consequence of the skillful dispositions he had formed.

The war was continued under the minority of Queen Christina, his daughter and heir. It was still carried on, although the Swedes had undertaken a new war against Denmark, with the view of disengaging themselves from the mediation which Christian IV. had undertaken between the Emperor and Sweden, at the congress which was to meet at Munster and Osnaburg. The result of that war was completely to the advantage of Swe-

den, who gained by the peace of Bromsbro (1645) the freedom of the Sound, as also the possession of the provinces and islands of Jampland, Hergedalen, Gothland, Oesel, and Halland. Lastly, the peace of Westphalia secured to Sweden considerable possessions on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, such as Wismar, Bremen and Verden, and part of Pomerania.

The power of the Teutonic knights, which had been greatly reduced during the preceding period, by the defection of a part of Prussia, was completely annihilated in the North, in consequence of the changes introduced by the reformation of religion. Albert of Brandenburg, grandson of the Elector Albert Achilles, on his elevation to the dignity of Grand Master of the Order, made an attempt to withdraw from Poland that fealty and homage to which the knights had bound themselves by the treaty of Thorn in 1466. This contest furnished matter for a war between them; which began in 1519, and ended in 1521, by a truce of four years; at the expiration of which the grand master, who saw the doctrines of Luther disseminated in Prussia, and who had himself imbibed these principles in Germany, found means to settle all differences with the King of Poland, by a treaty which he concluded with him at Cracow (1525). He there engaged to do homage and fealty to the crown of Poland as usual; and Sigismund I., who was his maternal uncle, granted him Teutonic Prussia, with the title of Duchy, as a hereditary fief, both for himself and his male heirs, and for his brothers of the House of Brandenburg and Franconia, and their feudal heirs; reserving the right of reversion in favour of Poland, failing the male descendants of these princes.

The Teutonic knights thus lost Prussia, after having possessed it for nearly three hundred years. Retiring to their possessions in Germany, they established their principal residence at Mergetheim in Franconia, where they proceeded to the election of a new grand master, in the person of Walter de Cronberg. The Poles, in getting quit of the Teutonic knights, whom they had regarded with jealousy, and substituting the House of Brandenburg in their place, never dreamed of adopting an enemy still more dangerous, who would one day concert the ruin and annihilation of their country.

Immediately after the treaty of Cracow, the new Duke of Prussia made a public profession of the Lutheran religion, and married a daughter of the King of Denmark. This princess dying without male issue, he married for his second wife a princess of the Brunawick family, by whom he had a son, Albert Frederic, who succeeded him in the duchy of Prussia. The race of these new dukes of Prussia (1568), as well as that of Franconia, which should have succeeded them, appearing to be nearly extinct, Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, obtained from the King of Poland the investiture of Prussia, in fief, conjunctly with the reigning dukes. This investiture, which was renewed in favour of several of his successors, secured the succession of that duchy in the electoral family of Brandenburg; to whom it devolved on the death of Albert Frederic (1618), who left no male descendants. He was succeeded by the Elector John Sigismund, who had been coinvested with him in the duchy. That prince, who had

married Anne, eldest daughter of Albert Frederic, obtained likewise, in right of that princess, part of the succession of Juliers, viz., the duchy of Cleves, the counties of Marek and Ravensberg, which had been adjudged to the house of Brandenburg, by the provisional act of partition concluded at Santen (1614), and converted into a definitive treaty at Cleves. The grandson of John Sigismund, the Elector Frederic William, was a prince of superior genius, and the true founder of the greatness of his family. Illustrious in war as in peace, and respected by all Europe, he acquired by the treaty of Westphalia, a part of Pomerania, the archbishopric of Magdeburg under the title of a duchy, with the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, under the title of principalities. His son Frederic was the first King of Prussia.

[The Teutonic knights had nearly lost Livonia at the beginning of the sixteenth century; but that province was saved by the courage and talents of the Provincial Master, Walter de Plattenberg. The Grand Duke Iwan, or John III., having threatened Livonia with an invasion, Plattenberg concluded a defensive alliance at Walik (1501), with Alexander II., Grand Duke of Lithuania, and the bishops of that country. After having assembled troops to the number of 14,000 men, he defeated the Russian army, which was 40,000 strong, at Maholm; a second victory, which he gained with the same number of troops over 100,000 Russians at Pleskow (1502), is one of the most famous exploits in the history of the North. Next year he concluded a truce of six years with the Livonian order, which was afterwards renewed for fifty years.

It is commonly said that Walter, the provincial master, taking advantage of the distresses of the Teutonic knights, and urging the repeated success which he had furnished them against the Poles, purchased from them his own independence, and that of his Order; but a recent author (Le Comte de Bray) has shown that this was not exactly the case. By a first agreement signed at Koningsberg (1520), Albert of Brandenburg, who was then only Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, confirmed to the knights of Livonia the free right of electing a chief of their own number, promising to sustain the individual whom they should nominate. He secured them the possession of the whole sovereignty of Revel and Narva; the countries of Altenkirchen, Jerwen, and Wierland; as also the town and castle of Wesenberg, with their dependencies. This agreement was revised and ratified by a second, signed at Grobin (1525), when it was formally stipulated, that the relations between the knights of Livonia and the Teutonic order should be maintained as they were, and that the Livonians should continue to regard the Grand Master as their true head, and render him homage and obedience. They were forbidden to solicit from the Emperor or the Pope any privilege derogatory of their allegiance. It appears, consequently, that Walter de Plattenberg did not purchase the independence of his Order, but that he regarded those ties which existed between it and the Teutonic order as broken, when Albert of Brandenburg was declared Duke of Prussia. He next renewed those connexions with the German Empire which had existed since the thirteenth century; and was declared by Charles V. (1527) a prince

of the Empire, having a vote and a seat in the diet.

It was during the mastership of Plattenberg that the Lutheran doctrines penetrated into Livonia, where they made rapid progress, especially in the cities. Walter dexterously turned the disturbances caused by the opposition of the clergy to the new tenets, into an occasion for establishing his authority over all Livonia and Esthonia, which the Order had formerly shared with the bishops. The citizens of Riga acknowledged him as their only sovereign, and expelled the archbishop. The burghesses of Revel followed their example. The clergy were so frightened at these movements, that the archbishop of Riga, and the bishops of Dorpat, Oesel, Courland, and Revel, formally submitted to the Order. The clergy themselves soon after embraced the reformed religion.]

The dominion of the Knights Sword-bearers had continued in Livonia until the time of the famous invasion of that country by the Czar, John Basilovitz IV. That prince, who had laid open the Caspian Sea by his conquest of the Tartar kingdoms of Casan and Astrachan, meditated also that of Livonia, to obtain a communication with Europe by the Baltic. Gotthard Kettler, who was then Grand Master, finding himself unable to cope with an enemy so powerful, implored first the assistance of the Germanic body, of whom he was a member; but having got nothing but vague promises, he next addressed himself to Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, and, in concert with the Archbishop of Riga, he concluded with that prince a treaty of submission at Wilna (1561); in virtue of which, the whole of Livonia, with Esthonia, Courland, and Semigallia, comprising not only what was still in the possession of the Order, but those parts which had been seized by the enemy, were ceded to the crown of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, on condition that the use of the Confession of Augsburg should be preserved on the same footing as it then was, and that all orders of the state should be maintained in their goods, properties, rights, privileges, and immunities.

By this same treaty, Courland and Semigallia were reserved to Gotthard Kettler, the last Grand Master of Livonia, to be enjoyed by himself and his heirs male, with the title of duchy, and as a fief of the king and crown of Poland. The new duke, on taking the oath of fidelity to the King of Poland, solemnly laid aside all the badges of his former dignity. He married Anne, daughter to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and transmitted the duchy of Courland to his male descendants, who did not become extinct until the eighteenth century. The Order of Livonia was entirely suppressed, as were also the archbishoprics of Riga, and the bishoprics under its jurisdiction.

The revolution in Livonia caused a violent commotion among the powers of the North, who were all eager to share in the plunder. While the Grand Master of the Order was in treaty with Poland, the city of Revel, and the nobles of Esthonia, left without aid, and oppressed by the Russians, put themselves under the protection of Eric XIV., King of Sweden, who obtained possession of that province. The Isle of Oesel, on the contrary, and the district of Wyck in Esthonia, were sold to Frederic II., King of Denmark, by the last

bishop of the island, who also ceded to him the bishopric and district of Pilten in Courland. Poland at first held the balance, and maintained Livonia against the Russians, by the peace which she concluded with that power at Kievorova-Horca (1582). A struggle afterwards ensued between Poland and Sweden for the same object, which was not finally terminated until the peace of Oliva (1660).

Russia, during the period of which we now treat, assumed an aspect entirely new. She succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Moguls, and began to act a conspicuous part on the theatre of Europe. The Horde of Kipzac, called also the *Grand*, or the *Golden Horde*, had been greatly exhausted by its territorial losses, and the intestine wars which followed; while the Grand Dukes of Moscow gained powerful accessions by the reunion of several of these petty principalities, which had for a long time divided among them the sovereignty of Northern Russia. John Basilovitz III., who filled the grand ducal throne about the end of the fifteenth century, knew well how to profit by these circumstances to strengthen his authority at home, and make it be respected abroad. In course of several expeditions, he subdued the powerful republic of Novogorod, an ancient ally of the Hanseatic towns, and which had for a long time affected an entire independence. He was also the first sovereign of Russia that dared to refuse a humiliating ceremony, according to which the grand dukes were obliged to walk on foot before the envoys that came from the Khan of Kipzac. He even suppressed the residence of Tartar envoys at his court; and at length shook off their yoke entirely, refusing to pay the tribute which the grand dukes had owed to the khans for several centuries. Achmet, Khan of Kipzac, having despatched certain deputies with an order, under the great seal, to demand payment of this tribute, the grand duke trampled the order under his feet, spit upon it, and then put all the deputies to death except one, whom he sent back to his master.

The khan, with the view of revenging that insult, invaded Russia several times, but the grand duke vigorously repulsed all his attacks; and while he was arresting the progress of his arms on the borders of the Ugra, he despatched a body of troops to the centre of the Grand Horde, who laid every thing desolate (1481). The Nogai Tartars joined the Russians to finish the destruction of the Grand Horde, whose different settlements on the Wolga they laid completely in ruins; so that nothing more remained of the powerful empire of Kipzac than a few detached hordes, such as those of Casan, Astracan, Siberia, and the Crimea. Ivan rendered himself formidable to the Tartars; he subdued the Khans of Casan, and several times disposed of their throne. The entire reduction of that Tartar state was accomplished by his grandson, John Basilovitz IV., who twice undertook the siege of Casan, and seized and made prisoner of the last khan (1552). The fall of Casan was followed by that of Astracan. But John was by no means so fortunate in his enterprises against Livonia, which, as we have already said, he was obliged to abandon to Poland by the peace of Kievorova-Horca.

John IV. was inspired with noble views of policy. Being anxious to civilize his subjects, he

sent for workmen and artists from England. He requested Charles V. to send him men of talents, well versed in the different trades and manufactures. He introduced the art of printing at Moscow, and established the first permanent army in the country, that of the *Strelitzes*, which he employed in keeping the nobles in check. The discovery of Siberia is one of the events that belonged to his reign. A certain chief of the Don Cossacks, named Jermak, who employed himself in robberies on the borders of the Wolga and the Caspian Sea, being pursued by a detachment of Russian troops, retired to the confines of Siberia. He soon entered these regions at the head of 7000 Cossacks, and having gained several victories over the Tartars of Siberia, and their Khan Kutachem, he got possession of the city of Sibir, which was their principal fortress (1581). Jermak, in order to obtain his pardon of the czar, made him an offer of all he conquered; which was agreed to by that prince, and the troops of the Russians then took possession of Siberia (1583). The total reduction of the country, however, did not take place until the reign of the Czar Theodore or Fedor Iwanovitz, the son and successor of John, who built the city of Tobolsk (1587), which has since become the capital of Siberia.

Fedor Iwanovitz, a prince weak both in mind and body, was entirely under the counsels of his brother-in-law Boris Godunow, who, with the view of opening a way for himself to the throne, caused the young Demetrius, Fedor's only brother, to be assassinated (1591). This crime gave rise to a long series of troubles, which ended in the death of Fedor (1598). With him, as he left no children, the reigning family of the ancient sovereigns of Russia, the descendants of Ruric, became extinct; after having occupied the throne for more than eight hundred years.

After this, the Russian crown was worn by persons of different houses. Their reigns were disturbed by various pretenders, who assumed the name of Demetrius, and were supported by the Poles. During fifteen years Russia presented a shocking spectacle of confusion and carnage. At length, as a remedy for these disasters, they thought of bestowing the crown on a foreign prince. Some chose Charles Philip, the brother of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden; and others voted for Uladislau, the son of Sigismund IV., King of Poland. These resolutions tended only to increase the disorders of the state. The Swedes took advantage of them to seize Ingria and the city of Novogorod; while the Poles took possession of Smolensko and its dependencies.

The Russians, now seeing their monarchy on the edge of a precipice, adopted a plan of electing a new czar of their own nation. Their choice fell on Michael Fedrovitz, who became the founder of the new dynasty, that of Romanow (1613), under whom Russia attained to the zenith of her greatness. That prince, guided by the sage counsels of his father Fedor Romanow, Archbishop of Moscow, soon rectified all the disorders of the state; he purchased peace of the Swedes, by surrendering to them Ingria and Russian Carrelia. The sacrifices which he made to Poland were not less considerable. By the truce of Divilina (1618), and the peace of Wiasma (1634), he ceded to them the vast territories of Smolensko, Tscherniougou, and Novogorod, with their dependencies.

Poland, at this time, presented a corrupt aristocracy, which had insensibly degenerated into complete anarchy. The nobles were the only persons that enjoyed the rights of citizenship; they alone were represented in the diets, by the nuncios or deputies which they elected at the Diets; and the honours and dignities both in church and state, and in general all prerogatives whatever, were reserved for them; while the burgesses and peasantry alone supported the whole burthen of expenses. This constitution, at the same time, was under the control of a sort of democracy, in as far as the nobles, without exception, were held to be perfectly equal in their rights and dignities. Imperfect as a government must have been, established on such a basis, it still continued, nevertheless, to preserve some degree of vigour; and Poland supported, though feebly, the character of being the ruling power of the North, so long as the House of Jagello occupied the throne. Besides Prussia, of which she had dispossessed the Teutonic Knights, she acquired Livonia, and maintained it in spite of Russia.

The reformation of religion was likewise promulgated in Poland, where it was particularly patronized by Sigismund II. A great part of the senate, and the better half of the nobility, made, with their king, a profession of the new opinions; and if the reformation did not take deeper root in that kingdom, or if it had not a more conspicuous influence on the civilization of the people, it was from not being supported by the middle classes, which were not to be found in that kingdom.

The male line of Jagello, having become extinct with Sigismund II. (1572), the throne became purely elective; and it was ordained that, during the King's life, no successor could be appointed; but that the states, on his demise, should enjoy for ever a perfect freedom of election on every vacancy of the throne. Such was the origin of the diets of election, which, from their very constitution, could not fail to be always tumultuous in their proceedings. The nobles in a body appeared at these diets; thither they repaired in arms and on horseback, ranked according to the order of the Palatinates, in a camp prepared for the purpose near Warsaw. The custom of the *Pacta Conventa* took its rise about the same time. Henry de Valois, who was elected king on the death of Sigismund II., was the first that swore to these conventional agreements, [by which he engaged, that no foreigner should be introduced either in a civil or military department.] These *Pacta*, which had all the force of a fundamental law, specified those conditions under which the throne was conferred on the new monarch. The royal authority was thus curtailed more and more, and the prerogatives of the nobility exalted in proportion.

Poland, in consequence, soon lost its influence; the government was altered from its basis, and the kingdom plunged into an abyss of calamities. Among the elective kings who succeeded Henry de Valois, the last that supported the dignity of the crown against Russia, was Uladislau IV., the son of Sigismund III., of the House of Vasa. In an expedition which he undertook into the interior of Russia (1618), he penetrated as far as Moscow; and in a second which he made (1634), he compelled the Russians to raise the siege of Smolensko; and shut them up so closely in their camp,

that they were obliged to capitulate for want of provisions. He then made a new attack on the capital of Russia; and at the peace of Wiasma, he obtained conditions most advantageous to Poland.

In the history of Hungary, the most splendid era was the reign of Matthias Corvin, who, at the age of scarcely sixteen, had been raised to the throne by the pure choice of the nation (1458). Like his father the valorous John Hunniades, he was the terror of the Turks during his whole reign; he took Bosnia from them, and kept Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Slavonia, and Servia in dependence on his crown, in spite of the incessant efforts which the Turks made to rescue these provinces. He likewise conquered Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia; he even took Austria from the Emperor Frederic III., and came to fix his residence at Vienna (1485). It was in that city that he terminated his brilliant career, at the early age of forty-seven (1490). That great prince added to his military talents, a love for elegant literature, of which, from the first revival of letters, he showed himself a zealous protector.

The glory of Hungary suffered an eclipse in the loss of Matthias. His successors, Uladislau II., the son of Casimir IV., King of Poland, and Louis the son of Uladislau, who held at the same time the crown of Bohemia, were weak and indolent princes, who saw Hungary torn by factions, and ravaged with impunity by the Turks. Soliman the Great, taking advantage of the youth of Louis, and the distressed state in which Hungary was, concerted his plans for conquering the kingdom. He attacked the fortress of Belgrade (1521), and made himself master of that important place, before the Hungarians could march to its relief. His first success encouraged him to return to the charge. Having crossed the Danube and the Drave without meeting with any resistance, he engaged the Hungarians near Mohacz (1526), in that famous battle which cost them the life of their king and their principal nobility. Twenty-two thousand Hungarians were left on the field of battle, and the whole kingdom lay at the mercy of the conqueror. Soliman now proceeded as far as the Raab; but instead of completing the conquest of Hungary as he might have done, he contented himself with the laying waste all that part of the country with fire and sword; and carrying several hundred thousand prisoners into slavery.

The premature death of the young king, who left no progeny, occasioned a vacancy in the throne of Hungary and Bohemia. Ferdinand of Austria, who married Anne, sister to Louis, claimed the succession in virtue of the different treaties signed in the years 1463, 1468, 1491, and 1515, between the Austrian princes and the last kings of Hungary. But though the Bohemian States were disposed to listen to the pretensions of Ferdinand, it was not so with those of Hungary, who transferred the crown to John de Zapolya, Count of Zips, and Palatine of Transylvania. That prince being hardly pressed by Ferdinand, at length determined to throw himself under the protection of the Turks. Soliman marched in person to his assistance, and laid siege to the city of Vienna (1529). In this enterprise, however, he failed, after sacrificing the lives of nearly 80,000 men.

In 1538, a treaty was agreed on between the two competitors, in virtue of which the whole

kingdom of Hungary, on the death of John Zapolya, was to devolve on Ferdinand. This treaty was never carried into execution. John at his death having left a son named John Sigismund, then an infant in his cradle, Bishop George Martinuzzi, prime minister of the defunct king, proclaimed the young prince, and secured for him the protection of the Turks. Soliman undertook a new expedition into Hungary in his favour (1541); but by a piece of signal perfidy, he took this occasion to seize the city of Buda, the capital of the kingdom, and several other places; and banished the prince with his mother the queen-dowager, to Transylvania, which he gave up to him, with several other districts in Hungary. The city of Buda with the greater part of Hungary and Slavonia remained in the power of the Turks; and Ferdinand was obliged to pay an annual tribute for the protection of that kingdom, the possession of which was guaranteed to him by the truce which he concluded with them in 1562.

In the midst of these unfortunate events, the Austrian princes had again the imprudence to alienate the affections of the Hungarians, by the intolerant spirit they displayed, and the efforts which they incessantly made to extirpate the Protestant religion in that kingdom. The opinions of Luther and Calvin had already been propagated in Hungary during the reign of Louis, the predecessor of Ferdinand. They had even made great progress; especially in Transylvania, where the German language and literature were generally cultivated. The oppressions which the partisans of the new doctrines experienced, added to the attempts which the Austrian princes made from time to time to subvert the ancient constitution of the kingdom, excited fresh troubles, and favoured the designs of the discontented and ambitious, who were watching their opportunity to agitate the state, and make encroachments on the government. Stephen Botschkai, Bethlem Gabor, and George Ragotzi, princes of Transylvania, were successively the chiefs or leaders of these malecontents in the reigns of Rodolph II., Ferdinand II., and Ferdinand III., Emperors of Germany. According to the pacification of Vienna (1606), and that of Lintz (1645), as well as by the decrees of the Diet of Odenburg (1622), and of Presburg (1647), these princes were compelled to tolerate the public exercise of the reformed religion; and to redress the political complaints of the Hungarian malecontents.

The same troubles on the score of religion, which infested Hungary, extended likewise to Bohemia, where the new doctrines met with a much better reception, as they were in unison with the religious system of the Hussites, who had already numerous partisans in that kingdom. It was chiefly under the reign of the mild and tolerant Maximilian II. that Protestantism made its way in Bohemia. All those who were formerly called *Utraquists*, from their professing the communion in both kinds, joined the followers either of Luther or Calvin. Rodolph II., the son and successor of Maximilian, was obliged, at the Diet of Prague (1609), to grant them the free exercise of their worship, without distinction of place; and even to extend this indulgence to the Protestants of Silesia and Lusatia by letters patent, known by the name *Letters of Majesty*; copies of which were made at Prague on the 11th of July and 20th of

August 1600. These letters were confirmed by King Matthias, on his accession to the throne of Bohemia; as also by Ferdinand III., when he was acknowledged by the Bohemian States as the adopted son and successor of Matthias.

The different interpretations which were put on these letters occasioned the war, known in history by the name of the Thirty Years' War. The Emperor Matthias happening to die in the midst of these disturbances, the Bohemian States, regarding their crown as elective, annulled the election of Ferdinand II. (1619), and conferred the crown on Frederic, the Elector Palatine. Being in strict alliance with the states of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, they declared war against Ferdinand, who was supported, on the other hand, by Spain, the Catholic princes of the Empire, and the elector of Saxony.

The famous battle of Prague (1620), and the fall of the Elector Palatine, brought about a revolution in Bohemia. The ringleaders of the insurrection were executed at Prague, and their goods confiscated. Ferdinand, who treated that kingdom as a conquered country, declared that the states had forfeited their rights and privileges; and, in the new constitution which he gave them, he consented to restore these, only on condition of expressly excepting the rights which they had claimed in the election of their kings, as well as the Letters of Majesty which granted to the Protestants the free exercise of their worship. But this prince did not stop with the suppression of their religious liberties, he deprived them also of their rights of citizenship. Laws the most atrocious were published against them, and he even went so far as to deny them the liberty of making testaments, or contracting legal marriages. All their ministers, without exception, were banished the kingdom; and the most iniquitous means were employed to bring back the Protestants to the pale of the Catholic Church. At length it was enjoined, by an edict in 1607, that all Protestants who persisted in their opinions should quit the kingdom within six months. Thirty thousand of the best families in the kingdom, of whom a hundred and eighty-five were nobility, abandoned Bohemia, transporting their talents and their industry to the neighbouring states, such as Saxony, Brandenburg, Prussia, &c.

Ferdinand judged it for his interest to detach the elector of Saxony from the alliance with Sweden, which he had joined. He concluded a special peace with him at Prague, in virtue of which he made over to him the two Lusatias, which he had dismembered from the kingdom of Bohemia, to reimburse the elector for those sums which he claimed, as having been the ally of Austria against the Elector Palatine, then King of Bohemia. That province was ceded to the Elector John George, for himself and his successors, as a fief of the Bohemian crown, under the express condition, that failing the male line of the electoral branch, it should pass to the female heirs; but that it should then be at the option of the King of Bohemia to use the right of redemption, by repaying to the female heirs the sum for which Lusatia had been mortgaged to Saxony. This sum amounted to seventy-two tons of gold, valued at 7,200,000 florins.

The Turkish Empire received new accessions of

territory, both in Asia and Europe, under the successors of Mahomet II., who had fixed their capital at Constantinople. The conquest of Bessarabia belongs to the reign of Bajazet II., about the year 1484. That prince had a brother named Jem or Zizim, who had been his competitor for the throne; and having fled to Rome, he was imprisoned by order of Pope Alexander VI., at the instance of Bajazet, who had engaged to pay the Pope a large pension for him. Charles VIII. of France, when he made his expedition into Italy for the conquest of Naples, compelled the Pope to surrender up the unfortunate Zizim, whom he designed to employ in the expedition which he meditated against the Turks, but which never took place. Selim I., the son and successor of Bajazet, taking advantage of a revolution which happened in Persia, and of the victory which he gained near Tauris over the Schaw Ismail Sophi I. (1514), conquered the provinces of Diarbekir and Algezira, beyond the Euphrates.

The same prince overturned the powerful Empire of the Mamelukes, who reigned over Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and part of Arabia. He defeated the last Sultans, Cansoul-Algouri, and Toumambe (1516), and totally annihilated that dynasty. Cairo, the capital of the Empire of Egypt, was taken by assault (1517), and the whole of the Mameluke states incorporated with the Ottoman Empire. The Sheeriff of Mecca likewise submitted to the Porte, with several tribes of the Arabs.

Soliman the Great, who succeeded his father Selim, raised the Turkish Empire to the highest pitch of glory. Besides the island of Rhodes, which he took from the Knights of St. John, and the greater part of Hungary, he reduced the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia to a state of dependence, and made their princes vassals and tributaries of his Empire. He likewise conquered Bagdad and Irak-Arabia, which happened, according to the Turkish authors, about the year 1534.

That prince distinguished his reign by the efforts which he made to increase the maritime strength of the Empire, which his predecessors had neglected. He took into his service the famous pirate Barbarossa, King of Algiers, whom he created Capitan Pacha, or Grand Admiral. Barbarossa equipped a fleet of more than a hundred sail, with which he chased the imperialists from the Archipelago; and infested the coasts of Spain, Italy and Sicily (1565). Soliman miscarried, however, in his enterprise against Malta. The courageous defence made by the knights, together with the arrival of the fleet from Sicily, obliged the Ottomans to retreat.

The decline of the Ottoman Empire began with the death of Soliman the Great (1566). The sultans, his successors, surrendering themselves to luxury and effemiuary, and shut up in their seraglios and harems, left to their grand viziers the government of the Empire, and the management of the army. The sons of these sultans, educated by women and eunuchs, and secluded from all civil and military affairs, contracted from their earliest infancy all the vices of their fathers, and no longer brought to the throne that vigorous and enterprising spirit, which had been the soul of the Ottoman government, and the basis of all their institutions. Selim II., the son of Soliman, was

the first who set this fatal example to his successors. In his time, the Turks took the Isle of Cyprus from the Venetians (1570), which they maintained

in spite of the terrible defeat which they received at Lepanto (1571), and which was followed by the ruin of their marine.

PERIOD VII.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THAT OF UTRECHT. A.D. 1648—1713.

THE political system of Europe underwent a great change at the commencement of this period. France, after having long struggled for her own independence against Austria, at length turned the balance, and became so formidable as to combine against herself the whole policy and military power of Europe. The origin of this extraordinary influence of France belongs to the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI. Several important accessions which she made at this epoch, together with the change which happened in her government, gave her a power and energy, which might have secured her a decided preponderance among the continental states, had not her influence been overbalanced by Austria, which, by a concurrence of fortunate events, and several wealthy marriages, had suddenly risen to a degree of power that excited the jealousy of all Europe. Hence, for nearly two hundred years, it required all the political resources of France to make head against her rival; and what added to her misfortunes was, that, though freed from the distraction of the Italian war, she was still agitated by civil wars, which employed her whole military force.

It was not till near the middle of the seventeenth century that she extricated herself from this long struggle; and that, disengaged from the shackles of her own factions and internal dissensions, her power assumed a new vigour. The well regulated condition of her finances, the prosperity of her commerce and manufactures, and the respectable state of her marine, all concurred to diffuse wealth and abundance over the kingdom. The abasement of the House of Austria, effected at once by the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, together with the consolidation of the Germanic body, and the federal system of the Provinces in the Netherlands, put the last climax on her glory, and secured to her the preponderance in the political scale of Europe. This change in her political system was achieved principally by the two great statesmen, Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, who, by drying up the fountains of civil dissensions, and concentrating the reins of authority in the hands of the government, raised that monarchy to the rank which its position, its population, and its internal resources, had assigned it among the powers of the continent.

Mazarin left the kingdom in a flourishing state to Louis XIV., who, aided by the counsels and assistance of the famous Colbert, became the patron of letters and the fine arts, and finished the work which was begun by his prime minister. Nothing could equal the ardour which inspired that prince for military fame. France would have been prosperous under his reign, and respected even by all Europe, had he kept nothing else in view than the true interests and happiness of his

people; but he was ambitious of that sort of glory which is the scourge of mankind, the glory of heroes and conquerors. Hence there resulted a long series of wars, which exhausted the strength and resources of the state, and introduced a new change in its political system. The same states who had formerly made common cause with France against Austria, now combined against the former, to humble that gigantic power which seemed to threaten their liberty and independence.

[In these alliances the maritime powers voluntarily took part; and, having less fear than the others of falling under the yoke of a universal monarchy, they joined the confederates merely for the protection of their commerce—the true source of their influence and their wealth. They undertook the defence of the equilibrium system, because they perceived, that a state which could command the greater part of the continental coasts, might in many ways embarrass their commerce, and perhaps become dangerous to their marine. They soon acquired a very great influence in the affairs of this system, by the subsidies with which from time to time they furnished the states of the continent. From this period the principal aim of European policy was their finances and their commercial interests, in place of religion, which had been the grand motive or pretext for the preceding wars. With this new system began those abuses of commercial privileges and monopolies, prohibitions, imposts, and many other regulations, which acted as restraints on natural liberty, and became the scourge of future generations. It was then that treaties of commerce first appeared, by which every trading nation endeavoured to procure advantages to itself, at the expense of its rivals; and it was then that the belligerent powers began to lay restraints and interdicts on the commerce of neutral states.]

But the political system of Europe experienced other changes at this period. Standing armies were introduced, and augmented to a degree that proved ruinous both to the agriculture of the inhabitants, and the finances of the government, which by this means was rendered more and more dependent on those states, whose principal object was commerce. The frequent communication between foreign courts, which the policy of Richelieu had rendered necessary, gave occasion for envoys and resident ministers; whereas formerly scarcely any other intercourse was known, except by extraordinary embassies.]

The first war that roused the European powers was that which Louis XIV. undertook against Spain, to enforce the claims which he advanced, in name of his Queen Maria Theresa, over several provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, especially the duchies of Brabant and Limburg, the seigniories

of Malines, the marquisate of Antwerp, Upper Gueldres, the counties of Namur, Hainault and Artois, Cambrai and Cambresis, which he alleged belonged to him, in virtue of the *right of devolution*, according to the usages of that country. According to that right, the property of goods passed to the children of the first marriage, when their parents contracted another. Maria Theresa, Queen of France, was the daughter, by the first marriage, of Philip IV. King of Spain; whereas Charles II., his successor in that monarchy, was descended of the second marriage. Louis XIV. contended, that from the moment of Philip's second marriage, the property of all the countries, which were affected by the right of devolution, belonged to his queen; and that, after the death of her father, that princess should enjoy the succession. In opposition to these claims of France, the Spaniards alleged, that the right of devolution, being founded merely on custom, and applicable only to particular successions, could not be opposed to the fundamental laws of Spain, which maintained the indivisibility of that monarchy, and transferred the whole succession to Charles II. without any partition whatever.

In course of the campaign of 1667, the French made themselves masters of several cities in the Low Countries, such as Bruges, Furnes, Armentieres, Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Tournay, Douay, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Lille; and in course of the following winter, they got possession of Franche-Comté. The Pope and several princes having volunteered their good offices for the restoration of peace, they proposed a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the principal scene of the negotiation was at the Hague, where Louis sent the Count d'Estrades to treat separately with the States-General. This negotiation was greatly accelerated by the famous Triple Alliance, concluded at the Hague 1668, between Great Britain, Sweden, and the States-General. By the terms of this treaty, the allied powers offered Louis the alternative, either to leave him in possession of the places which he had conquered, during the campaign of 1667, or to cede to him either the duchy of Luxembourg, or Franche-Comté with the cities of Cambrai, Douay, Aire, St. Omer, and Furnes, with their dependencies. The Spaniards having accepted the former of these alternatives, the draught of a treaty of peace was agreed on, and signed by the ministers of France, England, and the States-General; and this scheme served as the basis of the treaty which was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and Spain (May 2d 1668). In consideration of the restitutions which she had made to Spain, France retained, in terms of this treaty, the towns of Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Douay, Tournay, Oudenarde, Lille, Armentieres, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, with their bailliwicks and dependencies.

This peace was soon followed by a new war, which Louis XIV. undertook against the republic of the Seven United Provinces (1672). Wishing to be avenged on the Dutch, whom he knew to be the principal authors of the Triple Alliance, and consulting only his own propensity for war, he alleged as a pretext, certain insulting medals which had been struck in Holland, on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the Triple Alliance.¹ In vain did the States-General offer him every

satisfaction; he persisted in his purpose of declaring war; and the better to succeed in his design, he endeavoured first to dissolve the Triple Alliance. Colbert de Croissy, whom he sent to England, found means to detach Charles II. from the alliance, and to draw him over to side with Louis against the Republic. The same success attended the negotiation which he set on foot with the Court of Stockholm. Following the example of England, the Swedes renounced the Triple Alliance, and joined with France. Several princes of the Empire, such as the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster, adopted the same line of conduct. The war broke out in 1672; and so rapid were the conquests of Louis, that he subdued in one single campaign the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overysseel, and part of Holland. He would have carried the city of Amsterdam, if the Dutch had not cut their dikes and inundated the country.

Alarmed at these extraordinary successes, and apprehending the entire subversion of the Republic, the Emperor Leopold I., the King of Spain, the elector of Brandenburg, and the Imperial States, leagued in their favour, and marched to their relief. The Parliament of England obliged Charles II. to make peace with the republic, by refusing to grant him supplies (1674). The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster did the same thing. Louis XIV. then thought proper to abandon his conquests in Holland; and directed his principal strength against Spain and the Germanic states. He subdued Franche-Comté in the spring of 1674; and in course of the same year, the Prince of Condé gained the battle of Senef. In the following winter Turenne attacked the quarters of the Imperialists in Alsace, and chased them from that province, in spite of their superior numbers. That great general was slain at Saspach in Ortenau, in the campaign against Montecuculi (11th Aug. 1674). Next year Admiral du Quesne gained two naval victories, near the islands of Lipari and Messina, over De Ruyter, who died of the wounds he had received.

The Swedes, according to the secret articles of their alliance with France, had penetrated, in the month of December 1674, into the Electorate of Brandenburg, to cause a diversion against the Elector Frederic William, who commanded the Imperial army on the Rhine; but the Elector surprised them by forced marches at Rathenow, and completely routed their army near Fehrbellin (1675). The Emperor then declared war against Sweden; and the Elector, in concert with the princes of Brunswick, the Bishop of Munster, and the King of Denmark, stript the Swedes of the greater part of their possessions in the Empire.

At length, in the years 1678-79, a peace was concluded at Nimeguen, under the mediation of England. Louis XIV. contrived to divide the allies, and to make a separate treaty with the Dutch, by which he restored to them the city of Maestricht, which he had seized. The example of the Dutch was followed by the Spaniards, who in like manner signed a special treaty with France; in virtue of which, they gave up to her Franche-Comté, with several cities in Flanders and Hainault, such as Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambrai, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Popperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Mau-

beuge, with their dependencies. The peace of Munster was renewed by that concluded at Nimeguen, between France, the Empire, and the Emperor. France, on renouncing her right to a garrison in Philipsburg, got possession of the city of Friburg in Brisgaw, but refused to restore what she had wrested from the Duke of Lorraine, except on conditions so burdensome, that the Duke would not accept them, and preferred to abandon the re-possession of his duchy. As to the peace which France and Sweden had negotiated with Denmark and her allies the Princes of the Empire, it was renewed by different special treaties, concluded in course of the year 1679.

No sooner was the peace of Nimeguen concluded, than there sprung up new troubles, known by the name of the *Troubles of the Re-unions*. Louis XIV., whose ambition was without bounds, had instituted a *Chamber of Re-union*, in the parliament of Metz, for the purpose of examining the nature and extent of the territories ceded to him by the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Nimeguen. This Chamber, as well as the parliament of Besançon, and the Sovereign Council of Alsace, adjudged to the King, by their decree, several towns and seigniories, as being fiefs or dependencies of Alsace; as also the three bishoprics, Franche-Comté, and the territories which had been ceded to him in the Netherlands.

The king's views were principally directed to Alsace. He had already tendered his claims on this province, shortly after the peace of the Pyrenees, when the matter had been referred to the decision of arbiters chosen by the emperor himself. The work of arbitration was not far advanced, when it was interrupted by the Dutch war, in which the Emperor and the Empire were both implicated. The peace of Nimeguen having confirmed the treaty of Munster, he preferred the method of re-union to that of arbitration, for reclaiming his alleged rights. Taking advantage of the general terms in which the cession of Alsace was announced in the seventy-third and seventy-fourth articles of the said treaty, he claimed the absolute sovereignty of the whole province, and obliged the immediate states, included in it, to acknowledge his sovereignty, and do him fealty and homage, notwithstanding the reservations which the eighty-seventh article of the same treaty had stipulated in favour of these very States. M. de Louvois appeared before Strasburg at the head of the French army, and summoned that city to submit to the King. Accordingly, it surrendered by capitulation on the 30th September, 1681. These re-unions extended also to the Netherlands, where the French seized, among others, the cities of Courtrai, Dixmunde, and Luxemburg.

Louis XIV., in thus taking upon himself alone the interpretation of these treaties of peace, could not but offend the powers interested in maintaining them. A new general league was projected against France, and at the Diet of Ratisbon they deliberated on the means of setting on foot an Imperial army; but the want of unanimity among the members of the Germanic body, the troubles in Hungary, which were immediately succeeded by a war with the Porte, and the march of a Turkish army on Vienna, threw them into a state of consternation, and prevented the Imperial Diet from

adopting any vigorous resolution. Spain, exhausted by protracted wars, and abandoned by England and Holland, was quite incapacitated from taking arms. Nothing, therefore, remained for the parties concerned, than to have recourse to negotiation. Conferences were opened at Frankfurt, which, after having languished for fifteen months in that city, were transferred to Ratisbon, where a truce of twenty years was signed (15th August, 1684) between France and Spain; as also between France, the Emperor, and the Empire. By the former of these treaties, Louis retained Luxemburg, Bovines, and Chimay, with their dependencies; restoring back all the places which he had occupied in the Netherlands prior to the 20th August, 1683. As to the treaty between France and the Emperor, the former retained, during the truce, the city of Strasburg, and the fort of Kehl, besides all the places and seigniories which they had taken possession of since the commencement of the troubles till the 1st of August, 1681. In all the places that were surrendered to him, Louis preserved the exercise of his sovereign rights, leaving to the proprietors or seigniors the entire enjoyment of the fruits and revenues belonging to their territorial rights.

It was nearly about this same time that Louis XIV. undertook to extirpate Calvinism in France. Incensed against the Protestants by the old Chancellor Letellier, and his minister Louvois, the chancellor's son, he circumscribed, by repeated declarations, the privileges which they enjoyed in virtue of former edicts. The holding of general synods was forbidden; the two Chambers were suppressed; and they were all, without exception, debarred from exercising any public function. At last, Louis went so far as to send, immediately after the truce of Ratisbon (1684), dragoons over all France, to endeavour, as was said, to convert the Protestants by gentle compulsion. This measure was next followed by the famous Edict of 1685, which revoked that of Nantes, published in 1598, and that of Nismes in 1629. All exercise of their religion—all assemblies for worship, even in the house, were forbidden to the Protestants, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Their churches were ordered to be demolished. Parents were enjoined to have their children baptized by the Catholic clergy, and to bring them up in the religion of the state. The ministers were banished, and the other Protestants were forbidden to depart the country, under pain of the galleys for men, and imprisonment and confiscation for women. The rigour of these prohibitions, however, did not prevent a vast multitude of the French Protestants from removing to foreign countries, and transferring the seat of their industry to Germany, England and Holland.

This blindfold zeal for religion, however, did not hinder Louis from vigorously supporting the rights of his crown against the encroachments of the court of Rome. Among the different disputes that arose between him and the popes, that which regarded the *Regale* deserves to be particularly remarked. The King, by declarations issued in 1673 and 1675, having extended that right to all the archbishoprics and bishoprics within the kingdom, the bishops of Aleth and Pamiers, who pretended to be exempt from it, applied to the Pope, claiming his protection. Innocent XI. interposed, by vehe-

ment briefs which he addressed to the king in favour of the bishops. This induced Louis to convoke an assembly of the French clergy, in which, besides the extension of the Regale, he caused them to draw up the four famous propositions, which are regarded as the basis of the liberties of the Gallican church. These propositions were:—
1. That the power of the pope extends only to things spiritual, and has no concern with temporal matters. 2. That the authority of the pope in spiritual affairs is subordinate to a general council. 3. That it is even limited by the canons, the customs, and constitution of the kingdom and the Gallican church. 4. That in matters of faith the pope's authority is not infallible.

The truce which had been concluded for twenty years at Ratisbon continued only four; at the end of which Louis again took up arms. He pretended to have got information, that the Emperor Leopold only waited till the conclusion of the peace with the Turks, to make war upon him; and he thence inferred, that prudence required him rather to anticipate his enemy, than allow himself to be circumvented. In proof of this assertion, he cited the treaty concluded at Augsburg in 1606, between the emperor, the King of Spain, the States-General, Sweden, the Duke of Savoy, and the principal states of the Empire, for the maintenance of the treaties concluded with France. Louis wished moreover to enforce the claims which the Duchesse of Orleans, his sister-in-law, alleged to the succession of the palatinate. That princess was the sister of Charles, the last elector palatine, of the family of Simmern, who died in 1685. She did not dispute the fiefs with her brother's successor in the electorate; she claimed the freeholds, which comprehended a considerable part of the palatinate; while the new Elector, Philip William, of the family of Neuburg, maintained that, according to the laws and usages of Germany, the entire succession belonged to him, without any partition whatever.

Besides these motives which Louis XIV. set forth in a long manifesto, there was another which he kept concealed, the object of which was, to prevent the expedition which the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, was preparing to send to England, against James II. his brother-in-law, who had become odious to the whole English nation. It was of great importance for France to maintain, on the throne of Great Britain, a prince whom she protected, and who would always espouse her interests; while it was easy to foresee, that if the Prince of Orange, the declared enemy of Louis, and the author of the league of Augsburg, should succeed in uniting the crown of England to the stadtholdership, he would not fail to employ this new influence, and turn the combined force of both states against France. The only method of preventing an event so prejudicial to the true interests of that kingdom would have been, doubtless, to equip an expedition, and pitch his camp on the frontiers of Holland. The court of France knew this well, and yet they contented themselves with sending an army to the Rhine, which took possession of Philipsburg, Mayence, and the whole palatinate, as well as a part of the Electorate of Treves (September and October 1688). Louvois, the French minister who directed these operations, had flattered himself that the

Dutch, when they beheld the war breaking out in their vicinity, would not dare to take any part in the troubles of England. In this opinion he was deceived; the Prince of Orange, supported by the Dutch fleet, effected a landing in England (16th November, 1688). The revolution there was soon completed, by the dethronement of James II.; and Louis XIV., ending where he should have begun, then declared war against the States-General. This mistaken policy of the French minister became the true source of all the subsequent reverses that eclipsed the reign of Louis XIV.

A powerful league was now formed against France, which was joined successively by the emperor, the Empire, England, Holland, Spain, and Savoy (1689). Louis XIV., in order to make head against these formidable enemies, recalled his troops from those places which they occupied in the palatinate, and on the banks of the Rhine; but in withdrawing them, he ordered a great number of the towns to be burnt to ashes, and laid waste the whole country. By this barbarity, which circumstances by no means called for, he only aggravated the hatred and increased the ardour of his enemies. War was commenced by sea and land; in Italy, Spain, Ireland, the Low Countries, and on the Rhine. Louis supported it nobly against a great part of Europe, now combined against him. His armies were victorious everywhere. Marshal Luxembourg signalized himself in the campaigns of Flanders, by the victories which he gained over the allies at Fleurus (1st July, 1690), Steinkirk (3rd August, 1692), and Landen or Nerwinden (29th July, 1693). In Italy, Marshal Catinat gained the battle of Stafarda (18th August, 1690), and Marsailles (4th October, 1693), over the Duke of Savoy. The naval glory of France was well supported by the Count de Tourville at the battles of Beachy-head (10th July, 1690), and La Hogue (29th May, 1692).

However brilliant the success of her arms might be, the prodigious efforts which the war required could not but exhaust France, and make her anxious for the return of peace. Besides, Louis XIV. foresaw the approaching death of Charles II. of Spain; and it was of importance for him to break the grand alliance as soon as possible; as one of its articles secured the succession of the Spanish monarchy to the emperor and his descendants, to the exclusion of the King of France. In this case, he wished, for his own interest, to give every facility for the restoration of peace; and by the treaty which he concluded separately with the Duke of Savoy, he granted that Prince, besides the fortress of Pignerol, and the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of Burgundy, the privilege of royal honours for his ambassadors. This treaty, concluded at Turin (29th August, 1696), was a preliminary to the general peace, signed at Ryswick, between France, Spain, England, and Holland (20th September, 1697). Each of the contracting parties consented to make mutual restitutions. France even restored to Spain all the towns and territories which she had occupied in the Low Countries, by means of the re-unions; with the exception of eighty-two places, mentioned in a particular list, as being dependencies of Charlemont, Maubeuge, and other places ceded by the preceding treaties. Peace between France, the emperor, and the Empire was also signed at

Ryswick. The treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen were there renewed; and the decrees of the Chamber of Re-union at Metz, and of the sovereign courts at Besançon and Brisach, were rescinded and annulled. Louis XIV. engaged to restore to the Empire all that he had appropriated to himself, by means of the re-unions, either before or during the war; that is to say, all places situated or acquired beyond the bounds of Alsace. The city of Strasburg was ceded to France, by a particular article of the treaty; but the fortress of Kehl, the cities of Friburg, Brisach, and Philippsburg, were surrendered to the emperor. Leopold, Duke of Lorraine, and son of Charles V., was reinstated in his duchy, without any other reservation than that of Saar-Louis, and the city and prefecture of Longwy. As to the claims of the Duchess of Orleans on the palatinate, they were submitted to the arbitration of the emperor and the King of France; to be referred to the decision of the Pope, should these two sovereigns happen to differ in opinion.

The peace of Ryswick was followed by the war of the Spanish succession, which embroiled Europe afresh, and occasioned considerable changes in its political state. Charles II., King of Spain, son of Philip IV., and last male descendant of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, having neither son, nor daughter, nor brother, the Spanish monarchy, according to a fundamental law of the kingdom, which fixed the succession in the *cognate line*, appeared to belong to Maria Theresa, Queen of France, eldest sister of Charles, and to the children of her marriage with Louis XIV. To this title of Maria Theresa was opposed her express renunciation, inserted in her marriage-contract, and confirmed by the peace of the Pyrenees; but the French maintained, that that renunciation was null, and that it could not prejudice the children of the queen, who held their right, not from their mother, but by the fundamental law of Spain.

Admitting the validity of the queen's renunciation, the lineal order devolved the Spanish succession on her younger sister, Margaret Theresa, who had married the Emperor Leopold I., and left an only daughter, Maria Antoinette, spouse to the Elector of Bavaria, and mother of Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

The Emperor, who wished to preserve the Spanish monarchy in his own family, availed himself of the renunciation which he had exacted from his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Antoinette, when she married Maximilian, the Elector of Bavaria, to appear as a candidate himself, and advance the claims of his mother, Maria Anne, daughter of Philip III., King of Spain, and aunt to Charles II. He alleged, that the Spanish succession had been secured to this latter princess, both by her marriage-contract, and by the testaments of the Kings of Spain; and as he had two sons, the Archdukes Joseph and Charles, by his marriage with the Princess Palatine of Neuburg, he destined the elder for the Imperial throne and the States of Austria, and the younger for the Spanish monarchy.

These different claims having excited apprehensions of a general war, England and Holland, from a desire to prevent it, drew up a treaty of partition, in concert with Louis XIV. (11th Oct.

1698), in virtue of which the Spanish monarchy was secured to Joseph Ferdinand, in case of the death of Charles II.; while the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany, the marquisate of Finale, and the province of Guipuscoa, were reserved to the Dauphin of France. The Archduke Charles, son to the Emperor, was to have the duchy of Milan. Although the King of Spain disapproved of the treaty, in so far as it admitted a partition, nevertheless, in his will, he recognised the Prince of Bavaria as his successor in the Spanish monarchy.

A premature death having frustrated all the high expectations of that prince, the powers who had concluded the first treaty of partition drew up a second, which was signed at London (March 13, 1700). According to this, the Archduke Charles, eldest son of the Emperor Leopold, was destined the presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy. They awarded to the Dauphin the duchy of Lorraine, with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the province of Guipuscoa; assigning to the Duke of Lorraine the duchy of Milan in exchange. Louis XIV. used every effort to have this new treaty of partition approved by the court of Vienna. He sent thither the Marquis Villars, who, after having been long amused with vague promises, failed entirely in his negotiation; and the Emperor, whose main object was to conciliate the court of Madrid, lost the only favourable moment which might have fixed the succession of the Spanish monarchy in his family, with the consent of Louis XIV. and the principal courts of Europe.

At Madrid this affair took a turn diametrically opposite to the views and interests of the court of Vienna. Charles II., following the counsels of his prime minister, Cardinal Portocarrero, and after having taken the advice of the Pope, and of the most eminent theologians and lawyers in his kingdom, determined to make a second will, in which he recognised the rights of Maria Theresa, his eldest sister; and declared, that as the renunciation of that princess had been made solely to prevent the union of Spain with the kingdom of France, that motive ceased on transferring the Spanish monarchy to one of the younger sons of the Dauphin. Accordingly, he nominated Philip of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son, heir to his whole dominions; failing him, the Duke of Berri, his younger brother; next, the Archduke Charles; and lastly, the Duke of Savoy; expressly forbidding all partition of the monarchy.

Charles II. having died on the 1st of November following, the Junta, or Council of Regency, which he had appointed by his will, sent to Louis XIV., praying him to accede to the settlement of their late king, and give up his grandson to the wishes of the Spanish nation. The same courier had orders to pass on to Vienna, in case of a refusal on his part, and make the same offer to the archduke. The court of France then assembled a grand council, in which they held a deliberation as to what step it was best to adopt, in an affair which so nearly concerned the general repose of Europe. The result of this council was, that they ought to accede to the will of Charles II., and renounce the advantages which the second treaty of partition held out to France. It was alleged, as the reason of this resolution, that by refusing to accept the will, Louis must either abandon altogether his

pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, or undertake an expensive war to obtain by conquest what the treaty of partition assigned him; without being able, in this latter case, to reckon on the effectual co-operation of the two maritime courts.

Louis XIV. having therefore resolved to accede to the will, Philip of Anjou was proclaimed king by the Spaniards, and made his solemn entry into Madrid on the 14th of April, 1701. Most of the European powers, such as the States of Italy, Sweden, England, Holland, and the kingdoms of the North, acknowledged Philip V.; the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy even concluded treaties of alliance with him. Moreover the situation of political affairs in Germany, Hungary, and the North, was such, that it would have been easy for Louis XIV., with prudent management, to preserve the Spanish crown on the head of his grandson; but he seemed, as if on purpose, to do everything to raise all Europe against him. It was alleged, that he aimed at the chimerical project of universal monarchy, and the re-union of France with Spain. Instead of trying to do away this supposition, he gave it additional force, by issuing letters-patent in favour of Philip, at the moment when he was departing for Spain, to the effect of preserving his rights to the throne of France. The Dutch dreaded nothing so much as to see the French making encroachments on the Spanish Netherlands, which they regarded as their natural barrier against France; the preservation of which appeared to be equally interesting to England.

It would have been prudent in Louis XIV. to give these maritime powers some security on this point, who, since the elevation of William, Prince of Orange, to the crown of Great Britain, held as it were in their hands the balance of Europe. Without being swayed by this consideration, he obtained authority from the Council of Madrid to introduce a French army into the Spanish Netherlands; and on this occasion the Dutch troops, who were quartered in various places of the Netherlands, according to a stipulation with the late King of Spain, were disarmed. This circumstance became a powerful motive for King William to rouse the States-General against France. He found some difficulty, however, in drawing over the British Parliament to his views, as a great majority in that House were averse to mingle in the quarrels of the Continent; but the death of James II. altered the minds and inclinations of the English. Louis XIV. having formerly acknowledged the son of that prince as King of Great Britain, the English Parliament had no longer any hesitation in joining the Dutch and the other enemies of France. A new and powerful league was formed against Louis. The Emperor, England, the United Provinces, the Empire, the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy, all joined it in succession. The allies engaged to restore to Austria the Spanish Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany; and never to permit the union of France with Spain.

At the commencement of the war, Louis for some time maintained the glory and superiority of his arms, notwithstanding the vast number of adversaries he had to oppose. It was not until the campaign of 1704 that fortune abandoned him; when one reverse was only succeeded by another.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene defeated Marshal de Tallard at Hochstett, or Blenheim (Aug. 13), where he lost 30,000 men, and was himself carried prisoner to England. This disaster was followed by the loss of Bavaria, and all the French possessions beyond the Rhine. The battle which Marlborough gained (May 23, 1706) at Ramillies, in Brabant, was not less disastrous; it secured to the allies the conquest of the greater part of the Netherlands; and to increase these misfortunes, Marshal de Marsin lost the famous battle of Turin against Prince Eugene (Sept. 7), which obliged the French troops to evacuate Italy. The battle which was fought at Oudenarde, in Flanders (July 11, 1708), was not so decisive. Both sides fought with equal advantage; but the Duke of Burgundy, who was commander-in-chief of the French army, having quitted the field of battle during the night, contrary to the advice of Vendôme, Marlborough made this an occasion for claiming the victory.

At length the dreadful winter of 1709, and the battle of Malplaquet, which Marlborough gained over Villars (Sept. 11), reduced France to the greatest distress, and brought Louis under the necessity of suing for peace, and even descending to the most humiliating conditions. M. de Torcy, his minister for foreign affairs, was despatched to the Hague; and, among a number of preliminary articles, he agreed to make restitution of all the conquests which the French had made since the peace of Munster. He consented to surrender the city of Strasburg, and henceforth to possess Alsace according to the literal terms of the treaty of Munster; the throne of Spain was reserved for the archduke; and Louis consented to abandon the interests of Philip. But the allies, rendered haughty by their success, demanded of the king that he should oblige his grandson voluntarily to surrender his crown, otherwise they would compel him by force of arms, and that within the short space of two months. The conferences, which had been transferred from the Hague to Gertruydenberg, were consequently broken off, and the war continued.

In this critical state of things two unexpected events happened, which changed the face of affairs; and Louis XIV., far from being constrained to submit to the articles of the preliminaries at Gertruydenberg, saw himself even courted by England, and in a condition to dictate the law to several of the powers that were leagued against him. The Emperor Joseph I. died (April 11, 1711) without leaving any male offspring. His brother, the Archduke Charles, who took the title of King of Spain, now obtained the Imperial dignity, and became heir of all the states belonging to the German branch of the House of Austria. It appeared, therefore, that the system of equilibrium could not possibly admit the same prince to engross likewise the whole Spanish monarchy. This event was coupled with another, relative to the change which had taken place in the ministry and Parliament of Great Britain. The Whigs, who had been the ruling party since the Revolution of 1689, were suddenly supplanted by the Tories. This overthrow brought the Duke of Marlborough into disgrace, who had long stood at the head of affairs in England, as chief of the Whig faction. Queen Anne, who stood in awe of him, found no other

expedient for depriving him of his influence, than to make peace with France. L'Abbé Gualtier, who resided at London in quality of almoner to the ambassador of Charles of Austria, was despatched by her Majesty to France, to make the first overtures of peace to Louis. A secret negotiation was set on foot between the two courts, the result of which was a preliminary treaty signed at London (October 8th, 1711).

A congress was opened at Utrecht, with the view of a general pacification. The conferences which took place there after the month of February, 1712, met with long interruptions; both on account of the disinclination of several of the allied powers for peace, and because of the matters to be separately treated between France and England, which retarded the progress of the general negotiation. The battle of Denain, which Marshal Villars gained over the Earl of Albemarle (July 24), helped to render the allies more tractable. Peace was at length signed at Utrecht in the month of April, 1713, between France and the chief belligerent powers. The Emperor alone refused to take part in it, as he could not resolve to abandon his claims to the Spanish monarchy.

The grand aim of England in that transaction was to limit the overwhelming power of France; for this purpose she took care, in that treaty, to establish as a fundamental and inviolable law, the clause which ordained that the kingdoms of France and Spain never should be united. To effect this, it was necessary that Philip of Anjou should formally renounce his right to the crown of France; while his brother, the Duke de Berri, as well as the Duke of Orleans, should do the same in regard to the claims which they might advance to the Spanish monarchy. The deeds of these renunciations, drawn up and signed in France and in Spain, in presence of the English ambassadors, were inserted in the treaty of Utrecht; as were also the letters-patent which revoked and annulled those that Louis had given for preserving the right of the Duke of Anjou to the succession of the French crown. Louis XIV. promised for himself, his heirs and successors, never to attempt either to prevent or elude the effect of these renunciations; and failing the descendants of Philip, the Spanish succession was secured to the Duke of Savoy, his male descendants, and the other princes of his family, to the exclusion of the French princes.

Another fundamental clause of the treaty of Utrecht bore, that no province, city, fortress, or place, in the Spanish Netherlands, should ever be ceded, transferred, or granted to the crown of France; nor to any prince or princess of French extraction, under any title whatever. These provinces, designed to serve as a barrier for the Low Countries against France, were adjudged to the Emperor and the House of Austria, together with the kingdom of Naples, the ports of Tuscany, and the duchy of Milan; and as the Emperor was not a party to the treaty, it was agreed that the Spanish Netherlands should remain as a deposit in the hands of the States-General, until that prince should arrange with them respecting the barrier-towns. The same stipulation was made in regard to that part of the French Netherlands which Louis had ceded in favour of the Emperor; such as Menin, Tournay, Furnes, and Furnes-Ambacht,

the fortress of Kenock, Ypres, and their dependencies.

England, in particular, obtained by this treaty various and considerable advantages. Louis XIV. withdrew his protection from the Pretender, and engaged never to give him harbour in France. The succession to the throne of Great Britain was guaranteed to the House of Hanover. They agreed to raze the fortifications of the port of Dunkirk, which had so much excited the jealousy of England; while France likewise ceded to her Hudson's Bay and Straits, the Island of St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland in America. Spain gave up Gibraltar and Minorca, both of which had been conquered by the English during the war; they secured to her, besides, for thirty years, the privilege of furnishing negroes for the Spanish American colonies.

The King of Prussia obtained the Spanish part of Gueldres, with the city of that name, and the district of Kessel, in lieu of the principality of Orange, which was given to France; though he had claims to it as the heir of William III., King of England. The kingdom of Sicily was adjudged to the Duke of Savoy, to be possessed by him and his male descendants; and they confirmed to him the grants which the Emperor had made him, of that part of the duchy of Milan which had belonged to the Duke of Mantua, as also Alexandria, Valencia, the Lumelline, and the Valley of Sessia. Finally, Sardinia was reserved for the Elector of Bavaria, the ally of France in that war.

As the Emperor had not acceded to the treaty of Utrecht, the war was continued between him and France. Marshal Villars took Landau and Friburg in Brisgaw; afterwards a conference took place between him and Prince Eugene at Radstadt; new preliminaries were there drawn up; and a congress was opened at Baden in Switzerland, where the peace was signed (September 7th, 1714). The former treaties, since the peace of Westphalia, were there renewed. The Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, who had been put to the ban of the Empire, and deprived of their estates, were there fully re-established. Sardinia, which had been assigned to the Elector of Bavaria by the treaty of Utrecht, remained in possession of the Emperor, who likewise recovered Brisach and Friburg in Brisgaw, instead of Landau, which had been ceded to France.

Louis XIV. did not long survive this latter treaty. Never did any sovereign patronize literature and the fine arts like him. Many celebrated academies owe their origin to his auspices, such as the Academy of Inscriptions, Belles-Lettres, Sciences, Painting, and Architecture. His reign was illustrious for eminent men, and talents of every description, which were honoured and encouraged by him. He even extended his favour to the philosophers and literati of foreign countries. This prince has been reproached for his too great partiality to the Jesuits, his confessors, and for the high importance which he attached to the dispute between the Jansenists and the Molinists, which gave rise to the famous bull *Unigenitus*,² approved by the clergy, and published by the king as a law of the state over all France. This illustrious prince ended his days after a reign of seventy-two years, fertile in great events; he transmitted the crown to his great grandson, Louis XV.,

who was only five years of age when he mounted the throne (Sept. 1, 1715).

In the course of this period, several memorable events happened in Germany. The emperor, Leopold I., having assembled a diet at Ratisbon, to demand subsidies against the Turks, and to settle certain matters which the preceding diet had left undecided, the sittings of that assembly were continued to the present time, without ever having been declared permanent by any formal law of the Empire. The peace of Westphalia had instituted an eighth electorate for the palatine branch of Wittelsbach; the emperor, Leopold I., erected a ninth, in favour of the younger branch of the House of Brunswick. The first elector of this family, known by the name of Brunswick-Lunen- burg, or Hanover, was the Duke Ernest Augustus, whom the emperor invested in his new dignity, to descend to his heirs male, on account of his engaging to furnish Austria with supplies in money and troops, for carrying on the war against the Turks. This innovation met with decided opposition in the Empire. Several of the electors were hostile to it; and the whole body of princes declared, that the new electorate was prejudicial to their dignity, and tended to introduce an electoral oligarchy. The Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel especially protested against the preference which was given to the younger branch of his house over the elder, in spite of family compacts, and the right of primogeniture established in the House of Brunswick.

A confederacy was thus formed against the ninth electorate. The allied princes resolved, in an assembly held at Nuremberg, to raise an army, and apply to the powers that had guaranteed the treaty of Westphalia. France espoused the quarrel of these princes; she concluded with the King of Denmark, a treaty of alliance and subsidy against the ninth electorate, and declared, before the diet of the Empire, that she regarded this innovation as a blow aimed at the treaty of Westphalia. In course of time, however, these animosities were allayed. The princes recognized the ninth electorate, and the introduction of the new elector took place in 1708. A decree was passed at the diet, which annexed a clause to his admission, that the Catholic electors should have the privilege of a casting vote, in cases where the number of Protestant electors should happen to equal that of the Catholics. By the same decree, the King of Bohemia, who had formerly never been admitted but at the election of the emperors, obtained a voice in all the deliberations of the Empire and the Electoral College, on condition of his paying, in time coming, an electoral quota for the kingdom of Bohemia.

The imperial capitulations assumed a form entirely new, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A difference had formerly existed among the members of the Germanic body on this important article of public law. They regarded it as a thing illegal, that the electors alone should claim the right of drawing up the capitulations; and they maintained, with much reason, that before these compacts should have the force of a fundamental law of the Empire, it was necessary that they should have the deliberation and consent of the whole diet. The princes, therefore, demanded, that there should be laid before the diet a scheme

of perpetual capitulation, to serve as a rule for the electors on every new election. That question had already been debated at the Congress of Westphalia, and sent back by it for the decision of the diet. There it became the subject of long discussion; and it was not till the interregnum, which followed the death of the Emperor Joseph I., that the principal points of the perpetual capitulation were finally settled. The plan then agreed to was adopted as the basis of the capitulation, which they prescribed to Charles VI. and his successors. Among other articles, a clause was inserted regarding the election of a king of the Romans. This, it was agreed, should never take place during the emperor's life, except in a case of urgent necessity; and that the proscription of an elector, prince, or state of the Empire, should never take place, without the consent of the diet, and observing the formalities enjoined by the new capitulation.

There were three electoral families of the Empire who were raised to the royal dignity; viz., those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick-Lunen- burg. Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, after having made a profession of the Catholic religion, was elected to the throne of Poland; a dignity which was afterwards conferred, also by election, on his son Augustus III. That change of religion did not prevent the Electors of Saxony from remaining at the head of the Protestant interest in the Diet of the Empire, as they had given them assurance that they would make no innovations in the religion of their country, and that they would appoint a council entirely composed of Protestant members, for administering the affairs of the Empire. These princes, however, lost part of their influence; and so far was the crown of Poland, which was purely elective, from augmenting the greatness and real power of their house, that, on the contrary, it served to exhaust and enfeeble Saxony, by involving it in ruinous wars, which ended in the desolation of that fine country, the alienation of the electoral domains, and the increase of the debts and burdens of the state.

If the royal dignity of Poland was prejudicial to the House of Saxony, it was by no means so to Prussia, which the House of Brandenburg acquired soon after. The elector, John Sigismund, on succeeding to the duchy of Prussia, had acknowledged himself a vassal and tributary of the crown of Poland. His grandson, Frederic William, took advantage of the turbulent situation in which Poland was placed at the time of the invasion of Charles X. of Sweden, to obtain a grant of the sovereignty of Prussia, by a treaty which he concluded with that republic at Welaun (19th September, 1657). Poland, in renouncing the territorial rights which she exercised over Ducal Prussia, stipulated for the reversion of these same rights, on the extinction of the male line of the electoral House of Brandenburg.

Frederic I., the son and successor of Frederic William, having become sovereign of Ducal Prussia, thought himself authorized to assume the royal dignity. The elevation of his cousin-german, the Prince of Orange, to the throne of Great Britain, and of his next neighbour, the Elector of Saxony, to the sovereignty of Poland, tempted his ambition, and induced him to enter into a negotiation on the subject with the court of Vienna. The

Emperor Leopold promised to acknowledge him as King of Prussia, on account of a supply of 10,000 men which Frederic promised to furnish him in the war of the Spanish succession, which was then commencing. To remove all apprehensions on the part of Poland, who might perhaps offer some opposition, the elector signed a reversal, bearing, that the royal dignity of Prussia should in no way prejudice the rights and possessions of the king and states of Poland over Polish Prussia; that neither he nor his successors should attempt to found claims on that part of Prussia; and that the clause in the treaty of Welau, which secured the reversion of the territorial right of Ducal Prussia, on the extinction of the heirs male of Frederic William, should remain in full force and vigour, never to be infringed by the new king or any of his successors. After these different conventions, the elector repaired to Koningsberg, where he was proclaimed King of Prussia (18th January, 1701). It is worthy of remark, that on the ceremony of his coronation, he put the crown on his own head.

All the European powers acknowledged the new king, with the exception of France and Spain, with whom he soon engaged in war. The Teutonic knights, bearing in mind their ancient claims over Prussia, deemed it their duty to support them by a protest, and their example was followed by the Court of Rome. Nothing is so remarkable as the opinion which the author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg* delivers on this event. "Frederic," says he, "was flattered with nothing so much, as the externals of royalty, the pomp of ostentation, and a certain whimsical self-conceit, which was pleased with making others feel their inferiority. What at first was the mere offspring of vanity, turned out in the end to be a masterpiece of policy. The royal dignity liberated the House of Brandenburg from that yoke of servitude under which Austria had, till then, held all the princes of Germany. It was a kind of bait which Frederic held out to all his posterity, and by which he seemed to say, I have acquired for you a title, render yourselves worthy of it; I have laid the foundation of your greatness, yours is the task of completing the structure." In fact, Austria, by promoting the House of Brandenburg, seemed to have injured her own greatness. In the very bosom of the Empire, she raised up a new power, which afterwards became her rival, and seized every opportunity of aggrandizement at her expense.

As for the electoral House of Brunswick-Lunenburg, it succeeded, as we have observed, to the throne of Great Britain, in virtue of a fundamental law of that monarchy, which admitted females to the succession of the crown. Ernest Augustus, the first elector of the Hanoverian line, had married Sophia, daughter of the Elector Palatine Frederic V., by the Princess Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I., King of Great Britain. An act of the British Parliament in 1701, extended the succession to that princess, then Electress-Dowager of Hanover, and to her descendants, as being nearest heirs to the throne, according to the order established by former acts of parliament, limiting the succession to princes and princesses of the Protestant line only. The Electress Sophia, by that act, was called to the succession, in case William III., and Anne, the youngest daughter of James II., left no issue; an event which took place

on the death of Anne, in 1714, Queen of Great Britain. The Electress Sophia was not alive at that time, having died two months before that princess. George, Elector of Hanover, and son of Sophia by Ernest Augustus, then mounted the British throne (Aug. 12, 1714), to the exclusion of all the other descendants of the Princess Elizabeth, who, though they had the right of precedence, were excluded by being Catholics, in virtue of the acts of parliament 1689, 1701, 1705.

The war of the Spanish succession had occasioned great changes in Italy. Spain, after having been long the leading power in that country, gave place to Austria, to whom the treaties of Utrecht and Baden had adjudged the duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and the ports of Tuscany. To these she added the duchy of Mantua, of which the Emperor Joseph I. had dispossessed Duke Charles IV. of the House of Gonzaga, for having espoused the cause of France in the War of the Succession. The Duke of Mirandola met with a similar fate, as the ally of the French in that war. His duchy was confiscated by the emperor, and sold to the Duke of Modena. This new aggrandizement of Austria in Italy excited the jealousy of England, lest the princes of that house should take occasion to revive their obsolete claims to the royalty of Italy and the imperial dignity; and it was this which induced the court of London to favour the elevation of the dukes of Savoy, in order to counterbalance the power of Austria in Italy.

The origin of the House of Savoy is as old as the beginning of the eleventh century, when we find a person named Berthold in possession of Savoy, at that time a province of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. The grandson of Berthold married Adelaide de Suza, daughter and heiress of Mainfroi, Marquis of Italy and Lord of Suza. This marriage brought the House of Savoy considerable possessions in Italy, such as the marquise of Suza, the duchy of Turin, Piedmont, and Val d'Aoste (1097). Humbert II., Count of Savoy, conquered the province of Tarentum. Thomas, one of his successors, acquired by marriage the barony of Faucigny. Amadeus V. was invested by the Emperor Henry VII. in the city and county of Asti. Amadeus VII. received the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of Nice, which he had dismembered from Provence, together with the counties of Tenda and Boglio; having taken advantage of the intestine dissensions in that country, and the conflict between the factions of Duras and Anjou, who disputed the succession of Naples and the county of Provence. Amadeus VIII. purchased from Otho de Villars the county of Geneva, and was created, by the Emperor Sigismund, first Duke of Savoy (Feb. 19, 1416).

The rivalry which had subsisted between France and Austria since the end of the fifteenth century, placed the House of Savoy in a situation extremely difficult. Involved in the wars which had arisen between these two powers in Italy, it became of necessity more than once the victim of political circumstances. Duke Charles III., having allied himself with Charles V., was deprived of his estates by France; and his son Philibert, noted for his exploits in the campaigns of Flanders, did not obtain restitution of them until the peace of Chateau Cambresis. The Dukes Charles Emanuel II., and

Victor Amadeus II., experienced similar indignities, in the wars which agitated France and Spain during the seventeenth century, and which were terminated by the treaties of the Pyrenees and Turin in the years 1659, 1696. In the war of the Spanish succession, Victor Amadeus II. declared at first for his son-in-law, Philip King of Spain, even taking upon himself the chief command of the French army in Italy; but afterwards, perceiving the danger of his situation, and seduced by the advantageous offers which the emperor made him, he thought proper to alter his plan, and joined the grand alliance against France. Savoy and Piedmont again became the theatre of the war between France and Italy. The French having undertaken the siege of Turin, the duke and Prince Eugene forced their army in its entrenchments before the place, and obliged them to abandon Italy. The emperor granted the duke the investiture of the different estates which he had secured to him, on his accession to the grand alliance; such as Montferrat, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, the country between the Tanaro and the Po, the Lumelline, Val Sesia, and the Vigevanese; to be possessed by him and his male descendants, as fiefs holding of the emperor and the Empire.

The peace of Utrecht confirmed these possessions to the duke; and England, the better to secure the equilibrium of Italy and Europe, granted him, by that treaty, the royal dignity, with the island of Sicily, which she had taken from Spain. That island was ceded to him under the express clause, that, on the extinction of the male line of Savoy, that kingdom should revert to Spain. By the same treaty they secured to the male descendants of that house, the right of succession to the Spanish monarchy; and that clause was confirmed by a solemn law passed in the cortes of Spain, and by subsequent treaties concluded between these powers and Europe. The duke was crowned King of Spain at Palermo (Dec. 21, 1713), by the archbishop of that city; and the only persons who refused to acknowledge him in that new capacity were the emperor and the pope.

In proportion as France increased, Spain had declined in power, in consequence of the vices of her government, the feebleness of her princes, and the want of qualifications in their ministers and favourites. At length, under the reign of Charles II., the weakness of that monarchy was such, that France despoiled her with impunity, as appears by those cessions she was obliged to make by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimègue, and Ryswick. Charles II. was the last prince of the Spanish line of the house of Austria. At his death (Nov. 1700), a long and bloody war ensued about the succession, as we have already related. Two competitors appeared for the crown. Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., had on his side the will of Charles II., the efforts of his grandfather, and the wishes of the Spanish nation. Charles of Austria, younger son of the Emperor Leopold I., was supported by a formidable league, which political considerations and a jealousy of the other powers had raised against France.

Philip, who had been placed on the throne by the Spaniards, had already resided at Madrid for several years, when the Austrian prince, his rival, assisted by the allied fleet, took possession of Bar-

celona (Oct. 9, 1705), where he established his capital. The incessant defeats which France experienced at this period, obliged Philip twice to abandon his capital and seek his safety in flight. He owed his restoration for the first time to Marshal de Berwick, and the victory which that general gained over the allies near Almanza, in New Castile (April 25, 1707). The archduke having afterwards advanced as far as Madrid, the Duke de Vendôme undertook to repulse him. That general, in conjunction with Philip V., defeated the allies, who were commanded by General Stahrenberg, near Villa Viciosa (Dec. 10, 1710). These two victories contributed to establish Philip on his throne. The death of Joseph I., which happened soon after, and the elevation of his brother, the Archduke Charles, to the Imperial throne and the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, accelerated the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, by which the Spanish monarchy was preserved to Philip V. and his descendants. They deprived him, however, in virtue of that treaty, of the Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in Italy, such as the Milanais, the ports of Tuscany, and the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia.

The conditions which England had exacted at the treaty of Utrecht, to render effectual the renunciation of Philip V. to the crown of France, as well as that of the French princes to the monarchy of Spain, having made it necessary to assemble the Cortes or States-General, Philip took advantage of that circumstance to change the order of succession which till then had subsisted in Spain, and which was known by the name of the *Castilian Succession*. A law was passed at the Cortes (1713), by which it was ordained that females should never be admitted to the crown, except in default of the male line of Philip; that the male heirs should succeed according to the order of primogeniture; that, failing the male line of that prince, the crown should fall to the eldest daughter of the last reigning king and her descendants; and, falling them, to the sister or nearest relation of the last king; always keeping in force the right of primogeniture, and the preference of the male heirs in the order of succession.

France, by the sixtieth article of the treaty of the Pyrenees, having renounced the protection of Portugal, the war between Spain and this latter power was resumed with new vigour. Alphonso VI., King of Portugal, finding himself abandoned by his allies, resolved to throw himself on the favour of England. The English granted him supplies, in virtue of a treaty which he concluded with them (June 23, 1661), and by which he ceded to them the city of Tangiers in Africa, and the Isle of Bombay in India. France, who well knew that it was her interest not to abandon Portugal entirely, rendered her likewise all the secret assistance in her power. The Count Schomberg passed over to that kingdom with a good number of officers, and several companies of French troops. The Portuguese, under the command of that general, gained two victories over the Spaniards at Almeyda, near Estremoz (1663), and at Montes Claros, or Villa Viciosa (1665), which re-established their affairs, and contributed to secure the independence of Portugal. When the war took place about the Right of Devolution, the court of Lisbon formed a new alliance with France. Spain then learned

that it would be more for her interest to abandon her projects of conquering Portugal, and accept the proposals of accommodation tendered to her by the mediation of England.

It happened, in the meantime, that Alphonso VI., a prince of vicious habits, and of a ferocious and brutal temper, was dethroned (Nov. 23, 1667), and the Infant Don Pedro, his brother, was declared regent of the kingdom. The queen of Alphonso, Mary of Savoy, who had managed the whole intrigue, obtained, from the court of Rome, a dissolution of her marriage with Alphonso, and espoused the regent, her brother-in-law (April 2, 1668). That prince would willingly have fulfilled the engagements which his predecessor had contracted with France, but the English ambassador having drawn over the Cortes of Portugal to his interests, the regent was obliged to make peace with Spain, which was signed at Lisbon, February 13th, 1668. The Spaniards there treated with the Portuguese as a sovereign and independent nation. They agreed to make mutual restitution of all they had taken possession of during the war, with the exception of the city of Ceuta, in Africa, which remained in the power of Spain. The subjects of both states obtained the restoration of all property alienated or confiscated during the war. That peace was followed by another, which Portugal concluded at the Hague, with the United Provinces of the Netherlands (July 31, 1669), who were permitted to retain the conquests they had made from the Portuguese in the East Indies.

The court of Lisbon was soon after involved in the war of the Spanish Succession, which divided all Europe. Don Pedro II. had at first acknowledged Philip V., and even contracted an alliance with him; but yielding afterwards to the influence of the British minister, as well as of the court of Vienna, he joined the Grand Alliance against France.³ The Portuguese made a distinguished figure in that war, chiefly during the campaign of 1706, when, with the assistance of the English, they penetrated as far as Madrid, and there proclaimed Charles of Austria.

The Portuguese, by one of the articles of their treaty of accession to the grand alliance, had been given to expect, that certain important places in Spanish Estremadura and Galicia would be ceded to them at the general peace. That engagement was never fulfilled. The treaty of peace, concluded at Utrecht (6th February, 1715), between Spain and Portugal, had ordered the mutual restitution of all conquests made during the war. The treaty of Lisbon, of 1668, was then renewed, and especially the articles which stipulated for the restitution of all confiscated property. The only point which they yielded to the Portuguese was that which referred to the colony of St. Sacramento, which the Portuguese governor of Rio Janeiro had established (1680) on the northern bank of the river La Plata, in South America, which was opposed by Spain. By the sixth article of her treaty with Portugal, she renounced all her former claims and pretensions over the above colony.

A similar dispute had arisen between France and Portugal, relative to the northern bank of the Amazons river, and the territories about Cape North, in America, which the French maintained belonged to them, as making part of French Guiana. The Portuguese having constructed there

the fort of Macapa, it was taken by the French governor of Cayenne. By the treaty of Utrecht, it was agreed, between France and Portugal, that both banks of the river Amazons should belong entirely to Portugal; and that France should renounce all right and pretensions whatever to the territories of Cape North, lying between the rivers Amazons and Japoc, or Vincent Pinson, in South America.

In England, an interregnum of eleven years followed the death of Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the Independent party, passed two Acts of Parliament, one of which abolished the House of Lords, and the other the royal dignity. The kingly office was suppressed, as useless to the nation, oppressive and dangerous to the interests and liberties of the people; and it was decided, that whoever should speak of the restoration of the Stuarts should be regarded as a traitor to his country. The kingdom being thus changed into a republic, Cromwell took on himself the chief direction of affairs. This ambitious man was not long in monopolizing the sovereign authority (1653). He abolished the parliament called the *Rump*, which had conferred on him his power and military commission. He next assembled a new parliament of the three kingdoms, to the number of 144 members; and he took care to have it composed of individuals whom he knew to be devoted to his interests. Accordingly, they resigned the whole authority into his hands. An act, called the Act of Government, conferred on him the supreme authority, under the title of Protector of the three kingdoms; with the privilege of making war and peace, and assembling every three years a parliament, which should exercise the legislative power conjointly with himself.

Cromwell governed England with a more uncontrolled power than that of her own kings had been. In 1651, he passed the famous Navigation Act, which contributed to increase the commerce of Great Britain, and gave her marine a preponderance over that of all other nations. That extraordinary man raised England in the estimation of foreigners, and made his protectorate be respected by all Europe. After a war which he had carried on against the Dutch, he obliged them, by the treaty of Westminster (1654), to lower their flag to British vessels, and to abandon the cause of the Stuarts. Entering into alliance with France against Spain, he took from the latter the island of Jamaica (1655) and the port of Dunkirk (1658).

After his death, the generals of the army combined to restore the old parliament, called the *Rump*. Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father, soon resigned the Protectorate (April 22, 1659). Dissensions having arisen between the parliament and the generals, Monk, who was governor of Scotland, marched to the assistance of the parliament; and, after having defeated the Independent Generals, he proceeded to assemble a new parliament composed of both houses. No sooner was this parliament assembled, than they decided for the restoration of the Stuarts, in the person of Charles II. (18th May, 1660).

That prince made his public entry into London, in the month of May, 1660. His first care was to take vengeance on those who had been chiefly instrumental in the death of his father. He rescinded all Acts of Parliament passed since the

year 1633, and re-established Episcopacy both in England and Scotland. Instigated by his propensity for absolute power, and following the maxims which he had imbibed from his predecessors, he adopted measures which were opposed by the parliament; and even went so far as more than once to pronounce their dissolution. His reign, in consequence, was a scene of faction and agitation, which proved the forerunners of a new revolution.⁴ The appellation of *Whigs* and *Tories*, so famous in English history, took its rise about this time. We could almost, however, pardon Charles for his faults and irregularities, in consideration of the benevolence and amiableness of his character. But it was otherwise with James II., who succeeded his brother on the British throne (16th Feb., 1685). That prince alienated the minds of his subjects by his haughty demeanour, and his extravagant zeal for the church of Rome, and the Jesuits his confessors. Scarcely was he raised to the throne, when he undertook to change the religion of his country, and to govern still more despotically than his brother had done. Encouraged by Louis XIV., who offered him money and troops, he was the first King of England that had kept on foot an army in time of peace, and caused the legislature to decide, that the king can dispense with the laws. Availing himself of this decision, he dispensed with the several statutes issued against the Catholics; he permitted them the public exercise of their religion within the three kingdoms, and gradually gave them a preference in all places of trust. At length, he even solicited the pope to send a nuncio to reside at his court; and on the arrival of Ferdinand Dada, to whom Innocent XI. had confided this mission, he gave him a public and solemn entry to Windsor (1687). Seven bishops, who had refused to publish the declaration respecting Catholics, were treated as guilty of sedition, and imprisoned by his order in the Tower.

During these transactions, the Queen, Mary of Modena, happened to be delivered of a prince (20th June, 1688), known in history by the name of the Pretender. As her Majesty had had no children for more than six years, it was not difficult to gain credit to a report, that the young prince was a spurious child. James II., by his first marriage with Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, had two daughters, both Protestants, and regarded, till then, as heirs to the crown. Mary, the eldest, was married to William, Prince of Orange, and Anne, the youngest, to George, younger son of Frederic III., King of Denmark. The English Protestants had flattered themselves that all their wrongs and misfortunes would terminate with the death of James II. and the accession of the Princess of Orange to the throne. Being disappointed in these expectations by the birth of the Prince of Wales, their only plan was to dethrone the king. The Tories even joined with the Whigs in offering the crown to the Prince of Orange. William III., supported by the Dutch fleet, made a descent on England, and landed 15,000 men at Torbay (5th Nov., 1688), without experiencing the smallest resistance on the part of James, who, seeing himself abandoned by the military, took the resolution of withdrawing to France, where he had already sent his queen and his son, the young Prince of Wales. He afterwards re-

turned to Ireland, where he had a strong party; but being conquered by William, at the battle of the Boyne (11th July, 1690), he was obliged to return to France, where he ended his days.

Immediately after the flight of James, the parliament of England declared, by an act, that as he had violated the fundamental law of the constitution, and abandoned the kingdom, the throne was become vacant. They, therefore, unanimously conferred the crown on William III., Prince of Orange, and Mary his spouse (February 22, 1689); intrusting the administration of affairs to the prince alone. In redressing the grievances of the nation, they set new limits to the royal authority. By an Act, called the *Declaration of Rights*, they decreed, that the king could neither suspend, nor dispense with the laws; that he could institute no new courts, nor levy money under any pretence whatever, nor maintain an army in time of peace without the consent of parliament. Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland (1694), and the liberty of the press sanctioned. The succession of the crown was regulated by different Acts of Parliament, one of which fixed it in the Protestant line, to the exclusion of Catholics. Next, after William and Mary and their descendants, was the Princess Anne and her descendants. A subsequent Act conferred the succession on the House of Hanover (1701), under the following conditions:—That the king or queen of that family, on their accession to the throne, should be obliged to conform to the High Church, and the laws of 1689; that, without the consent of Parliament, they should never engage the nation in any war for the defence of their hereditary dominions, nor go out of the kingdom; and that they should never appoint foreigners to offices of trust.

The rivalry between France and England assumed a higher tone under the reign of William III.; and was increased by the powerful efforts which France was making to improve her marine, and extend her navigation and her commerce. The colonies which she founded in America and the Indies, by bringing the two nations more into contact, tended to foment their jealousies, and multiply subjects of discord and division between them. From that time England eagerly seized every occasion for occupying France on the Continent of Europe; and the whole policy of William, as we have seen, had no other aim than to thwart the ambitious views of Louis XIV. If this rivalry excited and prolonged wars which inflicted many calamities on the world, it became, likewise, a powerful stimulus for the contending nations to develop their whole faculties; to make the highest attainments in the sciences, of which they were susceptible; and to carry arts and civilization to the remotest countries in the world.

William III. was succeeded by Anne (in 1702). It was in her reign that the grand union between England and Scotland was accomplished, which incorporated them into one kingdom, by means of the same order of succession, and only one parliament. That princess had the honour of maintaining the balance of Europe against France, by the clauses which she got inserted into the treaty of Utrecht. At her death (12th August, 1714), the throne of Great Britain passed to George I., the Elector of Hanover, whose mother, Sophia, de-

rived her right to the British throne from James I. her maternal grandfather.

The power and political influence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands had increased every day, since Spain acknowledged their independence by the treaty of Munster (1648). Their extensive commerce to all parts of the globe, and their flourishing marine, attracted the admiration of all Europe. Sovereigns courted their alliance; and the Hague, the capital of the States-General, became, in course of time, the centre of European politics. That republic was the rival of England in all her commercial relations; and she ventured also to dispute with her the empire of the sea, by refusing to lower her flag to British vessels. These disputes gave rise to bloody wars between the two states, in which the famous Dutch Admirals, Tromp and De Ruyter, distinguished themselves by their maritime exploits. De Ruyter entered the Thames with the Dutch fleet (1667), advanced to Chatham, burnt the vessels in the roads there, and threw the City of London into great consternation. Nevertheless, by the treaties of Breda (1667) and Westminster (1674), they agreed that their vessels and fleets should lower their flag when they met either one or more ships carrying the British flag, and that over all the sea, from Cape Finisterre, in Galicia, to the centre of Statt in Norway; but the States-General preserved Surinam, which they had conquered during the war; and at the treaty of commerce, which was signed at Breda, the Navigation Act was modified in their favour, in so far that the produce and merchandise of Germany were to be considered as productions of the soil of the republic.

It was during these wars that a change took place with regard to the Stadtholdership of the United Provinces. William II., Prince of Orange, had alienated the hearts of his subjects by his attempts against their liberties; and having, at his death, left his wife, the daughter of Charles I. of England, pregnant of a son (1650), the States-General took the opportunity of leaving that office vacant, and taking upon themselves the direction of affairs. The suspicions which the House of Orange had excited in Cromwell by their alliance with the Stuarts, and the resentment of John de Witt, Pensionary of Holland, against the Stadtholder, caused a secret article to be added to the treaty of Westminster, by which the States of Holland and West Friesland engaged never to elect William, the posthumous son of William II., to be Stadtholder; and never to allow that the office of captain-general of the republic should be conferred on him. John de Witt likewise framed a regulation known by the name of the *Perpetual Edict*, which separated the stadtholdership from the office of captain and admiral-general, and which enacted, that these functions should never be discharged by the same individual. Having failed, however, in his efforts to make the States-General adopt this regulation, which they considered as contrary to the union, John de Witt contented himself with obtaining the approbation of the States of Holland, who even went so far as to sanction the entire suppression of the stadtholdership.

Matters continued in this situation until the time when Louis XIV. invaded Holland. His alarming progress caused a revolution in favour of

the Prince of Orange. The ruling faction, at the head of which was John de Witt, then lost the good opinion of the people. He was accused of having neglected military affairs, and left the State without defence, and a prey to the enemy. The first signal of revolution was given by the small town of Veere in Zeeland. William was there proclaimed Stadtholder (June 1672), and the example of Veere was soon followed by all the cities of Holland and Zeeland. Everywhere the people compelled the magistrates to confer the stadtholdership on the young prince. The Perpetual Edict was abolished, and the stadtholdership confirmed to William III. by the Assembly of States. They even rendered this dignity, as well as the office of captain-general, hereditary to all the male and legitimate descendants of the prince. It was on this occasion that the two brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, were massacred by the people assembled at the Hague.

After William was raised to the throne of Great Britain, he still retained the stadtholdership, with the offices of captain and admiral-general of the republic. England and Holland, united under the jurisdiction of the same prince, acted thenceforth in concert to thwart the ambitious designs of Louis XIV.; and he felt the effects of their power chiefly in the war of the Spanish Succession, when England and the States-General made extraordinary efforts to maintain the balance of the Continent, which they thought in danger. It was in consideration of these efforts that they guaranteed to the Dutch, by the treaty of the Grand Alliance, as well as by that of Utrecht, a barrier against France, which was more amply defined by the *Barrier Treaty*, signed at Antwerp (15th November, 1715), under the mediation and guarantee of Great Britain. The provinces and towns of the Netherlands, both those that had been possessed by Charles II., and those that France had surrendered by the treaty of Utrecht, were transferred to the Emperor and the House of Austria, on condition that they should never be ceded under any title whatever; neither to France, nor to any other prince except the heirs and successors of the House of Austria in Germany. It was agreed that there should always be kept, in the Low Countries, a body of Austrian troops, from 30,000 to 35,000 men, of which the Emperor was to furnish three-fifths, and the States-General the remainder. Finally, the States-General were allowed a garrison, entirely composed of their own troops, in the cities and castles of Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, and the fortress of Kenock; while the Emperor engaged to contribute a certain sum annually for the maintenance of these troops.

Switzerland, since the confirmation of her liberty and independence by the peace of Westphalia, had constantly adhered to the system of neutrality which she had adopted; and taken no part in the broils of her neighbours, except by furnishing troops to those powers with whom she was in alliance. The fortunate inability which was the natural consequence of her union, pointed out this line of conduct, and even induced the European states to respect the Helvetic neutrality.

This profound peace, which Switzerland enjoyed by means of that neutrality, was never interrupted, except by occasional domestic quarrels, which arose from the difference of their religious opinions.

Certain families, from the canton of Schweltz, had fled to Zurich on account of their religious tenets, and had been protected by that republic. This stirred up a war (1650) between the Catholic cantons and the Zurichers, with their allies the Bernese; but it was soon terminated by the peace of Baden, which renewed the clauses of the treaty of 1531, relative to these very subjects of dispute. Some attempts having afterwards been made against liberty of conscience, in the county of Toggenburg, by the Abbé of St. Gall, a new war broke out (1712), between five of the Catholic cantons, and the two Protestant cantons of Zurich and Berne. These latter expelled the Abbé of St. Gall from his estates, and dispossessed the Catholics of the county of Baden, with a considerable part of the free bailiwicks, which were granted to them by the treaty concluded at Araw. The Abbé then saw himself abandoned by the Catholic cantons; and it was only in virtue of a treaty, which he concluded with Zurich and Berne (1718), that his successor obtained his restoration.

Sweden, during the greater part of this period, supported the first rank among the powers of the North. The vigour of her government, added to the weakness of her neighbours, and the important advantages which the treaties of Stolbova, Stumsdorf, Bromsbro, and Westphalia had procured her, secured this superiority; and gave her the same influence in the North that France held in the South. Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, held the reins of government in Sweden about the middle of the sixteenth century; but to gratify her propensity for the fine arts, she resolved to abdicate the crown (1654). Charles Gustavus, Count Palatine of Deux-Ponts, her cousin-german, succeeded her, under the title of Charles X. Being nurtured in the midst of arms, and ambitious only of wars and battles, he was anxious to distinguish himself on the throne. John Casimir, King of Poland, having provoked him, by protesting against his accession to the crown of Sweden, Charles made this an occasion of breaking the treaty of Stumsdorf, which was still in force, and invaded Poland. Assisted by Frederic William, the Elector of Brandenburg, whom he had attached to his interests, he gained a splendid victory over the Poles near Warsaw (July, 1658). At that crisis, the fate of Poland would have been decided, if the Czar, Alexis Michaelovitz, who was also at war with the Poles, had chosen to make common cause with her new enemies; but Alexis thought it more for his advantage to conclude a truce with the Poles, and attack the Swedes in Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia. The Emperor Leopold and the King of Denmark followed the example of the Czar; and the Elector of Brandenburg, after obtaining the sovereignty of the Duchy of Prussia, by the treaty which he concluded with Poland at Welau, acceded in like manner to this league—the object of which was to secure the preservation of Poland, and maintain the equilibrium of the North.

Attacked by so many and such powerful enemies, the King of Sweden determined to withdraw his troops from Poland, and direct his principal force against Denmark. Having made himself master of Holstein, Sleswick, and Jutland, he passed the Belts on the ice (January 1658) with his army and artillery, and advanced towards the

capital of the kingdom. This bold step intimidated the Danes so much, that they submitted to those exceedingly severe conditions which Charles made them sign at Roschild (February 1658). Scarcely was this treaty concluded, when the King of Sweden broke it anew; and, under different pretences, laid siege to Copenhagen. His intention was, if he had carried that place, to raise it to the ground, to annihilate the kingdom of Denmark, and fix his residence in the province of Schonen, where he could maintain his dominion over the North and the Baltic. The besieged Danes, however, made a vigorous defence, and they were encouraged by the example of Frederic III., who superintended in person the whole operations of the siege; nevertheless, they must certainly have yielded, had not the Dutch, who were alarmed for their commerce in the Baltic, sent a fleet to the assistance of Denmark. These republicans fought an obstinate naval battle with the Swedes in the Sound (20th October, 1658). The Swedish fleet was repulsed, and the Dutch succeeded in relieving Copenhagen, by throwing in a supply of provisions and ammunition.

The King of Sweden persisted, nevertheless, in his determination to reduce that capital. He was not even intimidated by the treaties which France, England, and Holland, had concluded at the Hague, for maintaining the equilibrium of the North; but a premature death, at the age of thirty-eight, put an end to his ambitious projects (23rd February, 1660). The regents who governed the kingdom during the minority of his son Charles XI., immediately set on foot negotiations with all the powers that were in league against Sweden. By the peace which they concluded at Copenhagen with Denmark (July 3, 1660), they surrendered to that crown several of their late conquests; reserving to themselves only the provinces of Schonen, Bleekingen, Halland, and Bohus. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the protégé of Charles X., was secured by that treaty in the sovereignty of that part of Sleswick, which had been guaranteed to him by a former treaty concluded at Copenhagen. The war with Poland, and her allies the Elector of Brandenburg and the Emperor, was terminated by the peace of Oliva (May 3rd, 1660). The King of Poland gave up his pretensions to the crown of Sweden; while the former ceded to the latter the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, and the islands belonging to them; to be possessed on the same terms that had been agreed on at the treaty of Stumsdorf in 1635. The duke of Courland was re-established in his duchy, and the sovereignty of ducal Prussia confirmed to the House of Brandenburg. Peace between Sweden and Russia was concluded at Kardis in Esthonia; while the latter power surrendered to Sweden all the places which she had conquered in Livonia.

Sweden was afterwards drawn into the war against the Dutch by Louis XIV., when she experienced nothing but disasters. She was deprived of all her provinces in the Empire, and only retained possession of them in virtue of the treaties of Zell, Nimueguen, St. Germain-en-Laye, Fontainebleau, and Lunden (1679), which she concluded successively with the powers in league against France. Immediately after that peace, a revolution happened in the government of Sweden. The abuse which the nobles made of their privi-

leges, the extravagant authority claimed by the senate, and the different methods which the grandees employed for gradually usurping the domains of the crown, had excited the jealousy of the other orders of the state. It is alleged that Baron Gillenstiern had suggested to Charles XI. the idea of taking advantage of this discontent to augment the royal authority, and humble the arrogance of the senate and the nobility. In compliance with his advice, the king assembled the estates of the kingdom at Stockholm (1680); and having quartered some regiments of his own guards in the city, he took care to remove such of the nobles as might give the greatest cause of apprehension. An accusation was lodged at the Diet against those ministers who had conducted the administration during the king's minority. To them were attributed the calamities and losses of the state, and for these they were made responsible. The senate was also implicated. They were charged with abusing their authority; and it was proposed that the States should make investigation, whether the powers which the senate had assumed were conformable to the laws of the kingdom. The States declared that the king was not bound by any other form of government than that which the constitution prescribed; that the senate formed neither a fifth order, nor an intermediate power between the king and the States; and that it ought to be held simply as a council, with whom the king might consult and advise.

A *College of Re-union* was also established at this Diet, for the purpose of making inquiry as to the lands granted, sold, mortgaged, or exchanged by preceding kings, either in Sweden or Livonia; with an offer on the part of the crown to reimburse the proprietors for such sums as they had originally paid for them. This proceeding made a considerable augmentation to the revenues of the crown; but a vast number of proprietors were completely ruined by it. A subsequent diet went even further than that of 1680. They declared, by statute, that though the king was enjoined to govern his dominions according to the laws, this did not take from him the power of altering these laws. At length the act of 1693 decreed that the king was absolute master, and sole depository of the sovereign power; without being responsible for his actions to any power on earth; and that he was entitled to govern the kingdom according to his will and pleasure.

It was in virtue of these different enactments and concessions, that the absolute power which had been conferred on Charles XI., was transmitted to the hands of his son Charles XII., who was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded his father (April 1st, 1697). By the abuse which this prince made of these dangerous prerogatives, he plunged Sweden into an abyss of troubles; and brought her down from that high rank which she had occupied in the political system of Europe, since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. The youth of Charles appeared to his neighbours to afford them a favourable opportunity for recovering what they had lost by the conquests of his predecessors. Augustus II., King of Poland, being desirous to regain Livonia, and listening to the suggestions of a Livonian gentleman, named John Patkul, who had been proscribed in Sweden, he set on foot a negotiation with the courts of Russia and Copenhagen; the

result of which was, a secret and offensive alliance concluded between these three powers against Sweden (1699). Peter the Great, who had just conquered Azoff on the Black Sea, and equipped his first fleet, was desirous also to open up the coasts of the Baltic, of which his predecessors had been dispossessed by Sweden. War accordingly broke out in the course of the year 1700. The King of Poland invaded Livonia; the Danes fell upon Sleswick, where they attacked the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the ally of Sweden; while the Czar, at the head of an army of 80,000 men, laid siege to the city of Narva.

The King of Sweden, attacked by so many enemies at once, directed his first efforts against Denmark, where the danger appeared most pressing. Assisted by the fleets of England and Holland, who had guaranteed the last peace, he made a descent on the Isle of Zealand, and advanced rapidly towards Copenhagen. This obliged Frederic IV. to conclude a special peace with him at Travendahl (August 18, 1700), by which that prince consented to abandon his allies, and restore the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp to the same state in which he had been before the war. Next directing his march against the Czar in Esthonia, the young king forced the Russians from their entrenchments before Narva (November 30), and made prisoners of all the general and principal officers of the Russian army; among others, Field-Marshal General the Duke de Croi.

Having thus got clear of the Russians, the Swedish Monarch then attacked King Augustus, who had introduced a Saxon army into Poland, without being authorized by that republic. Charles vanquished that prince in the three famous battles of Riga (1701), Clissan (1702), and Pultusk (1703); and obliged the Poles to depose him, and elect in his place Stanislaus Leckinski, Palatine of Posen, and a protégé of his own. Two victories which were gained over the Saxons, and their allies the Russians, one at Punie (1704), and the other at Fraustadt (1706), made Stanislaus be acknowledged by the whole republic of Poland, and enabled the King of Sweden to transfer the seat of war to Saxony. Having marched through Silesia, without the previous authority of the court of Vienna, he took Leipzig, and compelled Augustus to sign a treaty of peace at Alt-Raustadt, by which that prince renounced his alliance with the Czar, and acknowledged Stanislaus legitimate King of Poland. John Patkul, being delivered up to the King of Sweden, according to an article in that treaty, was broken on the wheel, as being the principal instigator of the war.

The prosperity of Charles XII. had now come to an end. From this time he experienced only a series of reverses, which were occasioned as much by his passion for war, as by his indiscretions, and the unconquerable obstinacy of his character. The Russians had taken advantage of his long sojourn in Poland and Saxony, and conquered the greater part of Ingria and Livonia. The Czar had now advanced into Poland, where he had demanded of the Poles to declare an interregnum, and elect a new king. In this state of matters, the King of Sweden left Saxony to march against the Czar; and compelled him to evacuate Poland, and retire on Smolensko. Far from listening, however, to the equitable terms of peace which Peter offered

him, he persisted in his resolution to march on to Moscow, in the hope of dethroning the czar, as he had dethroned Augustus. The discontent which the innovations of the czar had excited in Russia, appeared to Charles a favourable opportunity for effecting his object; but on reaching the neighbourhood of Mohilew, he suddenly changed his purpose, and, instead of directing his route towards the capital of Russia, he turned to the right, and penetrated into the interior of the Ukraine, in order to meet Mazeppa, Hetman of the Cossacs, who had offered to join him with all his troops. Nothing could have been more imprudent than this determination. By thus marching into the Ukraine, he separated himself from General Lewenhaupt, who had brought him, according to orders, a powerful reinforcement from Livonia; and trusted himself among a fickle and inconstant people, disposed to break faith on every opportunity.

This inconsiderate step of Charles did not escape the penetration of the czar, who knew well how to profit by it. Putting himself at the head of a chosen body, he intercepted General Lewenhaupt, and joined him at Desna, two miles from Propoisk, in the Palatinate of Macislaw. The battle which he fought with that general (9th October, 1708) was most obstinate, and, by the confession of the czar, the first victory which the Russians had gained over regular troops. The remains of Lewenhaupt's army having joined the king in the Ukraine, Charles undertook the siege of Pultowa, situated on the banks of the Vorsklaw, at the extremity of that province. It was near this place, that the famous battle was fought (8th July, 1709), which blasted all the laurels of the King of Sweden. The czar gained there a complete victory. Nine thousand Swedes were left on the field of battle; and 14,000, who had retired with General Lewenhaupt, towards Perevolatchna, between the Vorsklaw and the Nieper, were made prisoners of war, three days after the action. Charles, accompanied by his ally Mazeppa, saved himself with difficulty at Bender in Turkey.

This disastrous rout revived the courage of the enemies of Sweden. The alliance was renewed between the czar, Augustus II., and Frederic II., King of Denmark. Stanislaus was abandoned. All Poland again acknowledged Augustus II. The Danes made a descent on Schonen; and the czar achieved the conquest of Ingria, Livonia, and Carelia. The states that were leagued against France in the war of the Spanish Succession, wishing to prevent Germany from becoming the theatre of hostilities, concluded a treaty at the Hague (31st March, 1710), by which they undertook, under certain conditions, to guarantee the neutrality of the Swedish provinces in Germany, as well as that of Sleswick and Jutland; but the King of Sweden having constantly declined acceding to this neutrality, the possessions of the Swedes in Germany were also seized and conquered in succession. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the nephew of Charles XII., was involved in his disgrace, and stript of his estates by the King of Denmark (1714).

In the midst of these disasters, the inflexible King of Sweden persisted in prolonging his sojourn at Bender, making repeated efforts to rouse the Turks against the Russians. He did not return

from Turkey till 1714, when his affairs were already totally ruined. The attempts which he then made, either to renew the war in Poland, or invade the provinces of the Empire, excited the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. A formidable league was raised against him; besides the czar, the Kings of Poland, Denmark, Prussia, and England, joined it. Stralsund and Wismar, the only places which Sweden still retained in Germany, fell into the hands of the allies; while the czar added to these losses the conquest of Finland and Savolax. In a situation so desperate, Charles, by the advice of his minister, Baron Gortz, set on foot a special and secret negotiation with the czar, which took place in the isle of Aland, in course of the year 1718. There it was proposed to reinstate Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; to restore to Sweden her possessions in the Empire; and even to assist her in conquering Norway; by way of compensation for the loss of Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, and Eathonia, which she was to cede to the czar.

That negotiation was on the point of being finally closed, when it was broken off by the unexpected death of Charles XII. That unfortunate prince was slain (December 11th, 1718), at the siege of Frederichshall in Norway, while visiting the trenches; being only thirty-seven years of age, and leaving the affairs of his kingdom in a most deplorable state.

The new regency of Sweden, instead of remaining in friendship with the czar, changed their policy entirely. Baron de Gortz, the friend of the late king, fell a sacrifice to the public displeasure, and a negotiation was opened with the court of Sweden. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded at Stockholm (November 20, 1719), between Great Britain and Sweden. George I., on obtaining the cession of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, as Elector of Hanover, engaged to send a strong squadron to the Baltic, to prevent any further invasion from the czar, and procure for Sweden more equitable terms of peace on the part of that prince. The example of Great Britain was soon followed by the other allied powers, who were anxious to accommodate matters with Sweden. By the treaty concluded at Stockholm (21st January, 1720), the King of Prussia got the town of Stettin, and that part of Pomerania, which lies between the Oder and the Peene. The King of Denmark consented to restore to Sweden the towns of Stralsund and Wismar, with the isle of Rugen, and the part of Pomerania, which extends from the sea to the river Peene. Sweden, on her side, renounced, in favour of Denmark, her exemption from the duties of the Sound and the two Belts, which had been guaranteed to her by former treaties. The czar was the only person who, far from being intimidated by the menaces of England, persisted in his resolution of not making peace with Sweden, except on the conditions which he had dictated to her. The war was, therefore, continued between Russia and Sweden, during the two campaigns of 1720 and 1721. Different parts of the Swedish coast were laid desolate by the czar, who put all to fire and sword. To stop the progress of these devastations, the Swedes at length consented to accept the peace which the czar offered them, which was finally signed at Nystadt (13th September, 1721). Finland was surren-

dered to Sweden in lieu of her formally ceding to the czar the provinces of Livonia, Eathonia, Ingria, and Carelia; their limits to be determined according to the regulations of the treaty.

The ascendancy which Sweden had gained in the North since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, had become so fatal to Denmark, that she was on the point of being utterly subverted, and effaced from the number of European powers. Nor did she extricate herself from the disastrous wars which she had to support against Charles X., until she had sacrificed some of her best provinces; such as Schonen, Bleckingen, Halland, and the government of Bohus, which Frederic III. ceded to Sweden by the treaties of Roschild and Copenhagen. It was at the close of this war that a revolution happened in the government of Denmark. Until that time, it had been completely under the aristocracy of the nobles; the throne was elective; and all power was concentrated in the hands of the senate, and the principal members of the nobility. The royal prerogative was limited to the command of the army, and the presidency in the senate. The king was even obliged, by a special capitulation, in all affairs which did not require the concurrence of the senate, to take the advice of four great officers of the crown, viz. the Grand Master, the Chancellor, the Marshal, and the Admiral; who were considered as so many channels or vehicles of the royal authority.

The state of exhaustion to which Denmark was reduced at the time she made peace with Sweden, obliged Frederic III. to convoke an assembly of the States-General of the kingdom. These, which were composed of three orders, viz. the nobility, the clergy, and the burgesses, had never been summoned together in that form since the year 1536. At their meeting at Copenhagen, the two inferior orders reproached the nobles with having been the cause of all the miseries and disorders of the state, by the exorbitant and tyrannical power which they had usurped; and what tended still more to increase their animosity against them, was the obstinacy with which they maintained their privileges and exemptions from the public burdens, to the prejudice of the lower orders. One subject of discussion was, to find a tax, the proceeds of which should be applied to the most pressing wants of the state. The nobles proposed a duty on articles of consumption; but under restrictions with regard to themselves, that could not but exasperate the lower orders. The latter proposed, in testimony of their discontent, to let out to the highest bidder the fiefs of the crown, which the nobles held at rents extremely moderate. This proposal was highly resented by the nobility, who regarded it as a blow aimed at their rights and properties; and they persisted in urging a tax on articles of consumption, such as they had proposed. Certain unguarded expressions which escaped some of the members of the nobility, gave rise to a tumult of indignation, and suggested to the two leaders of the clergy and the burgesses, viz. the bishop of Zealand and the burgomaster of Copenhagen, the idea of framing a declaration for the purpose of rendering the crown hereditary, both in the male and female descendants of Frederic III. It was not difficult for them to recommend this project to their respective orders, who flattered themselves that, under a hereditary monarchy,

they would enjoy that equality which was denied them under an aristocracy of the nobles. The act of this declaration, having been approved and signed by the two orders, was presented in their name to the senate, who rejected it, on the ground that the States-General then assembled, had no right to deliberate on that proposition; but the clergy and the burgesses, without being disconcerted, went in a body to the king, carrying with them the Act which offered to make the crown hereditary in his family. The nobles having made a pretence of wishing to quit the city in order to break up the Diet, care was taken to shut the doors. The members of the senate and the nobility had then no other alternative left than to agree to the resolution of the two inferior orders; and the offer of the crown was made to the king by the three orders conjunctly (13th October, 1660). They then tendered him the capitulation, which was annulled; and at the same time they liberated him from the oath which he had taken on the day of his coronation. A sort of dictatorship was then conferred on him, to regulate the new constitutional charter, according to his good pleasure. All the orders of the state then took a new oath of fealty and homage to him, while the king himself was subjected to no oath whatever. Finally, the three orders separately remitted an Act to the king, declaring the crown hereditary in all the descendants of Frederic III., both male and female; conferring on him and his successors an unlimited power; and granting him the privilege of regulating the order both of the regency and the succession to the throne.

Thus terminated that important revolution, without any disorder, and without shedding a single drop of blood. It was in virtue of those powers which the states had conferred on him, that the king published what is called the *Royal Law*, regarded as the only fundamental law of Denmark. The king was there declared absolute sovereign, above all human laws, acknowledging no superior but God, and uniting in his own person all the rights and prerogatives of royalty, without any exception whatever. He could exercise these prerogatives in virtue of his own authority; but he was obliged to respect the Royal Law; and he could neither touch the Confession of Augsburg, which had been adopted as the national religion, nor authorize any partition of the kingdom, which was declared indivisible; nor change the order of succession as established by the Royal Law. That succession was lineal, according to the right of primogeniture and descent. Females were only admitted, failing all the male issue of Frederic III.; and the order in which they were to succeed was defined with the most scrupulous exactness. The term of majority was fixed at the age of thirteen; and it was in the power of the reigning monarch to regulate, by his will, the tutorage and the regency during such minority.

This constitutional law gave the Danish government a vigour which it never had before; the effects of which were manifested in the war which Christian V. undertook against Sweden (1675), in consequence of his alliance with Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg. The Danes had the advantage of the Swedes both by sea and land. Their fleet, under the command of Niels Juel, gained two naval victories over them, the one near the

Iale of Oeland, and the other in the Bay of Kioge, on the coast of Zealand (1677). That war was terminated by the peace of Lunden (October 6, 1679), which restored matters between the two nations, to the same footing in which they had been before the war. The severe check which Sweden received by the defeat of Charles XII., before Pultowa, tended to extricate Denmark from the painful situation in which she had been placed with respect to that power. The freedom of the Sound, which Sweden had maintained during her prosperity, was taken from her by the treaty of Stockholm, and by the explanatory articles of Fredericksburg, concluded between Sweden and Denmark (14th June, 1720). That kingdom likewise retained, in terms of the treaty, the possession of the whole duchy of Sleswick, with a claim to the part belonging to the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, whom Sweden was obliged to remove from under her protection.

Poland, at the commencement of this period, presented an afflicting spectacle, under the unfortunate reign of John Casimir, the brother and successor of Uladislaus VII. (1648). Distracted at once by foreign wars and intestine factions, she seemed every moment on the brink of destruction; and while the neighbouring states were augmenting their forces, and strengthening the hands of their governments, Poland grew gradually weaker and weaker, and at length degenerated into absolute anarchy. The origin of the *Liberum Veto* of the Poles, which allowed the opposition of a single member to frustrate the deliberations of the whole diet, belongs to the reign of John Casimir. The first that suspended the diet, by the interposition of his veto, was Schinski, member for Upita in Lithuania; his example, though at first disapproved, found imitators; and this foolish practice, which allowed one to usurp the prerogative of a majority, soon passed into a law, and a maxim of state.

Towards the end of the reign of Uladislaus VII. a murderous war had arisen in Poland, that of the Cossacs. This warlike people, of Russian origin, as their language and their religion prove, inhabited both banks of the Borysthenes, beyond Kiow; where they were subdivided into regiments, under the command of a general, called *Hetman*; and served as a military frontier for Poland against the Tartars and Turks. Some infringements that had been made on their privileges, added to the efforts which the Poles had made to induce their clergy to separate from the Greek Church, and acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, exasperated the Cossacs, and engendered among them a spirit of revolt (1647). Assisted by the Turks of the Crimea, they invaded Poland, and committed terrible devastations. The Poles succeeded from time to time in pacifying them, and even concluded a treaty with them; but the minds of both parties being exasperated, hostilities always recommenced with every new offence. At length, their Hetman, Chmielniski, being hardly pressed by the Poles, took the resolution of soliciting the protection of Russia, and concluded a treaty with the Czar Alexis Michaelovitz (January 16, 1654), in virtue of which, Kiow and the other towns of the Ukraine, under the power of the Cossacs, were occupied by Russian garrisons. It was on this occasion that the czar retook the city of Smolenako from

the Poles, as well as most of the districts that had been ceded to Poland, by the treaties of Dwilina and Viasma. That prince made also several other conquests from the Poles; he took possession of Wilna, and several places in Lithuania, at the very time when Charles X. was invading Poland, and threatening that country with entire destruction. The czar, however, instead of following up his conquests, judged it more for his interest to conclude a truce with the Poles (1656), that he might turn his arms against Sweden.

The peace of Oliva put an end to the war between Poland and Sweden; but hostilities were renewed between the Russians and the Poles, which did not terminate till the treaty of Andrussov (January, 1667). The czar restored to the Poles a part of his conquests; but he retained Smolensko, Novogorod-Siewerskoek, Tchernigov, Kiow, and all the country of the Cossacs, beyond the Borysthenes or Dnieper. The Cossacs on this side the river were annexed to Poland, and as for those who dwelt near the mouth of the Dnieper, called *Zaporogs*, it was agreed that they should remain under the common jurisdiction of the two states; ready to serve against the Turks whenever circumstances might require it. The wars of which we have just spoken were attended with troubles and dissensions, which reduced Poland to the most deplorable condition during the reign of John Casimir. That prince at length, disgusted with a crown which he had found to be composed of thorns, resolved to abdicate the throne (16th September, 1668); and retiring to France, he there ended his days.

Michael Wiesnouiski, who succeeded John Casimir, after a stormy interregnum of seven months, had no other merit than that of being descended in a direct line from Coribut, the brother of Jagello, King of Poland. His reign was a scene of great agitation, and of unbridled anarchy. Four diets were interrupted in less than four years; the war with the Cossacs was renewed; the Turks and the Tartars, the allies of the Cossacs, seized the city of Kaminiéc (1672), the only bulwark of Poland against the Ottomans. Michael, being thrown into a state of alarm, concluded a disgraceful peace with the Turks; he gave up to them Kaminiéc and Podolia, with their ancient limits; and even agreed to pay them an annual tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats. The Ukraine, on this side the Borysthenes, was abandoned to the Cossacs, who were to be placed under the protection of the Turks. This treaty was not ratified by the republic of Poland, who preferred to continue the war. John Sobieski, Grand General of the Crown, gained a brilliant victory over the Turks near Choczim (November 11th, 1673). It took place the next day after the death of Michael, and determined the Poles to confer their crown on the victorious general.

Sobieski did ample justice to the choice of his fellow-citizens. By the peace which he concluded at Zarowno with the Turks (28th October, 1676), he relieved Poland from the tribute lately promised, and recovered some parts of the Ukraine; but the city of Kaminiéc was left in the power of the Ottomans, with a considerable portion of the Ukraine and Podolia. Poland then entered into an alliance with the House of Austria, against the Porte. Sobieski became the deliverer of Vienna;

he signalized himself in the campaigns of 1683 and 1684; and if he did not gain any important advantages over the Turks, if he had not even the satisfaction of recovering Kaminiac and Podolia, it must be ascribed to the incompetence of his means, and to the disunion and indifference of the Poles, who refused to make a single sacrifice in the cause. Sobieski was even forced to have recourse to the protection of the Russians against the Turks; and saw himself reduced to the painful necessity of setting his hand to the definitive peace which was concluded with Russia at Moscow (May 6th, 1686), by which Poland, in order to obtain the alliance of that power against the Ottomans, consented to give up Smolensko, Belaia, Dorogobuz, Tchernigov, Starodub, and Novogorod-Sieverskoe, with their dependencies; as also the whole territory known by the name of Little Russia, situated on the left bank of the Borysthenes, between that river and the frontier of Putivli, as far as Perevoloczna. The city of Kiow, with its territory as determined by the treaty, was also included in that cession. Finally, the Cossacs, called *Zaporogs* and *Kudak*, who, according to the treaty of Andrussov, ought to have been dependencies of these two states, were reserved exclusively to Russia. Sobieski shed tears when he was obliged to sign that treaty at Leopold (or Lemberg), in presence of the Russian ambassadors.

The war with the Turks did not terminate until the reign of Augustus II., the successor of John Sobieski. The peace of Carlovitz, which that prince concluded with the Porte (1699), procured for Poland the restitution of Kaminiac, as well as that part of the Ukraine, which the peace of Zarrowo had ceded to the Turks.

Russia became every day more prosperous under the princes of the House of Romanow. She gained a decided superiority over Poland, who had formerly dictated the law to her. Alexis Michaelovitz not only recovered from the Poles what they had conquered from Russia during the disturbances occasioned by the two pretenders of the name of Demetrius; we have already observed that he dispossessed them of Kiow, and all that part of the Ukraine, or Little Russia, which lies on the left bank of the Borysthenes.

Theodore Alexievitz, the son and successor of Alexis Michaelovitz, rendered his reign illustrious by the wisdom of his administration. Guided by the advice of his enlightened minister, Prince Galitzin, he conceived the bold project of abolishing the hereditary orders of the nobility, and the prerogatives that were attached to them. These orders were destructive of all subordination in civil as well as in military affairs, and gave rise to a multitude of disputes and litigations, of which a court, named *Rozrad*, took cognizance. The czar, in a grand assembly which he convoked at Moscow (1682), abolished the hereditary rank of the nobles. He burnt the deeds and registers by which they were attested, and obliged every noble family to produce the extracts of these registers which they had in their possession, that they might be committed to the flames. That prince having no children of his own, had destined his younger brother, Peter Alexievitz, to be his successor, to the exclusion of John, his elder brother, on account of his incapacity. But, on the death of

Theodore, both princes were proclaimed at once by the military, and the government was intrusted to the Princess Sophia, their elder sister, who assumed the title of Autocratix and Sovereign of all the Russias. Peter, who was the son of the second marriage of the czar, was at that time only ten years of age. It was during the administration of the Princess Sophia that the peace of Moscow was concluded (May 6th, 1686); one clause of which contained an alliance, offensive and defensive, between Russia and Poland against the Porte.

Peter had no sooner attained the age of seventeen than he seized the reins of government, and deposed his sister Sophia, whom he sent to a convent. Endowed with an extraordinary genius, this prince became the reformer of his Empire, which, under his reign, assumed an aspect totally new. By the advice of Le Fort, a native of Geneva, who had entered the Russian service, and whom he had received into his friendship and confidence, he turned his attention to every branch of the public administration. The military system was changed, and modelled after that of the civilized nations of Europe. He founded the maritime power of Russia, improved her finances, encouraged commerce and manufactures, introduced letters and arts into his dominions, and applied himself to reform the laws, to polish and refine the manners of the people.

Peter, being in alliance with Poland, engaged in the war against the Porte, and laid open the Black Sea by his conquest of the city and port of Azoff; and it was on this occasion that he equipped his first fleet at Woronitz. Azoff remained in his possession, by an article of the peace which was concluded with the Porte at Constantinople (13th July, 1700). About the same time, Peter abolished the patriarchal dignity, which ranked the head of the Russian Church next to the czar, and gave him a dangerous influence in the affairs of government. He transferred the authority of the patriarch to a college of fifteen persons, called the *Most Holy Synod*, whose duty it was to take cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, and, in general, of all matters which had fallen within the jurisdiction of the patriarch. The members of this college were obliged to take the oath at the hands of the sovereign, and to be appointed by him on the presentation of the synod.

Being desirous of seeing and examining in person the manners and customs of other nations, he undertook two different voyages into foreign countries, divested of that pomp which is the usual accompaniment of princes. During these travels, he cultivated the arts and sciences, especially those connected with commerce and navigation; he engaged men of talents in his services, such as naval officers, engineers, surgeons, artists, and mechanics of all kinds, whom he dispersed over his vast dominions, to instruct and improve the Russians. During his first voyage to Holland and England, the *Strelitzes*, the only permanent troops known in Russia before his time, revolted; they were first instituted by the czar, John Basilovitz IV. They fought after the manner of the Janissaries, and enjoyed nearly the same privileges. Peter, with the intention of disbanding these seditious and undisciplined troops, had stationed them on the frontiers of Lithuania; he had also removed them from being his own body-guard, a service

which he intrusted to the regiments raised by himself. This sort of degradation incensed the *Strelitzes*, who took the opportunity of the czar's absence to revolt. They directed their march to the city of Moscow, with the design of deposing the czar, and replacing Sophia on the throne; but they were defeated by the Generals Schein and Gordon, who had marched to oppose them. Peter, on his return, caused 2,000 of them to be executed, and incorporated the rest among his troops. He afterwards employed foreign officers, either Germans or Swedes, to instruct the Russians in the military art.

It was chiefly during the war with Sweden that the Russian army was organized according to the European system. The czar took advantage of the check he had sustained before Narva (November 30th, 1700) to accomplish this important change in levying, equipping, and training all his troops after the German manner. He taught the Russians the art of combating and conquering the Swedes; and while the King of Sweden was bent on the ruin of Augustus II., and made but feeble efforts against the czar, the latter succeeded in conquering Ingria from the Swedes, and laid open the navigation of the Baltic. He took the fortress of Noteburg (1702), which he afterwards called Schlessburg; he next made himself master of Nyenchantz, Kopori, and Jamu (now Jamburg) in Ingria. The port of Nyenchantz was entirely razed; and the czar laid the foundation of St. Petersburg in one of the neighbouring islands of the Neva (May 27th, 1703). In the middle of winter he constructed the port of Kronschtot to serve as a defence for the new city, which he intended to make the capital of his Empire, and the principal depôt for the commerce and marine of Russia. The fortune of this new capital was decided by the famous battle of Pultowa (July 8th, 1709), which likewise secured the preponderance of Russia in the North.

Charles XII., who had taken refuge in Turkey, used every effort to instigate the Turks against the Russians; and he succeeded by dint of intrigue. The Porte declared war against the czar towards the end of the year 1710; and Charles opened the campaign of 1711 by an expedition which he undertook into Moldavia; but, having rashly penetrated into the interior of that province, he was surrounded by the Grand Vizier near Falzi on the Pruth. Besieged in his camp by an army vastly superior to his own, and reduced to the last necessity, he found no other means of extricating himself from this critical situation, than by agreeing to a treaty, which he signed in the camp of Falzi (21st July, 1711); in virtue of which, he consented to restore to the Turks the fortress of Azoff, with its territory and its dependencies. This loss was amply compensated by the important advantages which the peace with Sweden, signed at Nystadt (Sept. 10th, 1721), procured the czar. It was on this occasion that the senate conferred on him the epithet of *Great, the Father of his Country, and Emperor of all the Russias*. His inauguration to the Imperial dignity took place, October 22d, 1721, the very day of the rejoicing that had been appointed for the celebration of the peace. Peter himself put the imperial crown on his own head.

That great prince had the vexation to see

Alexis Czarowitz his son, and presumptive heir to the Empire, thwarting all his improvements, and caballing in secret with his enemies. Being at length compelled to declare that he had forfeited his right to the throne, he had him condemned to death as a traitor (1718). In consequence of this tragical event, he published an ukase, which vested in the reigning prince the privilege of nominating his successor, and even of changing the appointment whenever he might judge it necessary. This arrangement became fatal to Russia; the want of a fixed and permanent order of succession occasioned troubles and revolutions which frequently distracted the whole Empire. This law, moreover, made no provision in cases where the reigning prince might neglect to settle the succession during his life; as happened with Peter himself, who died without appointing any successor (Feb. 1725). Catherine I., his consort, ascended the throne, which, after a reign of two years, she transmitted to Peter, son of the unfortunate Alexis.

In Hungary, the precautions that had been taken by the States of Presburg to establish civil and religious liberty on a solid basis, did not prevent disturbances from springing up in that kingdom. The Court of Vienna, perceiving the necessity of consolidating its vast monarchy, whose incoherent parts were suffering from the want of unity, eagerly seized these occasions for extending its power in Hungary, where it was greatly circumscribed by the laws and constitution of the country. Hence those perpetual infringements of which the Hungarians had to complain, and those ever-recurring disturbances in which the Ottoman Turks, who shared with Austria the dominion of Hungary, were also frequently implicated.

Transylvania, as well as a great part of Hungary, was then dependent on the Turks. The Emperor Leopold I. having granted his protection to John Kemeny, Prince of Transylvania, against Michael Abaffi, a protégé of the Turks, a war between the two Empires seemed to be inevitable. The Diet of Hungary, which the emperor had assembled at Presburg on this subject (1662), was most outrageous. The states, before they would give any opinion as to the war against the Turks, demanded that their own grievances should be redressed; and the assembly separated without coming to any conclusion. The Turks took advantage of this dissension, and seized the fortress of Neuheusel, and several other places. The emperor, incapable of opposing them, and distrustful of the Hungarian malcontents, had recourse to foreign aid. This he obtained at the Diet of the Empire; and Louis XIV. sent him a body of 6,000 men, under command of the Count de Coligni. An action took place (1664) near St. Gothard, in which the French signalized their bravery. The Turks sustained a total defeat; but Montecuculi, the commander-in-chief of the imperial army, failed to take advantage of his victory. A truce of twenty years was soon after concluded at Temeswar, in virtue of which the Turks retained Neuheusel, Waradin, and Novigrad. Michael Abaffi, their tributary and protégé, was continued in Transylvania; and both parties engaged to withdraw their troops from that province.

This treaty highly displeased the Hungarians, as it had been concluded without their concur-

rence. Their complaints against the Court of Vienna became louder than ever. They complained, especially, that the emperor should entertain German troops in the kingdom; that he should intrust the principal fortresses to foreigners; and impose shackles on their religious liberties. The Court of Vienna having paid no regard to these grievances, several of the nobles entered into a league for the preservation of their rights; but they were accused of holding correspondence with the Turks, and conspiring against the person of the emperor. The Counts Zrini, Nadaschdi, Frangepan, and Tattenbach, were condemned as guilty of high treason (1671), and had their heads cut off on the scaffold. A vast number of the Protestant clergy were either banished or condemned to the galleys, as implicated in the conspiracy; but this severity, far from abating these disturbances, tended rather to augment them. The suppression of the dignity of Palatine of Hungary, which took place about the same time, added to the cruelties and extortions of all kinds practised by the German troops, at length raised a general insurrection, which ended in a civil war (1677). The insurgents at first chose the Count Francis Wesselini, as their leader, who was afterwards replaced by Count Emeric Tekeli. These noblemen were encouraged in their enterprise and secretly abetted by France and the Porte.

The emperor then found it necessary to comply; and, in a diet which he assembled at Odenburg, he granted redress to most of the grievances of which the Hungarians had to complain; but Count Tekeli having disapproved of the resolutions of this diet, the civil war was continued, and the Count soon found means to interest the Turks and the prince of Transylvania in his quarrel. The Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha, at the head of the Ottoman forces, came and laid siege to Vienna (July 14th, 1683). A Polish army marched to the relief of that place under their king, John Sobieski, who was joined by Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, General of the Imperial troops; they attacked the Turks in their entrenchments before Vienna, and compelled them to raise the siege (September 12th, 1683). Every thing then succeeded to the emperor's wish. Besides Poland, the Russians and the republic of Venice took part in this war in favour of Austria. A succession of splendid victories, gained by the Imperial generals, Charles Duke of Lorraine, Prince Louis of Baden, and Prince Eugene, procured for Leopold the conquest of all that part of Hungary, which had continued since the reign of Ferdinand I. in the power of the Ottomans. The fortress of Neuhausel was taken, in consequence of the battle which the Duke of Lorraine gained over the Turks at Strigova (1668). The same General took by assault the city of Buda, the capital of Hungary, which had been in possession of the Turks since 1541. The memorable victory of Mohacz, gained by the Imperialists (1687), again reduced Transylvania and Selavonia under the dominion of Austria. These continued reverses cost the Grand Vizier his life; he was strangled by order of the Sultan, Mahomet IV., who was himself deposed by his rebellious janissaries.

Encouraged by these brilliant victories, the Emperor Leopold assembled the States of Hungary at Presburg. He there demanded, that, in con-

sideration of the extraordinary efforts he had been obliged to make against the Ottomans, the kingdom should be declared hereditary in his family. The states at first appeared inclined to maintain their own right of election; but, yielding soon to the influence of authority, they agreed to make the succession hereditary in favour of the males of the two Austrian branches; on the extinction of which they were to be restored to their ancient rights. As for the privileges of the states, founded on the decree of King Andrew II., they were renewed at that diet; with the exception of that clause in the thirty-first article of the decree, which authorized the states to oppose, by open force, any prince that should attempt to infringe the rights and liberties of the country. The Jesuits, who were formerly proscribed, were restored, and their authority established throughout all the provinces of the kingdom. The Protestants of both confessions obtained the confirmation of the churches and prerogatives that had been secured to them by the articles of the Diet of Odenburg; but it was stipulated, that only Catholics were entitled to possess property within the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Selavonia. The Archduke Joseph, son of Leopold I., was crowned at this diet (December 19th, 1687), as the first hereditary King of Hungary.

The arms of Austria were crowned with new victories during the continuation of the war against the Turks. Albe-Royale, Belgrade, Semendria, and Gradisca, fell into the hands of the emperor. The two splendid victories at Nissa and Widdin, which Louis Prince of Baden gained (1689), secured to the Austrians the conquest of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria. The dejected courage of the Ottomans was for a time revived by their new Grand Vizier Mustapha Kupruli, a man of considerable genius. After gaining several advantages over the Imperialists, he took from them Nissa, Widdin, Semendria, and Belgrade; and likewise reconquered Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia. The extraordinary efforts that the Porte made for the campaign of the following year, inspired them with hopes of better success; but their expectations were quite disappointed by the unfortunate issue of the famous battle of Salankemen, which the Prince of Baden gained over the Turks (August 19th, 1691). The brave Kupruli was slain, and his death decided the victory in favour of the Imperialists. The war with France, however, which then occupied the principal forces of Austria, did not permit the emperor to reap any advantage from this victory; he was even obliged, in the following campaigns, to act on the defensive in Hungary; and it was not until the conclusion of peace with France that he was able to resume the war against the Turks with fresh vigour. Prince Eugene, who was then commander-in-chief of the Imperial army, attacked the Sultan Mustapha II. in person, near Zenta on the river Teiss (September 11th, 1697), where he gained a decisive victory. The grand vizier, seventeen pachas, and two-thirds of the Ottoman army, were left dead on the field of battle; and the sultan was compelled to fall back in disorder on Belgrade.

This terrible blow made the Porte exceedingly anxious for peace; and she had recourse to the mediation of England and Holland. A negotiation, which proved as tedious as it was intricate,

was set on foot at Constantinople, and thence transferred to Carlowitz, a town of Sclavonia lying between the two camps, one of which was at Peterwaradin, and the other at Belgrade. A peace was there concluded (January 26th, 1699) : the emperor, by this treaty, retained Hungary, Transylvania, and Sclavonia, with the exception of the Hanat of Temeswar, which was reserved to the Porte. The rivers Marosch, Triss, Save, and Unna, were fixed as the limits between the two Empires. The Count Tekeli, who during the whole of this war had constantly espoused the cause of the Porte, was allowed to remain in the Ottoman territory, with such of the Hungarians and Transylvanians as adhered to him.

The peace of Carlowitz had secured to the emperor nearly the whole of Hungary ; but, glorious though it was, it did not restore the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, which very soon experienced fresh troubles. The same complaints that had arisen after the peace of Temeswar, were renewed after that of Carlowitz ; to these were even added several others, occasioned by the introduction of the hereditary succession, at the diet of 1687, by the suppression of the clause in the thirty-first article of the decree of Andrew II., by the restoration of the Jesuits, and the banishment of Tekeli and his adherents. Nothing was wanted but a ringleader for the malcontents to rekindle the flames of civil war, and this leader was soon found in the person of the famous Prince Ragoczi (or Ragotaki), who appeared on the scene about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and when the greater part of Europe were involved in the war of the Spanish succession.

Francis Ragoczi was the grandson of George Ragoczi II., who had been Prince of Transylvania, and held a distinguished rank in the States of Hungary, not more by his illustrious birth than by the great possessions which belonged to his family. The Court of Vienna, who entertained suspicions of him on account of his near relationship with Tekeli, had kept him in a sort of captivity from his earliest infancy ; and he was not set at large, nor restored to the possession of his estates, until 1694, when he married a princess of Hesse-Rheinfels. From that time he resided quietly on his estates, holding his court at Sarosch, in the district of the same name. Being suspected of having concerted a conspiracy with the malcontents, he was arrested by order of the Court of Vienna (1701), and carried to Neustadt in Austria, whence he escaped and retired to Poland. Being condemned as guilty of high treason, and his estates declared forfeited, he took the resolution of placing himself at the head of the rebels, and instigating Hungary against the emperor. France, who had just joined in the war with Austria, encouraged him in that enterprise, which she regarded as being a favourable event for creating a diversion. Having arrived in Hungary, Ragoczi published a manifesto (1703), in which he detailed the motives of his conduct, and exhorted the Hungarians to join him, and vindicate their ancient liberties, which had been oppressed by the House of Austria. He soon attracted a crowd of partisans, and made himself master of a great part of the kingdom. The Transylvanians chose him for their prince (1704) ; and the States of Hungary, who had united for the re-establishment of their laws and immunities, de-

clared him their chief, with the title of duke, and a senate of twenty-five. Louis XIV. sent his envoy, the Marquis Dessalleurs, to congratulate him on his elevation ; and the czar, Peter the Great, offered him the throne of Poland (1707), in opposition to Stanislaus, who was protected by Charles XII.

The House of Austria being engaged in the Spanish war, were unable for a long time to reduce the Hungarian malcontents. The repeated attempts which she made to come to an accommodation with them having failed, the war was continued till 1711, when the Austrians, who had been victorious, compelled Ragoczi to evacuate Hungary, and retire to the frontiers of Poland. A treaty of pacification was then drawn up. The emperor promised to grant an amnesty and a general restitution of goods in favour of all those who had been implicated in the insurrection. He came under an engagement to preserve inviolable the rights, liberties, and immunities of Hungary, and the principality of Transylvania ; to reserve all civil and military offices to the Hungarians ; to maintain the laws of the kingdom respecting religion ; and as for their other grievances, whether political or ecclesiastical, he consented to have them discussed in the approaching diet. These articles were approved and signed by the greater part of the malcontents, who then took a new oath of allegiance to the emperor. Ragoczi and his principal adherents were the only persons that remained proscribed and attainted, having refused to accede to these articles.

The Turkish Empire, once so formidable, had gradually fallen from the summit of its grandeur ; its resources were exhausted, and its history marked by nothing but misfortunes. The effeminacy and incapacity of the sultans, their contempt for the arts cultivated by the Europeans, and the evils of a government purely military and despotic, by degrees undermined its strength, and eclipsed its glory as a conquering and presiding power. We find the Janissaries, a lawless and undisciplined militia, usurping over the sovereign and the throne the same rights which the Praetorian guards had arrogated over the ancient Roman emperors.

The last conquest of any importance which the Turks made was that of Candia, which they took from the republic of Venice. The war which obtained them the possession of that island, lasted for twenty years. It began under Sultan Ibrahim (1645), and was continued under his successor, Mahomet IV. The Venetians defended the island with exemplary courage and intrepidity. They destroyed several of the Turkish fleets ; and, on different occasions, they kept the passage of the Dardanelles shut against the Ottomans. At length the famous Vizier Achmet Kopruli undertook the siege of the city of Candia (1667), at the head of a formidable army. This siege was one of the most sanguinary recorded in history. The Turks lost above 100,000 men ; and it was not till after a siege of two years and four months that the place surrendered to them by a capitulation (September 5th, 1669), which at the same time regulated the conditions of peace between the Turks and the Venetians. These latter, on surrendering Candia, reserved, in the islands and islets adjoining, three places, viz., Suda, Spinalonga, and Garabusa. They also retained Clissa, and some other

places in Dalmatia and Albania, which they had seized during the war. The reign of Mahomet from that time presented nothing but a succession of wars, of which that against Hungary was the most fatal to the Ottoman Empire. The Turks were overwhelmed by the powerful league formed between Austria, Poland, Russia, and the republic of Venice. They experienced, as we have already noticed, a series of fatal disasters during that war; and, imputing these misfortunes to the effeminacy of their Sultan, they resolved to depose him. Mustapha II., the third in succession from Mahomet IV., terminated this destructive war by the peace of Carlowitz, when the Turks lost all their

possessions in Hungary, except Temeswar and Belgrade. They gave up to Poland the fortress of Kaminiac, with Podolia, and the part of the Ukraine on this side the Nieper, which had been ceded to them by former treaties. The Venetians, by their treaty with the Porte, obtained possession of the Morea, which they had conquered during the war, including the islands of St. Maura and Leucadia, as also the fortresses of Dalmatia, Knin, Sing, Cicalu, Gabella, Castelnuovo, and Risano. Finally, the Porte renounced the tribute which Venice had formerly paid for the isle of Zante; and the republic of Ragusa was guaranteed in its independence, with respect to the Venetians.

PERIOD VIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF UTRECHT TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

A.D. 1713—1789.

[DURING the wars of the preceding period, arts and letters had made extraordinary progress; especially in France, where they seemed to have reached the highest degree of perfection to which the limited genius of man can carry them. The age of Louis XIV. revived, and in some respects excelled, those masterpieces which Greece had produced under Pericles, Rome under Augustus, and Italy under the patronage of the Medici. This was the classical era of French literature. The grandeur which reigned at the court of that monarch, and the glory which his vast exploits had reflected on the nation, inspired authors with a noble enthusiasm; the public taste was refined by imitating the models of antiquity; and this preserved the French writers from those extravagances which some other nations have mistaken for the standard of genius. Their language, polished by the Academy according to fixed rules, the first and most fundamental of which condemn everything that does not tend to unite elegance with perspicuity, became the general medium of communication among the different nations in the civilized world; and this literary conquest which France made over the minds of other nations, is more glorious, and has proved more advantageous to her, than that universal dominion to which Louis XIV. is said to have aspired.]

In the period on which we are now entering, men of genius and talents, though they did not neglect the belles-lettres, devoted themselves chiefly to those sciences, and that kind of learning, the study of which has been diffused over all classes of society. Several branches of mathematics and natural philosophy assumed a form entirely new; the knowledge of the ancient classics, which till then had been studied chiefly for the formation of taste, became a branch of common education, and gave birth to a variety of profound and useful researches. Geometry, astronomy, mechanics and navigation, were brought to great perfection, by the rivalry among the different academies in Europe. Natural philosophy discovered many of the laws and phenomena of

nature, of which the ancients had entertained no doubt. Chemistry rose from the rank of an obscure art, and put on the garb of an attractive science. Natural history, enriched by the discoveries of learned travellers, was divested of those fables and chimeras which ignorance had attributed to her. History, supported by the auxiliary sciences of geography and chronology, became a branch of general philosophy.

This progress in the various departments of human learning, gave the name of the intellectual age to the epoch of which we now speak. This title it might have justly claimed, had not those pretended philosophers, who sprouted up in the eighteenth century, under pretext of infusing general knowledge among all classes of people, perverted the public mind, by preaching doctrines which became the root of those calamities that, for thirty years, distracted all Europe. The object of these superficial reasoners was to annihilate religion, the basis of all morality; and to propagate, among the disciples of atheism, tenets subversive, not only of political government and the legitimate power of kings, but of the rights and happiness of the people.

This spirit of irreligion took its rise in England in the seventeenth century.* Hobbes, who inculcated materialism, was one of the champions of that atheism which Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, Collins, Tindal, and others, taught in their works, in the early part of the eighteenth century; but the contemplative character of the English nation, and the talents of those that undertook to defend religion, completely neutralised this poison; and Christianity, triumphing over all these attempts, struck deeper root.

In France, however, infidelity found preachers more able, and pupils more docile. Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius (a man amiable enough in other respects, but whose good qualities were obscured by a craving vanity for distinction), and a foreigner, Baron Holbach, who was settled

* This is not true. Italy was the birth-place of the doctrines in question. See Bayle's Dict., Art. Viret.—T.

at Paris, had the audacity to conspire against Christianity, and resolved to throw off all authority whatever in matters of faith. They preached infidelity, sometimes under the name of Deists, sometimes under the form of Athelism; and throughout their various writings they took every means which appeared to them likely to accomplish their infamous design. While clamouring about universal toleration for religious opinions, they persecuted those who offered any opposition to these new doctrines, and especially the ministers of the Catholic church. The unlimited freedom of the press, which was one of their favourite dogmas, enabled them to infect all ages and classes of society with their pernicious maxims; while by dint of ridicule, calumnies, and cabals, they shut the mouths of those who offered to combat their theories. A grand work, undertaken by D'Alembert and Diderot, with the assistance of other writers, and announced as being the storehouse of all human knowledge, called the *Encyclopædia*, became the arsenal where the enemies of Christianity forged their arms—the school where youth imbibed the elements of pernicious instruction.

It ought to be told to the honour of other nations, that, with the exception of some of the nobles, and even of the sovereigns, who were blind to the consequences of this system, few persons in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and the countries of the north, where their education was more solid, allowed themselves to be duped by these errors, and impieties. Portugal, Spain, and Italy scarcely took any notice of them; but in France they corrupted several generations in succession, and prepared them for receiving a new political creed, which, by attacking the very basis of social order, at length overturned it, first in that country, and afterwards over the greater part of the globe.

The root of this political mischief, as well as that of Deism and Infidelity, must be sought for in England. The disputes between the Revolutionists and the Stuarts, in the seventeenth century, which stained that nation with a crime till then unheard of, had given birth to a new sort of public right, if we may so call a system which went to subvert all subordination. It is remarkable, that the first who started the hypothesis of an original social contract which supposed all legitimate power to be delegated, and consequently dependent on the sovereignty of the people, was a partisan of monarchy. Thomas Hobbes, who, following out the application of his own principles, built on this foundation a system of absolute despotism, James Harrington, author of the *Oceana*, and especially Algernon Sydney, all seized this novel idea, and drew from it results quite opposite to the views of its author; though, in fact, the error is a two-edged weapon, and will cut either way. John Locke pushed it even farther; in despite of history, he admitted as a fact the existence of a social contract from which states originated, and maintained that monarchies were nothing else than republics degenerated.

From England these doctrines passed to France, where they were greedily received, not only by the enemies of religion, but also by a multitude of writers, who, without belonging to that party, allowed themselves to be drawn away by the vanity

of fame, and the *éclat* of a false philosophy. The public mind had been already prepared for them by another invention of the eighteenth century, which was erroneous in principle, though laudable in its design, and contributed to the overthrow of better theories, because it had fallen into the hands of a sect who were misled by enthusiasm. This sect was that of the *Economists*, and the invention that of the *Physiocratic System*, as it was called, which, by estimating the wealth of a nation solely according to the mass of its natural productions, tended to reduce all public burdens to a single tax on land, and consequently to introduce a perfect equality in property. The inventor of this doctrine was a physician of Paris, named Francis Quesnay; though Victor de Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau, was its most zealous propagator.

The first French work on this new right of the people appeared in 1748, under the title of *L'Esprit des Loix*, or Spirit of Laws. Its author, Baron Montesquieu, there extolled the representative system, and the doctrine of the division of power, which from that moment became two of the articles of faith in the new philosophy, which none were allowed to controvert. The Spirit of Laws, a work written with elegance, and replete with wit, often profound, though sometimes superficial, combined with some splendid and sublime ideas a number of sophisms, subtleties, and errors. The enigmatical manner in which the author sometimes delivers himself has led some to impute doctrines to him which probably never entered into his system. Four years afterwards, Rousseau, a native of Geneva, published his *Social Contract*, eloquently composed, but feeble in point of reasoning. The author meant to prove that, by an original contract, the people had reserved the right of declaring their mind on everything relating to government—a monstrous system, which, instead of the liberty which it professes to introduce, tends to establish the most revolting despotism, by giving the whole power to the majority; that is, to the least enlightened and most unreflecting part of the nation.

In consequence of these publications, a vast number of writers set themselves to propagate and inculcate on the young, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, as the source whence all legitimate power emanated. This doctrine admitted a case, which its partisans, however, agree never existed, namely, an act by which the people had delegated the exercise either of a part or the whole of their power. It made despotism lawful, wherever it was found actually established; and it led to anarchy, since all delegated power may be withdrawn, and because the sovereign people could never deprive the next generation of their natural and imprescriptible rights.

These new doctrines were received in some countries which had resisted the poison of irreligion. They found numerous partisans in Germany, where they seemed to many to be the final accomplishment of the reformation of the seventeenth century, which was regarded as the era of religious liberty. The literary journals of that country promulgated them in all foras; they prevailed in universities and seminaries of learning; different sovereigns did homage to them, flattered by the panegyrics which the philosophers bestowed on them.

The time at length came, when the abettors of these opinions thought men's minds sufficiently prepared for beginning to put their new system in practice. A professor at Ingolstadt, in Bavaria, named Adam Weishaupt, founded a secret order, called the *Illuminati* (1776), who, under the disguise of free masonry, and the discipline practised in the institutions of the Jesuits, professed in appearance a love for truth and virtue, and a hatred for prejudice and despotism; but who initiated their disciples in the projected revolution, and taught them to shake off all restraint, both civil and religious, to overturn every established authority, and restore to mankind that liberty and equality which, it was said, they had enjoyed in a state of nature, and of which the institution of civil government had deprived them. This order was detected and dissolved (1785); but only in Bavaria, for it continued in several countries of Germany, and probably still exists under other forms.

It was in this manner that the public mind was corrupted in the eighteenth century. Obedience and love to their kings ceased to be the boast and glory of the people; a vague desire to change took possession of men's minds, and filled their heads with errors; and hence was engendered that savage revolution, which will form the subject of our ninth period. In the eighth, on which we are now entering, the polity of Europe experienced several remarkable changes.

The equilibrium among the different states, discomposed by the ambition of Louis XIV., had been confirmed by the peace of Utrecht, which lasted during twenty-four years without any great alteration. Nevertheless, in the political transactions which took place at this time, England enjoyed a preponderance which had been growing gradually since she had ceased to be the theatre of civil discord. The glory which she had acquired by the success of her arms in the Spanish wars, and the important advantages which the treaty of Utrecht had procured her, both in Europe and America, augmented her political power, and gave her an influence in general affairs which she never had enjoyed before. That nation carried their commerce and their marine to an extent which could not fail to alarm the other commercial and maritime states, and make them perceive that, if the care of their own trade and independence made it necessary to maintain a system of equilibrium on the continent, it was equally important for their prosperity that bounds should be set to the monopolizing power of England. This gave rise at first to a new kind of rivalry between France and England—a rivalry whose effects were more particularly manifested after the middle of the eighteenth century, and which occasioned an intimate alliance among the branches of the House of Bourbon. At a later date, and in consequence of the principles which the English professed as to the commerce of neutral states, the powers of the North leagued themselves against that universal dominion which they were accused of wishing to usurp over the sea. In the ninth period, we shall even see the whole continent for a short time turned against that nation—the only one that has been able to preserve her commerce and her independence.

This preponderance of England is the first

change which the political system of Europe experienced in the eighteenth century. The second took place in the North. Till that time, the northern countries of Europe had never, except transiently, had any political connexions with the South. Russia, separated by the possessions of Sweden on the coasts of the Baltic, had belonged rather to Asia than to our quarter of the world. Poland, fallen from her ancient greatness, had sunk into a state of anarchy and exhaustion. Denmark and Sweden were disputing the command of the Baltic, and had no other influence on the politics of the South than that which Sweden had acquired by the personal qualities of some of her kings. The great war of the North, which broke out at the commencement of the eighteenth century, and the conquests of Peter the Great, which extended the limits of his Empire as far as the Gulf of Finland, and reduced Sweden to a state of debility from which she has not yet recovered, enabled Russia not only to take a distinguished lead in the North, but to become an important member in the system of Europe.

Meantime, the foundation of the Prussian monarchy gave rise to a new and intermediate power between the North and the South; but that state remained within the bounds of mediocrity until the middle of the eighteenth century. At that time the genius of Frederic II. alone raised it to a pitch of greatness which enabled it to struggle against the superior force of its neighbours, but without menacing the independence of other states. This growing power of Prussia, however, occasioned a rivalry between it and Austria, which for seventy years had an influence on the politics of Europe. It produced the extraordinary spectacle of an intimate alliance between two ancient rivals, the Houses of Austria and Bourbon; and, by dividing Germany between two opposite systems, it paved the way for the dissolution of that Empire. Such was the third change which the polity of Europe experienced in course of the eighteenth century.

The fourth change was less felt than the three others; its fatal consequences did not develop themselves until the Ninth Period. For the first time within the last three centuries, the sovereigns of Europe ventured to break treaties and to violate engagements, to declare war and undertake conquests, without alleging any other motives than reasons of convenience, and the ambition of aggrandisement. Thus the basis of the equilibrium system, the inviolability of possessions honourably acquired, was sapped, and the downfall of the whole system prepared. The events of the wars for the succession of Austria, furnished the first examples of this contempt for treaties; they were renewed in an alarming manner on the partition of Poland, and by the attempts which the emperor Joseph made to seize Bavaria. The act of iniquity committed against Poland was often cited, during the period of the French Revolution, to justify all sorts of violence and usurpation; and it was followed by a long train of calamities.

Commerce continued, in the eighteenth century, to be one of the principal objects that occupied the cabinets of Europe. The mercantile system was brought to great perfection, and became, with most nations, the basis of their administration. The maritime powers turned all their attention,

and bestowed the greatest care, on their colonies, the number and wealth of which were augmented by new establishments and better regulations. In imitation of Louis XIV., most of the states kept up numerous standing armies; a practice which they even carried to excess. The influence of England in continental affairs was increased; as she had no occasion to augment her own army in proportion to that of other kingdoms, she was able to furnish them with those supplies which were necessary to carry on their wars. Besides, since the time of Frederic II., or about the year 1740, tactics, and the military art in general, had reached a degree of perfection which seemed scarcely to admit of further improvement. Finally, the financial system of several states experienced a revolution, by the invention of public funds for the payment of national debts; especially that instituted by Mr. Pitt, called the Sinking Fund.]

The extraordinary efforts which the powers of Europe had made during the last century, for maintaining the equilibrium of the continent against the ambitious designs of France and Sweden, brought on a long period of tranquillity, which gave these nations an opportunity of encouraging arts, industry, and commerce, and thereby repairing the evils which the long and disastrous wars had occasioned. Cabinets were attentive to maintain the stipulations of the treaties of Utrecht and Stockholm; and, by means of negotiations, to guard against everything that might rekindle a new general war. The good understanding that subsisted between France and Great Britain during the reign of George I. and the beginning of that of George II.—or, in other words, under the administration of Walpole,—was the effect of those temporary interests that engrossed the attention of the two courts—the one being under terror of the Pretender, and the other alarmed at the ambitious projects of Spain.

The Duke of Orleans, regent of France during the minority of Louis XV., was anxious to maintain that peace and political order which the late treaties had introduced; having it in view to remedy those disorders in the finance, which Louis XIV. had left in so deplorable a state.¹ The King of Spain, on the other hand, who was desirous of reviving his rights to the crown of France, went into the rash schemes of Cardinal Alberoni,² his prime minister; purporting to renew the war; to reconquer those territories which the peace of Utrecht had dismembered from the Spanish monarchy; to deprive the Duke of Orleans of the regency, and vest it in the King of Spain; and to place the Pretender, son of James II., on the throne of Great Britain.

The treaty of Utrecht, although it had tranquillized a great part of Europe, was nevertheless defective, in as far as it had not reconciled the emperor and the King of Spain, the two principal claimants to the Spanish succession. The Emperor Charles VI. did not recognise Philip V. in his quality of King of Spain; and Philip, in his turn, refused to acquiesce in those partitions of the Spanish monarchy, which the treaty of Utrecht had stipulated in favour of the emperor. To defeat the projects and secret intrigues of the Spanish minister, the Duke of Orleans thought of courting an alliance with England, as being the power most particularly interested in maintaining the treaty of

Utrecht, the fundamental articles of which had been dictated by herself. That alliance, into which the United Provinces also entered, was concluded at the Hague (January 4th, 1717). The articles of the treaty of Utrecht, those especially which related to the succession of the two crowns, were there renewed; and the regent, in compliance to the King of England, agreed to banish the Pretender from France, and to admit British commissioners into Dunkirk to superintend that port.

Cardinal Alberoni, without being in the least disconcerted by the Triple Alliance, persisted in his design of recommencing the war. No sooner had he recruited the Spanish forces, and equipped an expedition, than he attacked Sardinia, which he took from the emperor. This conquest was followed by that of Sicily, which the Spaniards took from the Duke of Savoy (1718).

France and England, indignant at the infraction of a treaty which they regarded as their own work, immediately concluded with the emperor, at London (August 2nd, 1718), the famous Quadruple Alliance, which contained the plan of a treaty of peace, to be made between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. The allied powers engaged to obtain the consent of the parties interested in this proposal, and, in case of refusal, to compel them by force of arms. The emperor was to renounce his right to the Spanish crown, and to acknowledge Philip V. as the legitimate King of Spain, in consideration of that prince renouncing the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, which the treaty of Utrecht and the quadruple alliance adjudged to the emperor. The Duke of Savoy was to cede Sicily to Austria, receiving Sardinia in exchange, which the King of Spain was to disclaim. The right of reversion to the crown of Spain was transferred from Sicily to Sardinia. That treaty likewise granted to Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V., by his second marriage, the eventual reversion and investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as well as the grand duchy of Tuscany, on condition of holding them as fiefs-male of the emperor and the Empire, after the decease of the last male issue of the families of Farnese and Medici, who were then in possession; and, the better to secure this double succession to the Infant, they agreed to introduce a body of 6,000 Swiss into the two duchies, to be quartered in Leghorn, Porto-Ferrajo, Parma, and Placentia. The contracting powers undertook to guarantee the payment of these troops.

The Duke of Savoy did not hesitate to subscribe the conditions of the quadruple alliance; but it was otherwise with the King of Spain, who persisted in his refusal; when France and England declared war against him. The French invaded the provinces of Guipuscoa and Catalonia, while the English seized Galicia and the port of Vigo. These vigorous proceedings shook the resolutions of the King of Spain. He signed the quadruple alliance, and banished the Cardinal Alberoni from his court, the adviser of those measures of which the allies complained. The Spanish troops then evacuated Sicily and Sardinia, when the emperor took possession of the former, and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, of the latter.

The war to all appearance was at an end; peace, however, was far from being concluded, and there still remained many difficulties to settle between

the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. To accomplish this, and conclude a definitive treaty between these three powers, a congress was summoned at Cambray, which was to open in 1721, under the mediation of France and England; but some disputes which arose regarding certain preliminary articles, retarded their meeting for several years. Their first and principal object was to effect an exchange of the acts of mutual renunciation between the Emperor and the King of Spain, as stipulated by the treaty of the quadruple alliance. The emperor, who was reluctant to abandon his claims to the Spanish monarchy, started difficulties as to the form of these renunciations. He demanded that Philip's renunciation of the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands should be confirmed by the Spanish cortes. Philip demanded, in his turn, that the renunciation of the emperor with regard to Spain should be ratified by the states of the Empire. To get clear of this difficulty, France and England agreed, by a special compact, signed at Paris (September 27th, 1721), that the renunciations of both princes, however defective they might be, should be held valid under the guarantee of the two mediating powers.

Scarcely was this difficulty settled, when another presented itself, much more embarrassing. This related to the company of Ostend, which the emperor had instituted, and to which, by charter signed at Vienna (December 19th, 1722), he had granted, for thirty years, the exclusive privilege of trading to the East and West Indies, and the coasts of Africa. That establishment set the maritime powers at variance with the emperor; especially the Dutch, who regarded it as prejudicial to their Indian commerce. They maintained that, according to the treaty of Munster, confirmed by the twenty-sixth article of the Barrier Treaty (1715), the trade of the Spaniards with the East Indies was to remain as it was at that time.

Nothing in these preliminary discussions met with so much opposition as the grant of the eventual reversion and investiture of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the emperor had engaged, by the Quadruple Alliance, to give to Don Carlos, the Infant of Spain. The Duke of Parma, the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, joined in opposition to it. Anthony, the last Duke of Parma and Placentia, of the House of Farnese, demanded that the emperor should never, during his life, exercise over the duchy of Parma the territorial rights established by the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. The pope also protested loudly against that clause of the treaty which deprived him of the rights of superiority over Parma and Placentia, which his predecessors had enjoyed for several centuries. As for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, John Gaston, the last of the Medici, he maintained, that as his duchy held of God only, he could never permit that it should be declared a fief of the Empire; nor recognise the Infant of Spain as heir of his estates, to the prejudice of his sister's rights, the widow of the Elector Palatine.

Charles VI., without stopping at these objections, laid the business of these investitures before the Diet of Ratisbon; and, after having obtained their consent, he caused copies to be made of the letters of reversion and investiture in favour of Don Carlos and his heirs male. These having been

presented to the congress, the King of Spain refused to receive them; alleging the protests of the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; nor would he agree to them, except on condition of an act of guarantee on the part of the mediating powers. All these difficulties being settled, and the preliminaries closed, they at length proceeded with the conferences at Cambray (April, 1724), for the conclusion of a definitive peace between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. Every thing seemed arrived at an amicable termination, when some differences arose between the commissioners of the emperor and those of the mediating powers, which occasioned new interruptions.

Meantime, the Duke of Bourbon, who had succeeded the Duke of Orleans in the ministry, sent back to Spain the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip V., who had been educated at the court of France, as the intended spouse of Louis XV. This event broke up the congress. Philip V., mightily offended, recalled his ministers from Cambray. Baron Ripperda,⁴ whom he had sent as envoy to the Imperial Court, put an end to the differences between these two powers, in despite of the mediation of France. In consequence, a special treaty was concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and the King of Spain (April 30th, 1725). This treaty renewed the renunciation of Philip V. to the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, as well as that of the emperor to Spain and the Indies. The eventual investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and that of the grand duchy of Tuscany, were also confirmed. The only new clause contained in the treaty, was that by which the King of Spain undertook to guarantee the famous Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., which secured to the daughter of that prince the succession of all his estates. It was chiefly on this account that Philip V. became reconciled to the court of Vienna.

The peace of Vienna was accompanied by a defensive alliance between the emperor and the King of Spain. Among other clauses, one was that the emperor should interpose to obtain for the King of Spain the restitution of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; while Philip, on his side, granted to the shipping of the emperor and his subjects free entrance into his ports, and all immunities and prerogatives which were enjoyed by the nations in the strictest commercial connexions with Spain. These clauses alarmed England and Holland; and the intimacy which had been established between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid attracted more particularly the attention of the Duke of Bourbon, who dreaded the resentment of the King of Spain, as he had advised the return of the Infanta. To prevent any such consequences, he set on foot a league with England and Prussia, capable of counteracting that of Vienna, which was concluded at Herrenhausen, near Hanover (September 3, 1725), and is known by the name of the *Alliance of Hanover*.

All Europe was divided between these two alliances. Holland, Sweden, and Denmark acceded to the alliance of Hanover. Catherine I. of Russia, and the principal Catholic states of the Empire, joined that of Vienna. The emperor even succeeded in detaching the King of Prussia from the alliance of Hanover to join his own. Europe seemed then on the eve of a general war. The

ambassadors to the different courts were recalled. The English sent a numerous and powerful fleet to America, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic; while the Spaniards commenced hostilities, by laying siege to Gibraltar. The death of the Empress of Russia (May 17, 1727), however, caused a change in the disposition of the northern powers. The emperor, seeing he could no longer reckon on the assistance of Russia, showed no anxiety to second the efforts of the Spaniards; but what chiefly contributed to the maintenance of peace was, that neither France nor England were desirous of war.

In this situation of affairs, the pope interposed his mediation, and a new preliminary treaty was signed at Paris, which ordained that there should be an armistice for seven years; that the Company of Ostend should be suspended for the same time; and that a new General Congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This congress was first transferred to Cambrai, and thence to Soissons, where it was opened in 1728. Ambassadors from almost all the courts of Europe appeared there; and they expected, with some reason, a happy conclusion of the business; as most of the difficulties which had embarrassed the Congress of Cambrai were settled by the peace of Vienna, and as the only subject for deliberation was to settle the succession of Parma and Tuscany. But the emperor having demanded that the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction should be adopted as the basis of the arrangements for establishing the peace of Soissons; that incident became the subject of new disputes. Cardinal Fleury, then prime minister of France, having strongly opposed this claim of the court of Vienna, the emperor, in his turn, threw obstacles in the way of the negotiation at Soissons. This inclined the cardinal to make overtures to the court of Madrid, with whom he concerted a secret negotiation, in which he also found means to associate England.

This gave rise to a treaty of peace, union, and offensive alliance, which was signed at Seville, between France, Spain, and England (November 9, 1729). These powers engaged to guarantee the succession of Parma and Tuscany in favour of the Infant Don Carlos; and to effect this, they resolved to substitute 6,000 Spanish troops in the Swiss garrisons, named by the Quadruple Alliance. The Dutch acceded to that treaty, in consideration of the engagement which the contracting powers came under to give them entire satisfaction with respect to the Company of Ostend.

The emperor, finding the treaty of Seville concluded without his co-operation, was apprehensive of having failed in his principal aim, viz., the adoption of the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction. He was indignant that the allies at Seville should pretend to lay down the law to him touching the abolition of the Ostend Company, and the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy. Accordingly, being determined not to comply, he immediately broke off all relationship with the court of Spain; he recalled his ambassador, and took measures to prevent the Spanish troops from taking possession of Italy. The last Duke of Parma, Anthony Farnese, being dead (1731), he took possession of his duchy by force of arms.

At length, to terminate all these differences, the King of England, in concert with the States-General, opened a negotiation with the emperor;

the result of which was a treaty of alliance, signed at Vienna, between him, England, and Holland (March 10, 1731). In virtue of that treaty, the three contracting powers mutually guaranteed their estates, rights, and possessions; England and Holland, more especially, engaged to guarantee the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction; and the emperor, on his side, consented to the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy, and to the suppression of the Company of Ostend; he even agreed that the Netherlands should never carry on trade with the Indies, either by the Ostend Company or any other.

In consequence of this treaty, which was approved by the States-General, Don Carlos took possession of Parma and Placentia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany also recognised him as his successor. Thus terminated these long disputes about the Spanish Succession, after having agitated the greater part of Europe for upwards of thirty years.

In the midst of these contentions, a war had arisen between the Porte and the Republic of Venice, in which the Emperor Charles VI. was also implicated. The Turks were desirous of recovering the Morea, which they had been obliged to abandon to the Venetians at the peace of Carlowitz; but instead of attacking that republic, while the emperor was engaged with the French war, and unable to render it assistance, they waited till the conclusion of the treaties of Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden, before they declared hostilities. The pretexts which the Turks made to justify this rupture were extremely frivolous; but they knew well that the Venetians, who had lived in the most complete security since the peace of Carlowitz, had neglected to repair the fortifications which had been destroyed in the war, and that it would be easy for them to reconquer them.

In fact, during the campaign of 1715, the Grand Vizier not only recovered the Morea, but even dispossessed the Venetians of the places which they still retained in the Isle of Candia; and, at the commencement of the following campaign, they laid siege to the town of Corfu. Charles VI. thought he was bound, as a guarantee of the peace of Carlowitz, to espouse the cause of the Venetians; he declared war against the Porte, and his example was followed by the pope and the King of Spain, who united their fleets to those of the republic. The Turks were defeated in several engagements, and obliged to raise the siege of Corfu, after sacrificing a great many lives.

The campaigns of 1716 and 1717 in Hungary, were triumphant for the armies of the emperor; Prince Eugene gained a brilliant victory over the Grand Vizier, near Peterwaradin (August 5th), which enabled him to invest Temeswar, which he carried after a siege of six months, and thus completed the conquest of Hungary. To crown his glory, that great captain next undertook the siege of Belgrade, regarded by the Turks as the principal bulwark of their Empire. The grand vizier marched to the relief of the place, at the head of a formidable army. He encamped before Belgrade, and enclosed the Imperial army within a semicircle, reaching from the Danube to the Save. Prince Eugene had then no other alternative than to leave his camp, and attack the Turks in their intrenchments. He took his measures with such

address, that, in spite of the great superiority of the Turks, he forced them back to their camp, and put them completely to rout (August 16, 1717).

This victory was followed by the reduction of Belgrade, and several other places on the Save and the Danube. The Porte began to wish for peace; and as the emperor, who had just been attacked in Italy by the Spaniards, was equally desirous to put an end to the war, both parties agreed to accept the mediation of England and Holland. A congress was opened at Passarowitz, a small town in Servia, near the mouth of the Morau. A peace was there concluded between the three belligerent powers (July 21, 1718), on the basis of the *Uti possidetis*. The emperor retained Temeswar, Orsova, Belgrade, and the part of Wallachia lying on this side of the river Aluta; as also Servia, according to the limits determined by the treaty, and both banks of the Save, from the Drino to the Unna. The Venetians lost possession of the Morea, but they retained several places in Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Albania, which they had conquered during the war. The Porte restored to them the Island of Cerigo in the Archipelago.

The success of Charles VI. in this war procured some new advantages to his house on the part of the States of Hungary. The Diet of 1687, in vesting the hereditary right of that kingdom in the Emperor Leopold I., had restricted that right solely to the male descendants of the House of Austria; and Charles VI., on his accession to the throne, had acknowledged the elective right of the States, in case he should happen to die without leaving any male offspring. This prince, finding afterwards that he had no other children left than the two daughters by his marriage with Elizabeth, Princess of Brunswick, and being desirous of securing to them the succession of Hungary, as well as his other estates, assembled a Diet at Presburg (1722), and there engaged the states of the kingdom to extend the right of succession to females, according to the order which he had established in the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction, and published some years before.

A revolution happened in the government of Sweden immediately after the death of Charles XII., and before the great war of the North was quite ended. Reduced to a state of unfeigned distress by the folly, ambition, and inflexible obstinacy of that prince, Sweden saw her finest provinces occupied by the enemy, her commerce annihilated, her armies and her fleets destroyed. They attributed these disasters chiefly to the absolute power of Charles XII., and the abuse he had made of it. The only remedy for so many evils, they conceived, was to abolish a power which had become so pernicious to the state. As Charles had never been married, the throne, according to the hereditary law established in Sweden, passed to the son of the Duchess of Holstein-Gottorp, eldest sister of Charles; but the Senate of Sweden preferred to him the Princess Ulrica Eleonora, younger sister of the late king, because of the declaration she had made, renouncing all absolute power, and consenting to hold the crown only by the free election of the states of the kingdom. The states, in an assembly held at Stockholm, in the beginning of 1719, declared the throne vacant, and then proceeded to the election of the princess. With their act of election, they presented her with a new form

of government, and an Act known by the name of the *Royal Assurance*, which imposed new limitations on the royal authority. The princess signed these acts (February 21), and the states declared, that whoever should attempt to restore absolute power should be considered as a traitor to his country.

The government was intrusted to the queen conjunctly with the senate; while the legislative power was reserved to the states, to meet regularly every three years. The queen had the right of proposing bills or ordinances; but before these could have the force of law, they were to be submitted to the examination of the states, without whose consent war was never to be proclaimed. As for the deliberations of the senate, it was resolved, that they should be decided by a plurality of suffrages, that the queen should have two votes and a casting vote besides. Thus, the chief power was vested in the hands of the senate, the members of which resumed their ancient title of Senators of the Kingdom, instead of that of Counsellors to the King, which had been bestowed on them at the revolution of 1680. Ulrica Eleonora afterwards resigned the crown to her husband, Prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel. The states, in their election of that prince (May 22, 1720), ordained that the queen, in case she should survive her husband, should be re-instated in her rights, and resume the crown, without the necessity of a new deliberation of the states. Frederic, by the Royal Assurance, and the form of government which he signed, agreed to certain new modifications of the royal power, especially concerning appointments to places of trust. By these different stipulations, and the changes which took place in consequence, the power of the Swedish kings was gradually reduced to very narrow limits. It was so much the more easy to make encroachments on the royal power, as the king, by a radical defect in the new form of government, had no constitutional means of preserving the little authority that was left him.

The death of Augustus II. of Poland occasioned new disturbances, which passed from the North to the South of Europe, and brought about great changes in Italy. Louis XV. took the opportunity of that event to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, who was his father-in-law, and the former protégé of Charles XII. The Primate, and the greater part of the Polish nobility being in the interest of that prince, he was consequently elected (September 12, 1733).

Anne Iwanowna, Duchess-dowager of Courland, and niece of Peter the Great, had just ascended the throne of Russia, having succeeded Peter II. (June 20, 1730), who was cut off in the flower of his age without leaving any progeny. The grandees, in conferring the crown on Anne, had limited her power by a capitulation which they made her sign at Mittau, but which she cancelled immediately on her arrival at Moscow. That princess, dreading the influence of France in Poland, in case of a war between Russia and the Porte, espoused the interests of Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, and son of the late king, whom she wished to place on the Polish throne. Part of the Polish nobility, withdrawing from the field of election, and supported by a Russian army, proclaimed that prince in opposition to Stanislaus, the protégé of France.

The Russians, reinforced by the Saxon troops, seized Warsaw, and compelled Stanislaus to retire to Dantzic, where he was besieged by a Russian army, under command of Field-Marshal Munich, and obliged to seek safety in flight. Louis XV. wishing to avenge this injury offered to his father-in-law, and not being in a condition to attack Russia, he resolved to declare war against the emperor, on the ground that he had marched an army to the frontiers of Poland for supporting the election of the Saxon prince.

Spain and Sardinia espoused the cause of Stanislaus, which seemed to them to be the cause of kings in general; while the emperor saw himself abandoned by England and Holland, whose assistance he thought he might claim, in virtue of the guarantee which the treaty of Vienna had stipulated in his favour. But these powers judged it more for their interests to preserve strict neutrality in this war, on the assurance which France had given the States-General not to make the Austrian Netherlands the theatre of hostilities. The French commenced operations by seizing Lorraine, the sovereign of which, Francis Stephen, son of Duke Leopold, was to have married Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles VI. It was the Count de Belleisle who took possession of that duchy (October 1733). About the same time, Marshal Berwick passed the Rhine at the head of the French army, and reduced the fortress of Kehl. By thus attacking a fortress of the Empire, France gave the emperor a pretext for engaging the Germanic body in his quarrel. In fact, he declared war against France and her allies; which induced the French to seize several places on the Moselle, and to reduce the fortress of Philippsburg, at the siege of which Marshal Berwick was slain (June 12, 1734).

The principal scene of the war then lay in Italy, where the campaigns of 1734 and 1735 were most glorious for the allies. After the two victories which they had gained over the Imperialists near Parma (June 29), and Guastalla (September 17), they made themselves master of all Austrian Lombardy, with the single exception of Mantua, which they laid under blockade. A Spanish army, commanded by the Duke of Montemar, accompanied by the Infant Don Carlos, directed their march on Naples, which threw open its gates to the Spaniards. The victory which they gained over the Imperialists at Bitonto (May 25), decided the fate of the kingdom of Naples. After this conquest, the Infant passed to Sicily. He soon reduced that island, and was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo (July 3, 1735).

The emperor, overwhelmed by so many reverses, and unable to withstand the powers leagued against him, eagerly solicited assistance from Russia. The Empress Anne, who saw the war terminated in Poland, and Augustus in quiet possession of the throne, despatched a body of 10,000 auxiliaries, under the command of General Count de Lacy, into Germany, in the spring of the year 1735. These troops, the first Russians who had appeared in that country, joined the Imperial army on the Rhine, which was commanded by Prince Eugene. That general, however, did not succeed in his design of transferring the seat of war to Lorraine.

Matters were in this situation, when the mari-

time powers interposed their good offices for restoring peace between the Emperor and the States leagued against him. Cardinal Fleury, perceiving that their mediation was not agreeable to the Imperial court, took the resolution of concerting a secret negotiation with the emperor, the result of which was a treaty of preliminaries; although much deliberation was necessary before coming to the conclusion of a definitive peace. This was at length signed at Vienna, between France, the Emperor, and the Empire, on the 8th of November, 1738. The former treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, and the Quadruple Alliance, were admitted as the basis of this treaty. Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, and retained the title only during his life. They gave him, by way of compensation, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, on condition that, at his death, they should revert with full right to France. The single county of Falkenstein, with its appurtenances and dependencies, was reserved for Francis, Duke of Lorraine. In exchange for the duchy which he abdicated, that prince received the grand duchy of Tuscany, whose last possessor, John Gaston, of the House of Medici, had just died without leaving any posterity (1737). The kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany, were secured to Don Carlos and his descendants, male and female; and, failing them, to the younger brothers of that prince, and their descendants. On his part, Don Carlos ceded to the emperor the duchies of Parma and Placentia, and even renounced the rights which former treaties had given him over the grand duchy of Tuscany. They restored to the emperor all that had been taken from him in the provinces of Milan and Mantua; with the reservation of the districts of Novara and Tortoua, which he was obliged to cede to Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, together with San-Fidele, Torre di Forti, Gravedo, and Campo-Maggiore; as also the territorial superiority of the fiefs commonly called Langhes, to be held entirely as Imperial fiefs. Finally, France undertook, in the most authentic form, to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction of the emperor.

The Kings of Spain and Sardinia were not satisfied with the conditions of this treaty. The former wished to preserve the grand duchy of Tuscany, with the duchies of Parma and Placentia; and the other had expected to obtain a larger portion of Lombardy. Thus, these princes long hesitated to admit the articles agreed to between the courts of France and Vienna; nor did they give their consent until the year 1739.

While these disputes about the succession of Poland occupied a great part of Europe, a war broke out between the Turks and the Russians, in which Austria was also implicated. The Empress Anne of Russia, wishing to recover Azoff, and repair the loss which Peter the Great had sustained in his unfortunate campaign on the Pruth, took advantage of the war between the Turks and the Prussians, to form an alliance with Khouli Khan, the famous conqueror of the East, who had just subverted the ancient dynasty of the Sophis of Persia. The incursions which the Tartars had made at different times into the Russian provinces, without the Porte thinking proper to check them, served as a motive for the empress to order an expedition against the Turks (1735), and

to declare war against the Porte soon after. It was during the campaign of 1736 that Count Lacy made himself master of Azoff, and that Marshal Munich, after having forced the lines at Perekop, penetrated into the interior of the Crimea; but having in that expedition lost many of his men by famine and disease, he found it impossible to maintain himself in that peninsula.

The emperor offered himself at first as a mediator between the belligerent powers. A conference was opened at Niemerow in Poland, which proved fruitless. The Russians, who had just taken Oczakoff, emboldened by their success, were desirous to continue the war; while the emperor, without reflecting on the bad condition of his military strength, and the loss which he had sustained by the death of the celebrated Prince Eugene (April 21, 1736), thought only of sharing the conquest with the Russians. He then laid aside the character of mediator, to act on the defensive against the Turks; but he had soon reason to repent of this measure. The Turks, encouraged by the famous Count de Bonneval, gained considerable advantages over the Austrians; and in course of the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, they dislodged them from Wallachia and Servia, retook Orsova, and laid siege to the city of Belgrade in 1739.

The court of Vienna, in a state of great consternation, had recourse to the mediation of M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, to sue for peace with the Porte; Count Neipperg, who was sent by the emperor to the Turkish camp before Belgrade, signed there, with too much precipitation, a treaty, under very disadvantageous terms for Austria; and the Empress Anne, who had intrusted the French ambassador with her full powers, consented also to a peace very unfavourable for Russia, notwithstanding the brilliant victory which Marshal Munich had gained over the Turks in the neighbourhood of Choczim (October 28, 1739), which was followed by the capture of that place, and the conquest of Moldavia by the Russians.

The emperor, by that peace, ceded to the Porte Belgrade, Sabatz, and Orsova, with Austrian Servia and Wallachia. The Danube, the Save, and the Unna, were again settled as the boundary between the two Empires; and Austria preserved nothing but the Banat of Temeswar of all that had been ceded to her by the peace of Passarowitz. The Austrian merchants, however, were granted free ingress and egress, in the kingdoms and provinces of the Ottoman Empire, both by sea and land, in their own vessels, with the flag and letters-patent of the emperor, on condition of their paying the accustomed dues.

Russia surrendered all her conquests, and among others Choczim and Moldavia. The boundaries between the two Empires were regulated by different special agreements. The fortress of Azoff was demolished; and it was stipulated that Russia should not construct any new fortress within thirty versts of that place, on the one side; nor the Porte within thirty versts, on the side of the Cuban. Russia was even interdicted from having and constructing fleets or other naval stores, either on the sea of Azoff or the Black Sea. The Zaporog Cossacs continued under the dominion of Russia, which obtained also from the Porte the acknow-

ledgment of the Imperial title. The peace between Russia and the Porte was declared perpetual; but they limited that between Austria and the Porte to twenty-seven years. The latter was renewed under the Empress Maria Theresa; and rendered also perpetual, by an agreement which that princess concluded with the Porte, May 25, 1747.

The succession to Charles VI., the last male descendant of the House of Hapsburg, who died October 20th, 1740, kindled a new general war in Europe. That prince, in the year 1713, had published an order of succession, known by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, which decreed, that, failing his lineal heirs-male, his own daughters should succeed in preference to those of his brother the Emperor Joseph I.; and that the succession of his daughters should be regulated according to the order of primogeniture, so that the elder should be preferred to the younger, and that she alone should inherit his whole estates. He took great pains to get this order approved by the different hereditary States of Austria, as well as by the daughters of his brother Joseph I., and by the husbands of these princesses, the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria. He even obtained, by degrees, the sanction of all the principal powers of Europe. But, though his external policy had been very active in securing the rights of his eldest daughter Maria Theresa, he neglected those measures to which he ought rather to have directed his attention. The wretched state in which he left his finances and his army, encouraged a number of pretenders, who disputed the succession with that princess.

Of these claimants, the principal was the Elector of Bavaria, who, as being descended from Anne of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand I., advanced the claims of the former of these daughters against the latter; grounded on the contract of marriage between that princess and Albert V., Duke of Bavaria, as well as on the will of Ferdinand I. The Elector of Saxony, then King of Poland, although he had approved of the Pragmatic Sanction, claimed the succession, as being husband of the elder of these princesses; and in virtue of a compact between the two brothers, Joseph I. and Charles VI., which provided, that the daughters of Joseph should, under all circumstances, be preferred to those of Charles.

Philip V., King of Spain, laid claim to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. He grounded his rights on an agreement (1617) between Philip III. of Spain and Ferdinand of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand II., according to which these kingdoms were to pass to the descendants of Philip III., failing the male line of Ferdinand. A war had arisen between Spain and England on account of the clandestine traffic which the English carried on in Spanish America, under favour of the contract called the *Assiento*. Philip V. thought of turning these differences relative to the Austrian succession to his own advantage, either for drawing France into an alliance with him against England, or to procure for his son Don Philip a settlement in Italy, at the expense of the daughter of Charles VI.

Frederic II., King of Prussia, who had just succeeded his father Frederic I., judged this a favourable time for turning his attention to the affairs of his own kingdom, and profiting by the troops and

treasures which his father had left. With this view, he revived certain claims of his family to several duchies and principalities in Silesia, of which his ancestors, he maintained, had been unjustly deprived by Austria. Finally, the King of Sardinia laid claim to the whole duchy of Milan; grounded on the contract of marriage between his ancestor, Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, and the daughter of Phillip II. of Spain. The court of France, wishing to avail herself of these circumstances for humbling Austria, her ancient rival, set on foot a negotiation with the elector of Bavaria, and engaged to procure him the Imperial crown, with a part of the territories of which he had deprived Austria.

An alliance was concluded between France, Spain, and the Elector of Bavaria, which was joined also by the Kings of Prussia, Poland, Sardinia, and the Two Sicilies; and to prevent Russia from affording assistance to Maria Theresa, they prevailed on Sweden to declare war against that power. The court of Vienna having complained of these resolutions to the French cabinet, which were directly opposed to the conditions of the last treaty of Vienna, Cardinal Fleury, who had been drawn into that war by the intrigues of M. De Belleisle, alleged, in his own justification, that the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, which France had undertaken by that treaty, presupposed the clause *Sine prejudicio tertii*; that is to say, that France never intended, by that guarantee, to prejudice the just claims of the Elector of Bavaria.

The most active of the enemies of Maria Theresa was the King of Prussia, who entered Silesia in the month of December 1740. While he was occupied in making that conquest, the Elector of Bavaria, reinforced by an army of French auxiliaries, took possession of Upper Austria; but, instead of marching directly upon Vienna, he turned towards Bohemia, with the intention of conquering it. Meantime, the Electoral Diet, which was assembled at Frankfort, conferred the Imperial dignity on that prince (January 24, 1742), who took the name of Charles VII. Nothing appeared then to prevent the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy, according to the plan of the allied powers. The Elector of Bavaria was to have Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the provinces of Upper Austria; the Elector of Saxony was to have Moravia and Upper Silesia; and the King of Prussia the remainder of Silesia. As for Austrian Lombardy, it was destined for Don Philip, the Infant of Spain. Nothing was left to the queen, except the kingdom of Hungary, with Lower Austria, the duchies of Carinthia, Stiria, and Carniola, and the Belgic Provinces. In the midst of these imminent dangers, Maria Theresa displayed a courage beyond her age and sex. Aided by the supplies of money which England and Holland furnished her, and by the generous efforts which the Hungarian nation made in her favour, she succeeded in calming the storm, repulsing the enemy with vigour, and dissolving the grand league which had been formed against her.

The King of Prussia, in consequence of the two victories which he gained at Molwitz (April 10, 1741), and Czaslau (May 17, 1742), had succeeded in conquering Silesia, Moravia, and part of Bohemia. It was of importance for the queen to get rid of so formidable an enemy. The King of Great Britain having interposed, certain prelimi-

naries were signed at Breslau, which were followed by a definitive peace, concluded at Berlin (July 28, 1742). The queen, by this treaty, gave up to the King of Prussia Silesia and the Comté of Glatz, excepting the principality of Teschen, and part of the principalities of Troppau, Jagerndorf, and Neisse. The example of Prussia, was soon followed by the King of Poland. This prince, alarmed at the sudden increase of the Prussian power, not only acceded to the treaty of Berlin, but even formed an alliance with the queen against Prussia.

The King of Sardinia, who dreaded the preponderance of the Bourbons in Italy, likewise abandoned the grand alliance, and attached himself to the queen's interests, by a compact which was signed at Turin. The French and Spaniards then turned their arms against that prince; and, while the King of the Two Sicilies joined his forces with the Spaniards, an English squadron appeared before Naples, threatened to bombard the city, and compelled the king to recall his troops from Lombardy, and remain neutral. This was not the only piece of service which George II. rendered the young queen. Being one of the powers that guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, he sent to her aid an army composed of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians. This, known by the name of the Pragmatic Army, fought and defeated the French at Dettingen (June 27, 1743). They were afterwards reinforced by a body of troops which the States-General sent, in fulfilment of the engagement which they had contracted with the court of Vienna. Lastly, that prince, in order to attach the King of Sardinia more closely to the interests of Austria, set on foot a treaty at Worms, by which the queen ceded to the King of Sardinia the territory of Pavia, between the Po and the Tesino, part of the duchy of Placentia, and the district of Anghiera, with the rights which they claimed to the marquisate of Finale. The king, on his part, abandoned all claims to the Milanais; and engaged to support an army of 40,000 men for the service of the queen, in consideration of the supplies which England promised to pay him.

This soon changed the aspect of affairs. The queen re-conquered Austria and Bohemia. She expelled the French from Bavaria, and drove them even beyond the Rhine. The Emperor Charles VII. was obliged to transfer his residence from Munich to Frankfort on the Maine. France, who had never acted till then but as the ally of the Elector of Bavaria, resolved, in consequence of these events, formally to declare war against the Queen, and the King of Great Britain (March 15, 1744). The King of the Two Sicilies broke his neutrality, and again joined his troops with the Spanish army, who were acting against the queen and her ally the King of Sardinia. The war was now carried on with fresh vigour. Louis XV. attacked the Austrian Netherlands in person, and negotiated a treaty of union, at Frankfort, between the emperor and several principal states of the Empire. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the allied princes should unite their forces, and constrain the queen to acknowledge the Emperor Charles VII., and reinstate him in his hereditary dominions.

It was in consequence of this treaty that the King of Prussia again commenced the war, and

made an attack on Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had invaded Alsace, at the head of an Austrian army, was obliged to repossess the Rhine, and march to the relief of that kingdom. The French penetrated into Germany, and while Louis XV. laid siege to Friburg in Brisgaw, General Seckendorf, who commanded the Imperial army, conquered Bavaria. Charles VII., who was then restored to his estates, returned to Munich.

During these transactions, an unforeseen event happened, which changed the state of affairs. The emperor died at the early age of forty-seven (January 20, 1745), and his son Maximilian, Joseph II., used all expedition to make up matters with the queen. By the special treaty, which he concluded with her at Fuesen (April 22, 1745), he renounced the claims which his father had made to the succession of Charles VI. He again signed the Pragmatic Sanction, satisfied with being maintained in the possession of his patrimonial estates. The French had in vain endeavoured to prevent the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Imperial throne, who had been associated with his wife, Maria Theresa, in the government of her hereditary dominions. That prince, however, was elected at Frankfurt, under the protection of the Austrian and Pragmatic armies.

An alliance had been concluded at Warsaw between Maria Theresa, Poland, England, and Holland (January 8, 1745). Augustus III. had engaged, as Elector of Saxony, to despatch an army of 30,000 men to the queen's assistance, in consideration of the subsidies which England and Holland had promised to pay him. That army being joined by the Austrians, had advanced into Silesia, where they sustained a total defeat near Hohenfriedberg (June 4). The victorious King of Prussia returned to Bohemia, and there defeated the allies a second time, near Sorr, in the Circle of Konigratz (September 30). He then attacked Saxony, in order to compel the queen to make peace, by harassing the elector her ally. The victory, which he gained over the Saxons at Kesselsdorf (December 15), made him master of Dresden and the whole electorate, which he laid under contribution. These victories accelerated the peace between the King of Prussia, the Queen, and the Elector of Saxony, which was signed at Dresden, under the mediation of Great Britain. The King of Prussia restored to the elector all his estates, the latter promising to pay him a million of Imperial crowns. The queen gave up Silesia and the comté of Glatz; while the King, as the Elector of Brandenburg, acquiesced in the election of Francis I. to the Imperial throne. The King of England, the Dutch, and the States of the Empire, undertook to guarantee these stipulations.

The treaties of Fuesen and Dresden restored tranquillity to the Empire; but the war was continued in the Netherlands, Italy, and in the East and West Indies. The French, under the conduct of Marshal Saxe, distinguished themselves in the Netherlands. The victories which they gained over the allies at Fontenoy (May 11, 1745), and at Rocoux (October 11, 1746), procured them the conquest of all the Austrian Netherlands, except the towns and fortresses of Luxemburg, Limburg, and Gueldres.

Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, encour-

aged and assisted by the court of France, landed in Scotland in August 1745. Being joined by a number of partisans, whom he found in that kingdom, he caused his father to be proclaimed at Perth and Edinburgh, assuming to himself the title of Prince of Wales, and Regent of the three kingdoms. The victory which he gained near Prestonpans over the English troops, rendered him master of all Scotland. He next invaded England, took Carlisle, and advanced as far as Derby, spreading terror and consternation in London. George II. was obliged to recall the Duke of Cumberland, with his troops, from the Netherlands. That prince drove back the Pretender, re-took Carlisle, and restored tranquillity in Scotland, by defeating the rebels near Culloden in the Highlands. Charles Edward was then reduced to the necessity of concealing himself among the mountains, until the month of October following, when he found means to transport himself to France.

The campaign of 1745 in Italy was glorious for the French, and their allies the Spaniards. The republic of Genoa, being offended at the clause in the treaty of Worms, which took from them the marquisate of Finale, espoused the cause of the two crowns, and facilitated the junction of the French army of the Alps with that of Lombardy. One effect of this junction was the conquest of Piedmont, as also of Austrian Lombardy, excepting the cities of Turin and Mantua, which the allies had laid under blockade.

The fate of the war, however, experienced a new change in Italy, at the opening of the following campaign. Maria Theresa, disengaged from the war with Prussia, sent considerable reinforcements into Lombardy, which gave her arms a superiority over those of the allies. The French and Spaniards were stripped of all their conquests, and sustained a grand defeat at Placentia (June 16, 1746), which obliged them to beat a retreat. To add to their misfortunes, the new King of Spain, Ferdinand VI., who had just succeeded his father, Philip V., being displeased with the court of France, and unfavourably inclined towards his brother Don Philip, recalled all his troops from Italy. The French had then no other alternative left than to follow the Spaniards in their retreat. Italy was abandoned to the Austrians, and the French troops again returned to Provence. The whole republic of Genoa, with its capital, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The King of Sardinia took possession of Finale, Savona, and the western part of the republican territory. The Austrians, joined by the Piedmontese, made a descent on Provence, and undertook the siege of Antibes.

An extraordinary event produced a diversion favourable for France, and obliged the Austrians and Piedmontese to repossess the Alps. The Genoese being maltreated by the Austrians, who had burdened them with contributions and discretionary exactions, suddenly rose against their new masters. The insurgents, with Prince Doria at their head, succeeded in expelling them from Genoa (December 1746). General Botta, who commanded at Genoa, was obliged to abandon his stores and equipage, that he might the more quickly escape from the territory of the republic. The siege of Antibes was raised; the allies repossessed the Alps, and blockaded Genoa. But the French having sent powerful supplies by sea to that city, and at

the same time made a vigorous attack on the side of Piedmont, relieved the Genoese, and obliged the enemy to retreat.

In 1747, the French, who were already masters of the Austrian Netherlands, attacked and conquered Dutch Flanders. They blamed the Dutch for having sent constant supplies to Maria Theresa, for having invaded the French territory, and granted a retreat through their own to the enemy's troops, after the battle of Fontenoy. This invasion spread terror in the province of Zealand, who thus saw themselves deprived of their barrier, and exposed to the inroads of the French. The partisans of the Prince of Orange took advantage of that circumstance to restore the stadtholdership. This dignity, as well as that of captain and admiral-general of the republic, had remained vacant since the death of William III.

William IV., Prince of Nassau-Dietz, though he was testamentary heir to that prince, had only obtained the stadtholdership of Friesland, to which was afterwards added that of Groningen and Gueldres; but the efforts which he made to obtain the other offices and dignities of the ancient Princes of Orange, proved ineffectual. The four provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overysel, persisted in their free government, and even refused the prince the office of general of infantry, which he had requested. France, by attacking Dutch Flanders, contributed to the elevation of William. There was a general feeling in his favour in those provinces which had no stadtholder; the people of the different towns and districts rose in succession, and obliged the magistrates to proclaim William IV. as stadtholder and captain-general. This revolution was achieved without disturbance, and without any obstacle on the part of those who had an interest in opposing it, but who were obliged to yield to the wishes of the people. They even went so far as to declare the stadtholdership, as well as the offices of captain and admiral-general, hereditary in all the prince's descendants, male and female—a circumstance unprecedented since the foundation of the republic.

This change which happened in the stadtholdership did not, however, prevent the French from making new conquests. They had no sooner got possession of Dutch Flanders, than they attacked the town of Maestricht. The Duke of Cumberland having advanced with the allied army to cover the town, a bloody battle took place near Laveld (July 2, 1747), which was gained by the French, under the command of Marshal Saxe. The fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, which was deemed impregnable by its situation and the marshes which surrounded it, was carried by assault by Count Lewendal, two months after he had opened his trenches.

However brilliant the success of the French arms was on the continent, they failed in almost all their maritime expeditions. The English took from them Louisburg and Cape Breton in America; and completely destroyed the French marine, which had been much neglected, under the ministry of Cardinal Fleury. All the belligerent powers at length felt the necessity of peace; and there were two events which tended to accelerate it. The Empress of Russia, conformable to the engagements into which she had entered with the courts of Vienna and London, by the treaties of

1746 and 1747, had despatched Prince Reppin to the Rhine, at the head of 30,000 men. Marshal Saxe, at the same time, had laid siege to Maestricht, in presence of the enemy, who were 80,000 strong. The taking of that city would have laid open all Holland to the French, and threatened the republic with the most disastrous consequences.

A preliminary treaty was then signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was followed by a definitive peace (October 18, 1748). There all former treaties since that of Westphalia were renewed; a mutual restitution was made on both sides of all conquests made during the war, both in Europe and in the East and West Indies; and in consideration of the important restitutions which France had made on the continent, they ceded to Don Philip, the son-in-law of Louis XV., and brother of Don Carlos, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, to be possessed by him and his lawful heirs male. The treaty of preliminaries contained two conditions upon which the duchies of Parma and Guastalla should revert to the queen, and that of Placentia to the King of Sardinia; viz. 1. Failing the male descendants of Don Philip. 2. If Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, should be called to the throne of Spain. In this latter case, it was presumed that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should pass to Don Philip, the younger brother of that prince; but they did not seem to recollect that the peace of Vienna (1738) had secured this latter kingdom to Don Carlos, and all his descendants male and female; and consequently, nothing prevented that prince, should the case so happen, from transferring the Two Sicilies to one of his own younger sons; supposing even that he were not permitted to unite that kingdom with the Spanish monarchy. The plenipotentiaries having perceived this oversight after the conclusion of the preliminaries, took care to rectify it in the definitive treaty, by thus wording the second clause of the reversion, "Should Don Philip, or any of his descendants, be either called to the throne of Spain, or to that of the Two Sicilies."

The empress agreed to this change, but the King of Sardinia was not so complaisant. In respect to him, it was necessary to make the definitive treaty entirely conformable to the preliminaries. It was this circumstance which prevented the King of the Two Sicilies from acceding to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By that treaty the King of Sardinia was confirmed in those different possessions in the Milanais which the treaty of Worms had adjudged him. These, however, did not include that part of Placentia which had just been ceded to Don Philip; nor the marquise of Finale, which the Genoese retained. That republic, and the Duke of Modena, who had always been the ally of France, were restored to the same state in which they were before the war. Silesia was guaranteed to the King of Prussia by the whole of the contracting powers. As for England, besides the guarantee of the British succession in favour of the House of Hanover, she obtained a renewal of the expulsion of the Pretender from the soil of France; while this latter power, victorious on the continent, consented to revive the humiliating clause in the treaty of Utrecht, which ordered the demolition of the port of Dunkirk. The only modification which was made to this clause was, that the fortifications

of the place on the land side should be preserved. Lastly, by the sixteenth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the contract of the *Assiento* respecting the slave trade granted to England by the treaty of Utrecht, was renewed in favour of the English Company of the *Assiento*, for the four years in which that trade had been interrupted during the war.⁴

This peace produced no considerable change on the political state of Europe; but by maintaining the King of Prussia in his conquest of Silesia, it raised a rival to Austria in the very centre of the Empire. The unity of the Germanic body was thus broken, and that body divided between the two leading powers, Austria and Prussia. The system of aggrandizement and convenience which Frederic the Great had put in practice for depriving Austria of Silesia came afterwards into vogue; and by gradually undermining the system of equilibrium, which former treaties had introduced, it occasioned new revolutions in Europe.

The dispute about the Austrian succession extended its influence to the North, where it kindled a war between Russia and Sweden. The Empress Anne, a little before her death (October 17, 1740), had destined as her successor on the throne of Russia the young Prince Iwan or John, the son of her niece Anne of Mecklenburg, by Prince Anthony Ulric of Brunswick. The regency during the minority of Iwan was conferred on her favourite Biron, whom she had raised to the first offices of the state, and created Duke of Courland. The mother of the young emperor, indignant at seeing the management of affairs in the hands of a favourite, gained over to her interests Field-Marshal Munich, by whose assistance the Duke of Courland was arrested and banished to Siberia, whilst she herself was proclaimed Grand Duchess and Regent of the Empire.

The ministry of this princess were divided in their opinions on the subject of the war about the Austrian succession. Some supported the cause of Prussia, with which Russia had just renewed her treaties of alliance; while others were inclined for Austria, the ancient ally of Russia. This latter party having prevailed, France, in order to prevent Russia from assisting Maria Theresa, thought proper to give her some occupation in the North. It was by no means difficult to raise Sweden against her, where the faction of the *Hats*, then the ruling party, was entirely devoted to the French interest. This faction, which was opposed by that of the *Bonnets* or *Caps*, renewed the treaty of subsidy with France, and also concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance against Russia (December 22, 1739). Encouraged by the young nobles, they flattered themselves that the time was come, when Sweden would repair the losses which she had sustained by the foolish expeditions of Charles XII.

A diet extraordinary was assembled at Stockholm (August 1741), which declared war against Russia. They alleged, among other motives, the exclusion of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, from the throne of Russia; the assassination of Major Sinclair, who had been murdered, as the Swedes affirmed, by the emissaries of Russia, while bearing despatches from Constantinople for the Swedish court, and when he was passing through Silesia on his way to Stockholm. This declaration

of war had been made before the Swedes could take those measures which prudence should have dictated. They had neither an army fit for action, nor stores prepared in Finland; and their general, Count Lewenhaupt, had nothing to recommend him but his devotion to the ruling party. Sweden had flattered herself that the Turks would recommence the war with Russia, and that she would thus find resources in the alliance and subsidies of France. The first action, which took place near Wilmanstrand (September 3, 1741), was quite in favour of the Russians; a great number of Swedes were there either killed or made prisoners, and the town of Wilmanstrand was carried sword-in-hand.

Meantime a revolution happened at St. Petersburg, which seemed to have brought about a favourable change for the Swedish government. The Princess Elizabeth, supported by the Marquis de la Chetardie, minister of France, and by a company of the guards whom she had drawn over to her interest, seized the Regent Anne, her husband, the Prince of Brunswick, and the young emperor; all of whom she sent into exile, and caused herself to be proclaimed empress. The Swedes, who had flattered themselves with having aided in placing that princess on the throne, immediately entered into negotiations with her; but as they carried their pretensions too high, the conference was broken off, and the war continued.

The campaign of 1742 proved also unfortunate for Sweden. Their army in Finland, though equal in point of strength to that of Russia, durst not keep the field. They abandoned all their best posts one after another, and retired towards Helsingfors, beyond the river Kymen. Shut up in this position, and besieged by sea and land, they were obliged to capitulate. The Swedish troops returned home, the Finnish regiments laid down their arms, and the whole of Finland surrendered to the Russians.

The States of Sweden having assembled under these circumstances, and being desirous of an accommodation with Russia, offered the throne of Sweden to Charles Ulric, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and nephew of the Empress Elizabeth. That prince, however, declined the offer of the diet. He had just been declared Grand Duke, and presumptive heir to the Russian Empire, and had embraced the Greek religion. This intelligence astounded the diet, who then placed on the list of candidates for the throne, the Prince Royal of Denmark, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, and the Bishop of Lubeck, uncle to the new Grand Duke of Russia. A considerable party were inclined for the Prince of Denmark, and they were on the point of renewing the ancient union of the three kingdoms of the North in his favour. To prevent an election so prejudicial to the interests of Prussia, the empress abated from the rigour of her first propositions, and offered to restore to the Swedes a great part of their conquests, on condition of bestowing their throne on Prince Adolphus Frederic, Bishop of Lubeck. This condition having been acceded to, Prince Frederic was elected (July 3, 1743), the succession to descend to his male heirs. A definitive peace was then concluded between Russia and Sweden at Abo, in Finland.

Sweden, by thus renouncing her alliance with the Porte, ratified anew all that she had surrendered to Russia by the peace of Nystadt. More-

over, she ceded to that crown the province of Kymenegard in Finland, with the towns and fortresses of Friedrichsham and Wilmanstrand; as also the parish of Pyttis, lying to the east of the Kymen, and the ports, places, and districts, situated at the mouth of that river. The islands lying on the south and west of the Kymen were likewise included in this cession; as were also the town and fortress of Nyslott, with its territory. All the rest of Finland was restored to Sweden, together with the other conquests which Russia had made during the war. The Swedes were permitted to purchase annually in the Russian ports of the Baltic, and the Gulf of Finland, grain to the value of 50,000 rubles, without paying any export duty.

Portugal, about the middle of the eighteenth century, became the scene of various memorable events, which attracted general attention. John V., who had governed that kingdom from 1706 till 1750, had fallen into a state of weakness and dotage, and abandoned the reins of government to Don Gaspar, his confessor, under whose administration numerous abuses had crept into the state. Joseph I., the son and successor of John V., on ascending the throne (July 31, 1750), undertook to reform these abuses. By the advice of his minister, Sebastian De Carvalho, afterwards created Count D'Oeyras, and Marquis De Pombal, he turned his attention to every branch of the administration. He patronised the arts and sciences, encouraged agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; regulated the finances; and used every effort to raise the army and navy of Portugal from that state of languor into which they had fallen. These innovations could not be accomplished without exciting discontent in the different orders of the state. Sebastian increased this by his inflexible severity and the despotism which he displayed in the exercise of his ministerial functions, as well as by the antipathy which he showed against the nobility and the ministers of religion. The companies which he instituted for exclusive commerce to the Indies, Africa, and China, raised against him the whole body of merchants in the kingdom. He irritated the nobility by the contempt which he testified towards them, and by annexing to the crown those immense domains in Africa and America which the nobles enjoyed by the munificence of former kings. The most powerful and the most dangerous enemies of this minister were the Jesuits, whom he had ventured to attack openly, and had even ordered to be expelled from Portugal. Of this event, which was attended with remarkable consequences, it will be necessary that we give some account.

During the life of John V., a treaty had been signed between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon (1750), in virtue of which the Portuguese colony of St. Sacramento and the northern bank of the river La Plata, in America, were ceded to Spain, in exchange for a part of Paraguay, lying on the eastern bank of the Uruguay. This treaty was on the point of being carried into execution; the commissioners appointed for this purpose had commenced their labours; but the inhabitants of the ceded territories opposed the exchange, as did several individuals in both courts. The Jesuits were suspected of being the authors and instigators of that opposition. In the territories which were to be ceded to Portugal, they had instituted a re-

public of the natives, which they governed as absolute masters, and which they were afraid would be subverted, if the exchange in question should take place. They used every means, therefore, to thwart the arrangements of the two courts; and it is alleged they even went so far as to excite a rebellion among the inhabitants of the countries to be exchanged. The consequence was, a long and expensive war between the two crowns, which occasioned much bloodshed, and cost Portugal alone nearly 20,000,000 of cruzados.

In the midst of these events, there occurred a terrible earthquake, which, in the twinkling of an eye, demolished the greater part of Lisbon, and destroyed between 20,000 and 30,000 of its inhabitants (November 1, 1755). Fire consumed whatever had escaped from the earthquake; while the overflowing of the sea, cold, and famine, added to the horrors of these calamities, which extended even over a great part of the kingdom. The Jesuits were reproached for having, at the time of this distressing event, announced new disasters, which were to overwhelm Portugal, as a punishment for the sins of which the inhabitants had been guilty. These predictions, added to the commotions which still continued in Brazil, served as a pretext for depriving the Jesuits of their office of court-confessors, shutting them out from the palace, and even interdicting them from hearing confessions over the whole kingdom.

The outrage which was committed against the king's person immediately after, furnished the minister with another pretext against that religious order. The king, when going by night to Belem (September 3, 1758), was attacked by assassins, who mistook him for another, and fired several shots at him, by which he was severely wounded. Several of the first nobles in the kingdom were accused, among others the Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis and Marchioness de Tavora, the Count d'Atougia, &c., as being the ringleaders in this plot against the king's life, who were sentenced to execution accordingly, [though their innocence was afterwards fully established.]

The Jesuits were also implicated in this affair, and publicly declared accomplices in the king's assassination. They were proscribed as traitors and disturbers of the public peace; their goods were confiscated; and every individual belonging to the order was embarked at once at the several ports of the kingdom, without any regard to age or infirmities, and transported to Civita Vecchia, within the pope's dominions. The Portuguese minister, apprehensive that this religious order, if preserved in the other states of Europe, would find means, sooner or later, to return to Portugal, used every endeavour to have their society entirely suppressed. He succeeded in this attempt by means of the negotiations which he set on foot with several of the Catholic courts. In France the society was dissolved, in virtue of the decrees issued by the parliament (1762). Paris set the first example of this. Louis XV. declared, that the society should no longer exist within the kingdom. The court of Madrid, where they had two powerful enemies in the ministry, Counts d'Aranda and De Campomanes, commanded all the Jesuits to banish themselves from the territory and jurisdiction of Spain; and, at the same time, declared their goods to be confiscated. They were likewise expelled

from the kingdom of Naples; and the order was at length entirely suppressed, by a brief of Pope Clement XIV. (July 21, 1773).^b

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had by no means restored a good understanding between France and England. A jealous rivalry divided the two nations, which served to nourish and multiply subjects of discord between them. Besides, the activity of the French in repairing their marine, which had been destroyed in the last war, was viewed with jealousy by Great Britain, which was then aspiring to the absolute command of the sea, and was conscious that France alone was able to counteract her ambitious projects. Several matters of dispute, which the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had left undecided, still subsisted between the two nations, relative to their possessions in America. The principal of these regarded the boundaries of Nova Scotia, Canada, and the neutral islands. Nova Scotia had been ceded to England, by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, according to its ancient limits. These limits the French had circumscribed within the bounds of the peninsula which forms that province; while the English insisted on extending them to the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence, of which the exclusive navigation belonged to the French.

The limits of Canada were not better defined than those of Nova Scotia. The French, with the view of opening up a communication between Canada and Louisiana, had constructed several forts along the river Ohio, on the confines of the English colonies in America. This was opposed by England, who was afraid that these establishments would endanger the safety of her colonies, especially that of Virginia. The neutral islands, namely the Caribees, which comprehended St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, still remained in a contested state, according to the ninth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French, however, alleged certain acts of possession, by which they claimed the property of these islands, as well as of the Caicos and Turkish islands. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to bring these disputes to an amicable termination. A conference was opened at Paris, which began about the end of September 1750, and continued for several years; but as neither party was disposed to act with sincerity, these conferences ended in nothing. The English, who saw that the French only sought to gain time for augmenting their marine, hastened the rupture by committing acts of hostility in America.

The first breach of the peace was committed on the banks of the Ohio, where the French, to avenge the murder of one of their officers, seized on Fort Necessity, belonging to the English (July, 1754). The English, on their side, captured two French vessels off the Bank of Newfoundland, which had refused to salute the English flag. They even attacked all the French merchantmen which they met, and captured about 300 of them. Thus a long and bloody war was waged for the deserts and uncultivated wilds of America, which extended its ravages over all parts of the globe, involving more especially the countries of Europe.

England, according to a well known political stratagem, sought to occupy the French arms on the Continent, in order to prevent the increase of her maritime strength. France, instead of avoiding

that snare, and confining herself solely to naval operations, committed the mistake of falling in with the views of the British minister. While repelling the hostilities of England by sea, she adopted at the same time measures for invading the Electorate of Hanover. The court of London, wishing to guard against this danger, began by forming a closer alliance with Russia (September 30, 1755); they demanded of the empress those supplies which they thought they might claim in virtue of former treaties; and on the refusal of that princess, who was afraid to disoblige France, and to find herself attacked by Prussia, they applied to this latter power, with whom they concluded a treaty at Westminster (January 16, 1756); the chief object of which was to prevent foreign troops from entering into the Empire during the war between France and England. To this treaty France opposed the alliance which she had concluded with Austria at Versailles, by which the two powers guaranteed their respective possessions in Europe, and promised each other a mutual supply of 24,000 men in case of attack. The differences then subsisting between France and Great Britain were not reckoned among the *Casus Federis*.

[The alliance of 1756 has given rise to different opinions among statesmen; the greater part have condemned it. Its object was, on the part of France, to guard herself against all attacks on the Continent, that she might direct her whole force against her maritime rival; but experience proved, that without attaining this object, she was henceforth obliged to take part in all the disputes of the Continent, however foreign they might be to her own policy. It was even contrary to her interests to have Austria extricated from the embarrassments which the opposition of Prussia had occasioned her. If that project had succeeded, Austria would have become the preponderating power in Germany, to a degree which would have compelled the French to turn their arms against her.]

While the French were still hesitating as to the part which they ought to take relative to the Electorate of Hanover, the King of Prussia invaded Saxony (August, 1756). On taking this step, he published a manifesto, the object of which was to prove by the dispatches of the three courts of Vienna, Dresden, and Petersburg, that they had concerted a plan among them for attacking him, and that common prudence required him to prevent it. He declared at the same time, that his entrance into Saxony had no other aim than that of opening up a communication with Bohemia; and that he would only retain that country as a *dépôt* until the conclusion of the peace. This invasion, however, stirred up a powerful league against Prussia (1757). Besides France and the empress, it was joined by the Germanic body, Russia, and Sweden. France, which had at first restricted herself to furnishing the empress with the supplies stipulated by the alliance, agreed, by a subsequent treaty, to dispatch an army of more than 100,000 men into Germany, against the King of Prussia, and his ally the King of England; and, moreover, to pay to that princess an annual subsidy of 12,000,000 of florins.

In this war the French arms were attended at first with the most brilliant success. They conquered the island of Minorca, and seized the Electorate of Hesse, and the whole states of Brunswick and Hanover; but fortune soon turned her

back on them, when they experienced nothing but defeats and disasters.⁶ The extraordinary efforts which they were making on the continent naturally tended to relax their maritime operations, and thus afforded England the means of invading their possessions in other parts of the world. In the years 1757 and 1761, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Mahé, in the East Indies, fell into the hands of the English; and in 1758 they seized on all the French settlements on the river Senegal and the coasts of Africa. The islands of Cape Breton and St. John in America; the forts and settlements on the Ohio; Quebec (where General Wolfe fell), and the whole of Canada, were all conquered in like manner, between the years 1756 and 1760. Finally, the islands of Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Dominica, Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago, were also taken from France.

The King of Prussia, though overwhelmed by the number of his enemies, and finding no great assistance from his alliance with England, nevertheless did not lose courage. He distinguished himself by the number of victories which he gained over the powers leagued against him, during the campaigns of the Seven Years' War.⁷ This war was already far advanced, when the Duke de Choiseul, who was then at the head of the French ministry, observing the great superiority of the English by sea, conceived the plan of the famous *Family Compact*, which he negotiated with the court of Madrid, and which was concluded at Paris (August 15th, 1761). The object of this treaty was to cement an alliance and a perpetual union among the different branches of the House of Bourbon, for the purpose of counterbalancing the maritime power of England.

The King of Spain had come under no engagement to join in the war which subsisted between France and England; but the haughty manner in which the court of London exacted the fulfilment of that treaty, gave rise to a declaration of war between these two courts. Spain and France demanded of the King of Portugal that he would accede to their alliance against England. That prince in vain alleged the treaties which connected him with the English nation, and which would not permit him to take part against them. One declaration, published by the two allied courts, set forth, that the Spanish troops should enter Portugal to secure the ports of that kingdom; and that it should be left at the king's option to receive them as friends or as enemies; and it was this which laid him under the necessity of declaring himself in favour of England (May 18th, 1762). An English fleet, with a supply of troops, was then sent to the relief of Portugal; while a body of French troops joined the Spanish army which was destined to act against that kingdom. The city of Almeida was the only conquest which the Spaniards made in Portugal. The English, on the contrary, took from the Spaniards the Havana, and the island of Cuba, in America; as also Manila and the Philippines in the Indian Ocean. The war thus became more general, and seemed about to assume a new vigour, when an unforeseen event changed entirely the face of affairs, and disposed the belligerents for peace.

Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, died about this time; and Peter III., nephew to that princess,

ascended the throne. Peter, who was a great admirer of the King of Prussia, took an early opportunity of making peace with that prince. A suspension of arms was signed between the two crowns, which was followed by a treaty of peace, concluded at St. Petersburg (May 5th, 1762). By that treaty, Russia surrendered all the conquests which she had made in Prussia and Pomerania during the war. Peter renounced the alliances which he had formerly contracted against the King of Prussia; while he, in his turn, refused to form alliances or engagements contrary to the interests of Russia, or to the hereditary possessions of Peter in Germany. But the new emperor was not content with testifying this mark of affection for the King of Prussia. He agreed to send a body of troops into Silesia to his assistance. A revolution, however, happened in Russia, which occasioned new changes. Peter III. was dethroned (July 9th) after a reign of six months. The Empress Catherine II., his widow, on ascending the throne, preserved the treaty of peace with the King of Prussia; but she recalled her troops from Silesia, and declared that she would maintain neutrality between the king and the empress.

Sweden, who had experienced nothing but defeats in the course of that war, followed the example of Russia. She agreed to a suspension of arms with the King of Prussia, and soon after concluded a treaty of peace with him at Hamburg (May 22nd, 1762). These two treaties paved the way for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were signed at Fontainebleau, between France, England, Spain, and Portugal. The definitive peace was concluded at Paris (February 10th, 1763). This treaty was followed by that of Hubertsburg, which reconciled Prussia with the Empress and the Elector of Saxony.

By this latter treaty the empress surrendered to the King of Prussia the province of Glatz, as also the fortresses of Wesel and Gueldres. The Elector of Saxony again took possession of those states of which the King of Prussia had been deprived; and the treaties of Breslau, Berlin, and Dresden, were renewed. Thus, after seven campaigns, as sanguinary as they were expensive, the peace of Hubertsburg restored the affairs of Germany to the same state in which they had been before the war.

France, by the treaty of Paris, ceded to England Canada and the island of Cape Breton, with the islands and coasts of the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. The boundaries between the two nations in North America were fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth. All on the left or eastern bank of that river, was given up to England, except the city of New Orleans, which was reserved to France; as was also the liberty of the fisheries on a part of the coasts of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The islands of St. Peter and Miquelon were given them as a shelter for their fishermen, but without permission to raise fortifications. The islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, and St. Lucia, were surrendered to France; while Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, were ceded to England. This latter power retained her conquests on the Senegal, and restored to France the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa. France

was put in possession of the forts and factories which belonged to her in the East Indies, on the coasts of Coromandel, Orissa, Malabar, and Bengal, under the restriction of keeping up no military force in Bengal.

In Europe, France restored all the conquests she had made in Germany; as also the island of Minorca. England gave up to her Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany; while Dunkirk was kept in the same condition as had been determined by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The island of Cuba, with the Havanna, were restored to the King of Spain, who, on his part, ceded to England Florida, with Port-Augustine and the Bay of Penzacola. The King of Portugal was restored to the same state in which he had been before the war. The colony of St. Sacrament in America, which the Spaniards had conquered, was given back to him.⁸

The peace of Paris, of which we have just now spoken, was the era of England's greatest prosperity. Her commerce and navigation extended over all parts of the globe, and were supported by a naval force, so much the more imposing, as it was no longer counterbalanced by the maritime power of France, which had been almost annihilated in the preceding war. The immense territories which that peace had secured her, both in Africa and America, opened up new channels for her industry; and, what deserves especially to be remarked, is, that she acquired at the same time vast and important possessions in the East Indies.

[Her influence, however, on the politics of the continent, diminished rather than increased, after the peace of Paris. Her ally, Frederic II., having been abandoned by the cabinet of London, attached himself to Russia; while, on the other side, Austria had been estranged from Great Britain by the treaties of 1756 and 1758. Holland and Portugal were thus the only states which remained in strict alliance with the court of England.]

The Empire of the Great Mogul in India had fallen into decay about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The viceroys and petty governors of the Empire, called *Soubahs* and *Nabobs*, had become independent, and usurped the prerogatives of royalty in the districts under their authority; while the Mogul Emperor, reduced almost to the single city of Delhi, his capital, preserved nothing but the shadow of sovereign power, by means of the investitures which he granted to these ambitious princes, and the coinage that was struck in his name. Whenever any differences arose among these princes, they usually had recourse to the European nations, who had settlements in India, and had erected forts with the consent of the Great Mogul, where they kept an armed force for the protection of their commerce. If the French took the part of one nabob, it was sufficient for the English to espouse the quarrel of his adversary; and while the two nations were mutually cultivating peace in Europe, they were often at the same time making war in India, by furnishing supplies to their respective allies. Success was for a long time equal on both sides; and it was not until the war of 1755, and by the victories and conquests of the famous Lord Clive, that England obtained a decided ascendancy over the French in that quarter of the world.

Sourajah Dowlah, the Soubah of Bengal, insti-

gated, as is supposed, by the French, had taken possession of Calcutta (1756), the principal settlement of the English on the Ganges. His cruel treatment of the English garrison, which he had made prisoners of war, excited the resentment of that nation. To avenge this outrage, Colonel Clive, supported by Admiral Watson, retook Calcutta (January, 1757); and after having dispossessed the French of Chandernagore, their principal establishment on the Ganges, he vanquished the Soubah in several actions, deposed him, and put in his place Jaffier Ali Khan, his general and prime minister, who was entirely devoted to England.

With this era commences the foundation of the British Empire in India. It happened a short time after, that the Mogul Emperor, Shah Allum, being driven from his capital by the Patans, an Indian tribe, solicited the protection of the English, who availed themselves of this occasion, as well as of the death of Jaffier Ali, which happened at this time (August 12th, 1765), to get themselves vested by treaty, and by means of an imperial charter, in the sovereignty of all Bengal. In virtue of this title, which legitimized their power in the eyes of the people, they seized on the public revenues of the kingdoms of Bengal, Baha, and Orissa; with the reservation of an annual tribute, which they promised to pay to the Mogul Emperor, and certain pensions which they assigned to the Soubahs, whose phantom power they disposed of at their pleasure. The dominion of the English in India was increased still more by subsequent conquests; the most important of which was the powerful state of Mysore, which they utterly overthrew, after a series of wars which they carried on with Hyder Ali, and his successor Tipoo Saib.⁹

[The death of Ferdinand IV., King of Spain, was an event of some importance. He was succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, and eldest son of Philip V. by his second marriage, who assumed the title of Charles III. Under this prince the philosophy of the eighteenth century penetrated into Spain, where it displayed an energy, and gave rise to consequences, which had not yet attended it in France. It occasioned the downfall of the Jesuits, which was accompanied by deeds repugnant to justice and humanity. The ministers and councillors of that monarch, the Counts Aranda, Florida Blanca, and Campomanes, introduced into the internal administration of Spain, especially its finances and tactics, an order and regularity which had been long unknown in that country. Agriculture, commerce, and industry were beginning to recover from their languor, when the American war again threw them into a state of fatal depression.]

Before quitting Naples to take possession of the throne of Spain, Don Carlos, who, as King of the Two Sicilies, had the title of Charles VII., published a fundamental law, bearing, that agreeably to former treaties which did not admit the union of the Italian states with the Spanish monarchy, he transferred the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his third son, Don Ferdinand; as his eldest son, Don Philip, was incapable of reigning, and his second, Don Carlos, was destined for the throne of Spain. He intrusted the administration to a regency, during the nonage of the young prince, whose majority was fixed at the age of seventeen.

By this law he regulated the order of succession which was to take place in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and which was the same as that which Philip V. had established in Spain at the cortes of 1713. After the descendants male and female of his own body, Charles substituted his brothers, Don Philip, Duke of Parma, and Don Louis; adding, that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should never in any case be united with the Spanish monarchy. This regulation of the new King of Spain accorded perfectly with the terms of the seventh article of the treaty of Vienna (1738), which secured the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to that prince and his descendants, male and female; and, failing them, to his younger brothers and their descendants, of both sexes.

The King of Sardinia continued, however, to enforce his right of reversion to that part of Placentia, which the fourth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had secured to him, in case Don Carlos should remove from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to the crown of Spain. The court of France, wishing to retain that possession for Don Philip, and to prevent the tranquillity of Italy from being disturbed by the pretensions of the King of Sardinia, engaged to procure that prince an equivalent with which he should have reason to be satisfied. This equivalent was settled (June 10th, 1763) by a convention concluded at Paris, between France, Spain, and the King of Sardinia. The latter consented to restrict his right of reversion in the two cases specified in the seventh article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; viz. 1. Failing the male descendants of Don Philip; 2. Should that prince, or one of his descendants, be called either to the throne of Spain or to that of the Two Sicilies, and should one or other of these two cases happen in the meantime, the crowns of France and Spain engaged that the King of Sardinia should enjoy the same amount of annual revenue which might accrue to him (after deducting the expenses of administration), from that part of Placentia on the Nura, should he ever come into actual possession. For this purpose, France undertook, by a special agreement, which was signed at Paris the same day with the preceding, to pay the King of Sardinia, by twelve instalments, the sum of 8,000,200 livres; on condition of reverting to France, should one or other of these alternatives happen.

The sudden aggrandisement of Russia, since the time of Peter the Great, had changed the political system of the North. That power had raised herself to the first rank. She dictated the law to Poland and Sweden, her ancient rivals; disposed of the throne of Poland on every change of reign; and at the same time decided the fate of Courland. That duchy, which had long been possessed by the family of Ketter, who held it as a fief of the crown of Poland, had become vacant on the death of the Duke Ferdinand, the last male descendant of that House. Anne, Empress of Russia, being then only Duchess of Courland, had a favourite, named Ernest John Biron, a man raised by fortune, whose grandfather had been groom to James III., Duke of Courland. When that princess mounted the throne of Russia, she raised Biron to the rank of Count, and to the office of Great Chamberlain and Prime Minister. The haughty favourite assumed the name and arms of

the family of Biron, in France; and prevailed with the empress to grant him the duchy of Courland. At the death of the last duke, he even succeeded in getting himself elected by the states of that country (1737), with the aid of a body of Russian troops, which the empress had sent to Mittau, to support his election. He was invested in the duchy by the Republic of Poland, to be possessed by himself and his heirs-male; but he did not long enjoy this new dignity. He was deprived of it on the death of the empress (1740), and banished to Siberia by the Grand Duchess Anne, mother of the young emperor. This princess caused a new election to be made by the nobility of Courland. The duchy was then conferred on Louis Ernest, Prince of Brunswick, who was to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. But the young emperor, Iwan, having been dethroned immediately after, the Prince of Brunswick never obtained possession of the duchy. The Empress Elizabeth having declared to the Republic of Poland that the Duke de Biron should never be liberated from his exile, Augustus III., King of Poland, declared the duchy of Courland vacant. He then prevailed on the states of that country to elect his own son, Prince Charles, whom he solemnly invested in the duchy (1759).

A new change happened at the death of the Empress Elizabeth, in 1762. Peter III., on his accession to the throne of Russia, recalled the Duke de Biron from his exile. The Empress, Catherine II., who succeeded her husband that same year, went even farther than this; she demanded the restoration of de Biron to the duchy of Courland, and obliged Prince Charles of Saxony to give it up to him (1769). The Duke de Biron then resigned the duchy to his son Peter, who, after a reign of twenty-five years, gave in his submission to the Empress; when the states of Courland and Semigallia made a formal submission to Russia (March 28th, 1795).

The dethronement of Peter III., which we have just mentioned, was an event very favourable to Denmark, as it relieved that kingdom from a ruinous war with which it was threatened on the part of the emperor. Peter III. was the head of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, whom Denmark had deprived of their possessions in Sleswick, by taking advantage of the disasters that befel Sweden, which had protected that family against the Danish kings. The Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp exclaimed against that usurpation; to which the Court of Denmark had nothing to oppose, except the right of conquest, and the guarantee which the Kings of France and England, as mediators in the treaty of Stockholm, had given to Denmark with respect to Sleswick.

Peter III., was scarcely seated on the throne of Russia, when he began to concert means for recovering his ancient patrimonial domains, and avenging the wrongs which the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, his ancestors, had received at the hands of Denmark. Being determined to make war against that power, he attached the King of Prussia to his cause, and marched a Russian army of 60,000 men towards the frontiers of Denmark. Six thousand Prussians were to join this army, which was supported by a Russian fleet to be stationed on the coasts of Pomerania. The King of Denmark made every effort to repel the invasion with which

he was threatened. He set on foot an army of 70,000 men, the command of which he intrusted to M. de St. Germain, a distinguished French officer.

The Danish army advanced towards Mecklenburg, and established their head-quarters in the town of that name, one league from Wismar. The Danish fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line and eleven frigates, appeared at the same time off Rostock. The flames of war were about to kindle in the North, and Peter III. was on the point of joining his army in person at Mecklenburg, when he was dethroned, after a short reign of six months (July 9th, 1762). The Empress Catharine II., who succeeded him, did not think fit to espouse the quarrel of her husband. She immediately recalled the Russian army from Mecklenburg; and being desirous of establishing the tranquillity of the North on a solid basis, and confirming a good understanding between the two principal branches of the House of Holstein, she agreed, by a treaty of alliance with the King of Denmark (1765), to terminate all these differences by a provisional arrangement, which was not to take effect until the majority of the Grand Duke Paul, the son of Peter III.

This accommodation between the two Courts was signed at Copenhagen (April 22nd, 1762). The Empress, in the name of her son, gave up her claim to the ducal part of Sleswick, occupied by the King of Denmark. She ceded, moreover, to that sovereign a portion of Holstein, possessed by the family of Gottorp, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. It was agreed that these counties should be created into duchies, and that the ancient suffrage of Holstein-Gottorp, at the Imperial Diet, should be transferred to them. This provisional treaty was ratified when the Grand Duke came of age, and the transference of the ceded territories took place in 1773. At the same time that prince declared, that he designed the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst to form an establishment for a younger branch of his family, that of Eutin; to which the contracting powers also secured the bishopric of Lubeck, to be held in perpetual possession. The Bishop of Lubeck, the head of the younger branch of the Gottorp family, was that same year put in possession of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst; and the Emperor Joseph II. erected these counties into a duchy and fief-male of the Empire, under the title of the Duchy of Holstein-Oldenburg.

Here it will be necessary to advert to the revolutions that took place in the island of Corsica, which, after a long series of troubles and distractions, passed from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The oppressions which the Corsicans had suffered under the government of the Genoese, who treated them with extreme rigour, had rendered their yoke odious and insupportable. They rose several times in rebellion against the Republicans; but from the want of union among themselves, they failed in the different attempts which they made for effecting their liberty and independence.

One of the last insurrections of the Corsicans was that of 1729. They chose for their leader Andrew Ceccaldi, of a noble family in the Island, and Luigi Giafferi, a man of courage and an enthusiast for liberty. The Genoese, after trying in vain to subdue the insurgents, were obliged to

have recourse to the protection of foreigners. They applied to the Emperor Charles VI., who sent them several detachments of troops under the command of General Wachtendonk, and Prince Frederic Louis of Wurtemberg. The Corsicans, too feeble to oppose an enemy so superior in strength, were glad to lay down their arms. But the war about the Polish succession having obliged the emperor to withdraw his troops, the Islanders raised a new insurrection. A general assembly was then convened, which declared Corsica to be a free and independent republic (1734). Giafferi was re-elected General, and had for his colleague Hyacinthus Paoli, father to the famous general of that name. Thus the Genoese, after lavishing much expense on auxiliary troops, had the mortification to find themselves still in the same condition in which they were, before receiving the Imperial succours. They then took into their pay bodies of Swiss and Grison troops; and even enlisted outlaws and vagabonds, and placed them in their ranks to oppose the Corsicans.

It happened, during these transactions, that an adventurer appeared in Corsica, the celebrated Theodore Baron Neuhof. He was descended of a noble family in the county of Mark, in Westphalia; and having procured arms and ammunition at Tunis, he repaired to Corsica (1736), where he was determined to try his fortune. His engaging manners, added to the prospects which he held out of a powerful foreign assistance, induced the Corsicans to confer on him the royal dignity. He was proclaimed King of Corsica, and immediately assumed the external badges of royalty. He appointed guards and officers of state, coined money in his own name, and created an order of knighthood, called the *Redemption*. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm with which he had inspired the Corsicans, he boldly made war on the Genoese, and laid several of their places under blockade. But his money being exhausted, and the people beginning to cool in their attachment towards him, he took the determination of applying for assistance to foreigners. He embarked for Holland, where he found means to engage a society of merchants, by the allurements of a lucrative commerce with Corsica, to furnish him with artillery, ammunition and other supplies, with which he returned to the island.

Under these circumstances the Genoese, threatened with losing for ever their sovereignty over Corsica, entered into an association with the Court of Versailles. This court, fearing that England would take advantage of these disturbances to get possession of the island, concerted measures with the Court of Vienna for obliging the Corsicans to return to their allegiance to the Genoese. For this purpose a plan of pacification was drawn up at Versailles, and Count de Boissieux was charged to carry it into execution. This general landed in the island (1738), at the head of a body of French auxiliaries; and his arrival determined King Theodore to abandon Corsica, and seek his safety in flight. He retired to London, where he was imprisoned for debt. After a long captivity he was set at liberty, and died in a state of misery (1756). Boissieux harassed the Corsicans exceedingly, but he failed in his efforts to reduce them to submission. His successor, the Marquis de Maillebois, was more fortunate; he took his measures with

such precision and vigour, that he obliged the islanders to lay down their arms, and receive the law from the conqueror. Their Generals, Giafferi and Paoli, retired to Naples.

The war of the Austrian Succession having obliged the French Court to recall their troops from Corsica, that island became the scene of new disturbances. Gafforio and Matra then took upon them the functions of generals, and the direction of affairs. They had a colleague and coadjutor in the person of Count Rivarola, a native of Corsica, who, with the assistance of some English vessels, succeeded in expelling the Genoese from Bastia and San Fiorenzo. The Corsicans might have pushed their advantages much farther, if they could have subdued their own feuds and private animosities, and employed themselves solely in promoting the public interest; but their internal divisions retarded their success, and allowed their enemies to recover the places they had conquered. Rivarola and Matra having resigned the command, the sole charge devolved on Gafforio, who was a man of rare merit and of tried valour. He was beginning to civilize his countrymen, and to give some stability to the government of the island, when he was assassinated, as is supposed, by the emissaries of the Genoese (1753). His death plunged Corsica once more into the state of disorder and anarchy, from which he had laboured to deliver it.

At length appeared the celebrated Pascal Paoli, whom his aged father had brought from Naples to Corsica. Being elected general-in-chief by his countrymen (1755), he inspired them with fresh courage; and, while he carried on the war with success against the Genoese, he made efforts to reform abuses in the state, and to encourage agriculture, letters, and arts. Nothing was wanting for the accomplishment of this object, and to confirm the liberty and independence of his country, but the expulsion of the Genoese from the maritime towns of Bastia, San Fiorenzo, Calvi, Algagliola and Ajaccio; the only places which still remained in their power. In this he would probably have succeeded, had he not met with new interruptions from France, who had undertaken, by the several treaties which she had concluded with the Genoese in the years 1752, 1755, 1756, and 1764, to defend their ports and fortifications in that island.

The original intention of the French, in taking possession of these places, was not to carry on hostilities with Paoli and the natives, but simply to retain them for a limited time, in discharge of a debt which the French government had contracted with the Republic of Genoa. The Genoese had flattered themselves, that if exonerated from the duty of guarding the fortified places, they would be able, with their own forces, to reconquer all the rest of the island; but it was not long till they found themselves deceived in their expectations. The Corsicans drove the Genoese from the island of Capraja (1767). They even took possession of Ajaccio, and some other parts which the French had thought fit to abandon. At the same time the shipping of the Corsicans made incessant incursions on the Genoese, and annoyed their commerce.

The Senate of Genoa, convinced at last that it was impossible for them to subdue the island, and seeing the time approach when the French troops

were to take their departure, took the resolution of surrendering their rights over Corsica to the crown of France, by a treaty which was signed at Versailles (May 15th, 1768). The king promised to restore the island of Capraja to the Republic. He guaranteed to them all their possessions on *terra firma*; and engaged to pay them annually for ten years the sum of 200,000 livres. The Genoese reserved to themselves the right of reclaiming the sovereignty of Corsica, on reimbursing the king for the expenses of the expedition he was about to undertake, as well as for the maintenance of his troops. This treaty occasioned strong remonstrances on the part of the Corsicans, who prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. The first campaign turned to their advantage. It cost France several thousand men, and about thirty millions of expenses. The Duke de Choiseul, far from being discouraged by these disasters, transported a strong force into the island. He put the Count de Vaux in the place of the Marquis de Chauvelin, who, by the skilful dispositions which he made, found himself master of all Corsica in less than two months. The islanders not having received from England the supplies which they had requested, the prospect of which had kept up their courage, considered it rash and hopeless to make longer resistance. The different provinces, in their turn, gave in their submission; and the principal leaders of the Corsicans dispersed themselves among the neighbouring states. Pascal Paoli took refuge in England.

The throne of Poland having become vacant by the death of Augustus III. (October 5th, 1763), the Empress Catherine II. destined that crown for Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman, who had gained her favour when he arrived at St. Petersburg as plenipotentiary of Poland. That princess having gained over the court of Berlin to her interests, sent several detachments of troops into Poland; and in this manner succeeded in carrying the election of her favourite, who was proclaimed king at the Diet of Warsaw (September 7th, 1764). It was at this diet of election that the empress formally interceded with the republic in favour of the *Dissidents* (or dissenters) of Poland and Lithuania, with the view of having them reinstated in those civil and ecclesiastical rights, of which they had been deprived by the intolerance of the Catholics. The name of *Dissidents* was then given to the Protestants and Greek non-conformists in Poland, both Lutherans and Calvinists. That kingdom, as well as Lithuania, had contained, from the earliest ages, a vast number of Greeks, who persisted in their schism, in spite of the efforts which were incessantly made by the Polish clergy for bringing them back to the pale of the Romish church. The Protestant doctrines had been introduced into Poland, and had made considerable progress in the course of the seventeenth century; more especially in the reign of Sigismund Augustus. The nobles who were attached to that form of worship had obtained, at the Diet of Wilna (1563), the right of enjoying, along with the Greeks, all the prerogatives of their rank, and of being admitted without distinction both to the assemblies of the diet and the offices and dignities of the republic. Moreover, their religious and political liberties had been guaranteed in the most solemn manner, not only by treaties of alliance,

and the *Pacta Conventa* of the kings, but also by the laws and constitution of their kingdom. The Catholics having afterwards become the stronger party, their zeal, animated by their clergy and the Jesuits, led them to persecute those whom they regarded as heretics. They had in various ways circumscribed their religious liberties, especially at the diet of 1717; and in those of 1733 and 1736, they went so far as to exclude them from the diets and tribunals, and in general from all places of trust; only preserving the peace with them according to the ancient laws of the republic.

The Dissidents availed themselves of the influence which the Empress of Russia had secured in the affairs of Poland, to obtain by her means the redress of their grievances. That prince interposed more especially in favour of the Greeks, according to the ninth article of the peace of Moscow between Russia and Poland (1686); while the courts of Berlin, Stockholm, London, and Copenhagen, as guarantees of the peace of Oliva, urged the second article of that treaty in support of the Protestant dissenters. Far from yielding to an intercession so powerful, the Diet of Warsaw, instigated by the clergy and the court of Rome, in the year 1766 confirmed all the former laws against the Protestants which the foreign courts had desired to be altered and amended. They merely introduced some few modifications in the law of 1717, relative to the exercise of their worship.

This palliative did not satisfy the court of St. Petersburg, which persisted in demanding an entire equality of rights in favour of those under its protection. The Dissidents had the courage to resist, and entered into a confederacy at the assemblies which were held at Sluckz (1767) and Thorn. Such of the Catholic nobility as were discontented with the government, allied themselves with the Dissidents, and formed several distinct confederacies, which afterwards combined into a general confederation under Marshal Prince Radzivil. An extraordinary diet was then assembled at Warsaw. Their deliberations, which began October 5th, 1767, were very tumultuous. Without being intimidated by the presence of a Russian army, the Bishop of Cracow and his adherents gave way to the full torrent of their zeal, in the discourses which they pronounced before the diet. The empress caused them to be arrested and conducted into the interior of Russia, whence they were not permitted to return till after an exile of several years. They agreed at length, at that diet, to appoint a committee, composed of the different orders of the republic, to regulate all matters regarding the Dissidents, in concert with the ministers of the protecting courts. A separate act was drawn up (February 24th, 1768) in the form of a convention between Russia and Poland.

By that act, the Dissidents were reinstated in all their former rights. The regulations which had been passed to their prejudice in the years 1717, 1733, 1736, and 1766, were annulled; and a superior court, composed equally of both parties, was granted to them, for terminating all disputes which might arise between persons of different religions. This act was confirmed by the treaty of peace and alliance concluded at Warsaw between Russia and Poland (February 24th, 1768), by which these two powers guaranteed to each other the whole of their possessions in Europe. The

Empress of Russia guaranteed, more especially, the liberty, constitution, and integrity of the Polish republic.

The act we have just now mentioned, as well as another which modified what were called the cardinal or fundamental laws of the republic, having displeased a great majority of the Poles, they used every effort to have these acts recalled. The diet of 1768 was no sooner terminated than they formed themselves into a confederacy at Bar in Podolia, for the defence of their religion and liberties. By degrees these extended to several palatinates, and were at length combined into a general confederation, under the Marshal Count De Pac. The standards of these confederates bore representations of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus. Like the Crusaders of the middle ages, they wore embroidered crosses on their garments, with the motto *To Conquer or Die*. The Russians despatched troops to disperse the confederates as fast as they combined: but at length, with the assistance of France, and M. De Vergennes, the French ambassador at the Porte, they succeeded in stirring up the Turks against the Russians. The war between these two Empires broke out towards the end of 1768, which proved disastrous for the Turks, and suppressed also the confederates in Poland. The manifesto of the Grand Signior against Russia was published October 30th, and his declaration of war on December 4th, 1768.

The empress despatched several armies against the Turks, and attacked them at once from the banks of the Dneister to Mount Caucasus. Prince Alexander Galitzin, who commanded the principal army, was to cover Poland, and penetrate into Moldavia. He passed the Dneister different times, but was always repulsed by the Turks, who were not more fortunate in their attempts to force the passage of that river. On their last attempt (September, 1769), 12,000 men had succeeded in crossing it, when there happened a sudden flood which broke down the bridge, and cut off the retreat of the Turks. This body was cut to pieces by the Russians, when a panic seized the Ottoman army, who abandoned their camp and the fortress of Choczim. The Russians took possession of both without costing them a single drop of blood, and soon after penetrated into the interior of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The campaign of 1770 was most splendid for the Russians. General Romanzow, who succeeded Prince Galitzin in the command of the army of Moldavia, gained two brilliant victories over the Turks near the Pruth (July 18th) and the Kukuli (August 1st), which made him master of the Danube, and the towns of Ismael, Kilia, and Akerman, situated in Bessarabia, near the mouth of that river. Another Russian army, under the command of General Count Panin, attacked the fortress of Bender, defended by a strong Turkish garrison. It was carried by assault (September 26th) and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword.

The empress did not confine herself to repulsing the Turks on the banks of the Dneister and the Danube, and harassing their commerce in the Black Sea. She formed the bold project of attacking them at the same time in the islands of the Archipelago, and on the coasts of Greece and the Morca. A Russian fleet, under the command

of Alexis Orloff and Admiral Spiritoft, sailed from the Baltic, and passed the Northern Seas and the Straits of Gibraltar, on their way to the Archipelago. Being joined by the squadron of Rear-Admiral Elphinstone, they fought an obstinate battle with the fleet of the Capitan Pacha (July 5th, 1770), between Scio and Anatolia. The ships of the two commanders, Spiritoft and the Capitan Pacha, having met in the engagement, one of them caught fire, when both were blown into the air. Darkness separated the combatants; but the Turks having imprudently retired to the narrow bay of Chisné, the Russians pursued them, and burnt their whole fleet during the night. This disaster threw the city of Constantinople into great consternation; and the bad state of defence in which the Darlanelles were, gave them reason to fear that if the Russians had known to take advantage of this panic, it would have been easy for them to have carried the Turkish capital. Rear-Admiral Elphinstone, who commanded one of the Russian squadrons, had suggested that advice; but the Russian admirals did not think proper to follow it.

The war on the Danube was continued next year, though feebly; but the second Russian army, under the command of Prince Dolgoruki, succeeded in forcing the lines at Perekop, defended by an army of 60,000 Turks and Tartars, commanded by the Khan of the Crimea in person. Dolgoruki, after having surmounted that formidable barrier, made himself master of the Crimea, as also of the Island of Taman; and received from the empress, as the reward of his exploits, the surname of *Krimski*. An act was signed by certain pretended deputies from the Tartars, by which that nation renounced the dominion of the Ottomans, and put themselves under the protection of Russia (1772).

These conquests, however splendid they might be, could not fail to exhaust Russia. Obligated frequently to recruit her armies, which were constantly thinned by battles, fatigues, and diseases, she soon saw the necessity of making peace. The plague, that terrible ally of the Ottomans, passed from the army into the interior of the Empire, and penetrated as far as Moscow, where it cut off nearly 100,000 men in the course of a single year (1771). But what added still more to the embarrassments of Catherine II. was, that the court of Vienna, which, in conjunction with that of Berlin, had undertaken to mediate between Russia and the Porte, rejected with disdain the conditions of peace proposed by the empress. Moreover, they strongly opposed the independence of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of the Tartars; and would not even permit that the Russians should transfer the seat of war to the right bank of the Danube.

The court of Vienna went even farther: it threatened to make common cause with the Turks, to compel the empress to restore all her conquests, and to place matters between the Russians and the Turks on the footing of the treaty of Belgrade. An agreement to this effect was negotiated with the Porte, and signed at Constantinople (July 6th, 1771). This convention, however, was not ratified, the court of Vienna having changed its mind on account of the famous dismemberment of Poland, concerted between it and the courts of Berlin

and St. Petersburg. The empress then consented to restore to the Turks the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the conclusion of the peace; and the court of Vienna again engaged to exert its friendly interference in negotiating peace between Russia and the Porte.

In consequence of these events, the year 1772 was passed entirely in negotiations. A suspension of arms was agreed to between the two belligerent powers. A congress was opened at Focznani in Moldavia, under the mediation of the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. This congress was followed by another, which was held at Bucharest in Wallachia. Both of these meetings proved ineffectual, the Turks having considered the conditions proposed by Russia as inadmissible; and what displeased them still more was, the article relative to the independence of the Tartars in the Crimea. This they rejected as contrary to the principles of their religion, and as tending to establish a rivalry between the two caliphs. They succeeded, however, in settling the nature of the religious dependence under which the khans of the Crimea were to remain with regard to the Porte; but they could not possibly agree as to the surrender of the ports of Jenikaleh and Kerch, nor as to the unrestrained liberty of navigation in the Turkish seas, which the Russians demanded. After these conferences had been repeatedly broken off, hostilities commenced anew (1773). The Russians twice attempted to establish themselves on the right bank of the Danube, but without being able to accomplish it. They lost, besides, a great number of men in the different actions which they fought with the Turks.

The last campaign, that of 1774, was at length decisive. Abdul Hamed, who had just succeeded his brother Mustapha III. on the throne of Constantinople, being eager to raise the glory of the Ottoman arms, made extraordinary preparations for this campaign. His troops, reckoned about 300,000 men, greatly surpassed the Russians in point of number; but they were not equal in point of discipline and military skill. About the end of June, Marshal Romanzow passed the Danube, without meeting any obstacle from the Ottoman army. That general took advantage of a mistake which the grand vizier had committed, in pitching his camp near Schumla at too great a distance from his detachments, and cut off his communication with these troops, and even with his military stores. A body of 28,000 Turks, who were bringing a convoy of 4,000 or 5,000 waggons to the army, having been defeated by General Kauenski, and the waggons burnt, this event struck terror into the camp of the grand vizier, who, seeing his army on the point of disbanding, agreed to treat with Marshal Romanzow on such terms as that general thought fit to prescribe.

Peace was signed in the Russian camp at Kainargi, four leagues from Silistria. By that treaty the Tartars of the Crimea, Boudziac, and Cuban, were declared entirely independent of the Porte, to be governed henceforth by their own sovereign. Russia obtained for her merchant vessels free and unrestrained navigation in all the Turkish seas. She restored to the Turks Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia; as well as the islands in the Archipelago which were still in her possession. But she reserved the city and territory of Azoff, the

two Kabartas, the fortresses of Jenikaleh and Kerch in the Crimea, and the castle of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite Oczakoff, with the neck of land between the Bog and the Dnieper, on which the empress afterwards built a new city, called Cherson, to serve as an entrepôt for her commerce with the Levant. The foundation of this city was laid by General Hannibal (October 19th, 1778), on the western bank of the Dnieper, fifteen versts above the confluence of the Inguletz with that river.

The House of Austria also reaped advantages from that war, by the occupation of Bukowina, which she obtained from Russia, who had conquered it from the Turks. This part of Moldavia, comprehending the districts of Suzawa and Czernowitz, was claimed by the court of Vienna as one of its ancient territories in Transylvania, which had been usurped by the princes of Moldavia. The Porte, who was indebted to Austria for the restitution of this latter province, had no alternative but to abandon the districts claimed by Austria. Prince Ghikas of Moldavia, having opposed the cession of these provinces, was put to death by order of the Porte; and Bukowina was confirmed to Austria by subsequent conventions (1776 and 1777), which at the same time regulated the limits between the two states. The peace of Kainargi, though glorious for Russia, proved most calamitous for the Ottoman Porte. By establishing the independence of the Tartars, it lost the Turks one of their principal bulwarks against Russia; and they were indignant at seeing the Russians established on the Black Sea, and permitted unrestrained navigation in all the Turkish seas. Henceforth they had reason to tremble for the safety of their capital, which might be assailed with impunity, and its supplies intercepted, on the least disturbance that might arise between the two empires.

The many disasters which the Turks had experienced in the war we have now mentioned, had a direct influence on the fate of Poland, which ended in the dismemberment of that kingdom. This event, which had been predicted by John Casimir in the seventeenth century, was brought about by the mediation of the courts of Berlin and Vienna for the restoration of peace between Russia and Turkey. The conditions of that treaty, which were dictated by the Empress Catherine II., having displeased the court of Vienna, which had more-over displayed hostile intentions against Russia, by despatching troops into Hungary, and taking possession of a part of Poland, which Austria claimed as anciently belonging to Hungary, the empress took this occasion of observing to Prince Henry of Prussia, who then sojourned at her court, that if Austria seemed inclined to dismember Poland, the other neighbouring powers were entitled to do the same. This overture was communicated by Prince Henry to his brother, the King of Prussia, who resolved to act on this new idea. He foresaw it would be a proper means for indemnifying Russia, contenting Austria, and augmenting his own territories, by establishing a communication between the kingdom of Prussia and his duchy of Brandenburg. These considerations induced him to set on foot a negotiation with the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. He gave the former to understand, that if war should break out between Austria and Russia, he could not but take part in it as the ally

of the latter power; while he represented to the Empress of Russia, that if she would consent to restore Moldavia and Wallachia to the Turks, and indemnify herself by a part of Poland, she would avoid a new war, and facilitate an accommodation with the Porte. In this manner did he succeed, after a long and difficult negotiation, in recommending to the two imperial courts, a project which was to give Europe the example of a kingdom dismembered on mere reasons of convenience. A preliminary agreement was drawn up, in which the equality of the respective portions of the three courts was assumed as the basis of the intended partition. A negotiation was afterwards entered into at St. Petersburg, for regulating the portion to be given to the court of Vienna, as the empress and the King of Prussia had already agreed about the divisions to which they thought they might lay claim.¹⁰

At length the formal conventions were signed at St. Petersburg, between the ministers of the three courts (August 5, 1772). The boundaries of the territories and districts, which were to fall to the share of the three powers respectively, were there definitively settled and guaranteed to each other. They agreed to defer taking possession till the month of September following, and to act in concert for obtaining a final arrangement with the republic of Poland. The empress engaged, by the same treaty, to surrender Moldavia and Wallachia to the Turks, in order to expedite the restoration of peace between her and the Porte. In terms of that agreement, the declarations and letters-patent of the three courts were presented at Warsaw in September, 1772; and, on taking possession of the territories and districts which had been assigned them, they published memorials for establishing the legitimacy of their rights over the countries which they claimed. The King of Poland and his ministry in vain claimed the assistance and protection of the powers that guaranteed the treaties. They had no other alternative left, than to condescend to every thing which the three courts demanded. A diet, which was summoned at Warsaw, appointed a delegation, taken from the senate and the equestrian order, to transact with the plenipotentiaries of the three powers, as to the arrangements of the different treaties by which the provinces already occupied were to be formally ceded to them on the part of the republic. These arrangements were signed at Warsaw, September 18, 1773, and afterwards ratified by the Diet of Poland.

To Austria was assigned, in terms of her treaty with the republic, the thirteen towns in the county of Zips, which Sigismund, King of Hungary, had mortgaged to Poland in 1412; besides nearly the half of the Palatinate of Cracow, part of Sandomire, Red Russia, the greater part of Belz, Pcutia, and part of Podolia. The towns in the county of Zips were again incorporated with Hungary, from which they had been dismembered, and all the rest were erected into a particular state, under the name of the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. One very important advantage in the Austrian division was, the rich salt mines in Wieliczka, and Bochnia, and Sambor, which furnished salt to the greater part of Poland.¹¹

Russia obtained for her share, Polish Livonia, the greater part of Witepsk and Polotsk, the whole Palatinate of Mscislaw, and the two extremities of

the Palatinate of Minsk.¹⁸ These the empress formed into two grand governments, those of Polesk and Mochilew. The King of Prussia had the states of Great Poland, situated beyond the Netze, as well as the whole of Polish Prussia, except the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, which were reserved to Poland.¹⁹ That republic, in virtue of a treaty with the King of Prussia, renounced also her domain rights, and the reversion which the treaties of Welaun and Ildgost had secured to her with regard to Electoral Prussia, as well as the districts of Lauenburg, Butow, and Draheim. The portion of the King of Prussia was so much the more important in a political point of view, as it united the kingdom of Prussia with his possessions in Germany; and, by giving him the command of the Vistula, it made him master of the commerce of Poland, especially of the corn-trade, so valuable to the rest of Europe.

The three courts, in thus dismembering Poland, renounced, in the most formal manner, all farther pretensions on the republic; and, lastly, to consummate their work, they passed an act at Warsaw, by which they sanctioned the *liberum veto*, and the unanimity in their decisions formerly used at the diet in state matters: the crown was declared elective, and foreign princes were declared to be excluded. The prerogative of the king, already very limited, was circumscribed still more by the establishment of a permanent council; and it was statuted, that no one could ever change this constitution of which the three powers had become the guarantees.

[This partition of Poland must be regarded as the harbinger of the total overthrow of the political system which for 300 years had prevailed in Europe. After so many alliances had been formed, and so many wars undertaken, to preserve the weaker states against the ambition of the greater, we here find three powers of the first rank combining to dismember a state which had never given them the slightest umbrage. The barriers between legitimate right and arbitrary power were thus overthrown, and henceforth the destiny of inferior states was no longer secure. The system of political equilibrium became the jest of innovators, and many well disposed men began to regard it as a chimera. Though the chief blame of this transaction must fall on the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, those of London and Paris were accomplices to the crime, by allowing this spoliation to be consummated without any mark of their reprobation.]

In Sweden, the aristocratic system had prevailed since the changes which had been introduced into the form of government by the revolution of 1720. The chief power resided in the body of the senate, and the royal authority was reduced to a mere shadow. The same factions, the Hats and the Bonnets, of which we have spoken above, continued to agitate and distract the state. The Hats were of opinion, that to raise the glory of Sweden, and to recover the provinces of Livonia and Finland, it was necessary to cultivate friendship with France and the Porte, in order to secure their support in case of a rupture with Russia. The Bonnets, on the other hand, maintained that Sweden, exhausted by the preceding wars, ought to engage in no undertaking against Russia. In preferring a system of pacification, they had no

other object in view than to maintain peace and good understanding with all states, without distinction. These two factions, instigated by foreign gold, acquired a new importance when the war broke out between Russia and the Porte. It was in the diet of 1769 that the Hats found means to get possession of the government, by depriving the members of the opposite party of their principal employments. There was some reason to believe that France, in consequence of her connexions with the Porte, had used every effort to stir up Sweden against Russia, and that the mission of Vergeuses, who passed from Constantinople to Stockholm, had no other object than this. Russia had then to make every exertion to raise the credit and influence of the Bonnets, in order to maintain peace with Sweden. In these endeavours she was assisted by the court of London, who were not only willing to support the interests of Russia, but glad of the opportunity to thwart France in her political career.

The death of Adolphus Frederic, which happened in the meantime, opened a new field for intrigue in the diet, which was summoned on account of the accession of his son and successor Gustavus III. (February 12, 1771). This young prince at first interposed between the two parties, with a view to conciliate them, but with so little success, that it rather increased their animosity, until the Bonnets, who were supported by Russia and England, went so far as to resolve on the total expulsion of the Hats, not only from the senate, but from all other places and dignities in the kingdom. Licentiousness then became extreme; and, circumscribed as the royal power already was in the time of Adolphus Frederic, they demanded new restrictions to be imposed on his successor. The treaties that were projected with Russia and England, were evidently the result of the system adopted by that faction who had now seized the reins of government.

In this state of affairs, the young king saw the necessity of attempting some change in the system of administration. His gentleness and eloquence, and his affable and popular manners, had gained him a number of partisans. He possessed in an eminent degree the art of dissimulation; and, while he was making every arrangement for a revolution, and concerting measures in secret with the French ambassador, he seemed to have nothing so much at heart as to convince the world of his sincere attachment to the established constitution. It is alleged, that he had sent emissaries over the whole kingdom to stir up the people against their governors; and that he might have some pretext for calling out his troops, he induced Captain Heliichius, the commandant of Christianstadt in Blekingen, to raise the standard of revolt against the states, who still continued their sittings at Stockholm.

That officer, known afterwards by the name of *Gustafskeld*, or the *Shield of Gustavus*, published at first a kind of manifesto, in which he reproached the states for their misconduct, which he showed to have been diametrically opposite to the public interest and the laws of the kingdom. Prince Charles, the king's brother, who was at that time at Landscrona, in Schonen, being informed of the proceedings of the commandant of Christianstadt, immediately assembled the troops in the provinces,

and marched to that place with the intention, as is said, of stifling the revolt in its birth. The news of this insurrection spread consternation in the capital. The states were suspicious of the king, and took measures to prevent the ambitious designs which they supposed him to entertain. Heli-chius was proclaimed a rebel by the senate, and guilty of high treason. They advised the king not to quit Stockholm, the command of which was intrusted to a senator, the Count of Kalling, with the most ample powers. At length the regiment of Upland, whose officers were devoted to the senate, were ordered to the capital, with the intention, as is supposed, of arresting the king. That prince then saw that he had no longer time to delay, and that he must finish the execution of the plan which he had proposed.

On the morning of the 19th of August, the king presented himself to the troops who mounted guard at the palace; and having assembled the officers, he detailed to them the unfortunate state of the kingdom, as being the consequence of those dissensions which had distracted the diet for more than fourteen months. He pointed out to them the necessity of abolishing that haughty aristocracy who had ruined the state, and to restore the constitution to what it was before the revolution of 1680; expressing, at the same time, his decided aversion for absolute and despotic power. Being assured of the fidelity of the guards, who were eager to take the oath of allegiance to him, he ordered a detachment to surround the council chamber, where the senators were assembled, and put the leaders of the ruling party under arrest. The artillery and other regiments of guards having also acknowledged his authority, their example was soon followed by all the *colleges* (or public offices), both civil and military. The arrest against Heli-chius was revoked, and the regiment of Upland received orders to march back. These measures and some others were executed with so much skill and punctuality, that the public tranquillity was never disturbed; and by five o'clock in the evening of the same day, the revolution seemed to be accomplished without shedding a single drop of blood. Next day, the magistrates of the city took the oath to the king, and the assembly of the states was summoned to meet on the 21st. On that day the king caused the palace to be surrounded by troops, and cannons to be pointed into the court opposite the chamber of the states. Seated on his throne, and surrounded by his guards, the king opened the assembly by an energetic discourse which he addressed to the members, in which he painted, in lively colours, the deplorable state of the kingdom, and the indispensable necessity of applying some prompt remedy. The new form of government which he had prepared was read by his order, and adopted without opposition by the whole four orders of the kingdom. The king then drew a Psalm-book from his pocket, and taking off his crown, began to sing *Te Deum*, in which he was joined by the whole assembly. Matters passed in the interior of the provinces with as little tumult and opposition as in the capital and principal cities. The king's brothers received, in his name, the oath of fidelity on the part of the inhabitants and the military.

In virtue of this new form of government, all the fundamental laws introduced since 1680 were

cancelled and abolished. The succession to the throne was restricted to males only. The lineal order, and the right of primogeniture, as settled by the convention of 1743, and by the decree of the diet of 1750, were confirmed. The king was to govern alone, according to the laws; and the senate were to be considered as his councillors. All the senators were to be nominated by the king, and matters were no longer to be decided by a plurality of votes. The senators were simply to give their advice, and the decision belonged to the king. Courts of justice, however, were excepted. The chief command of all the forces in the kingdom, both by sea and land, and the supreme direction of the exchequer, were conferred on the king. On the report of the senate, he filled up all the high offices in the state, both military, civil, and ecclesiastical. He alone had the right of pardoning, and of summoning the states, who could never assemble on their own authority, except in a case where the throne became vacant, by the total extinction of the royal family in the male line. The duration of the diets was fixed for three months, and the king had the privilege of dissolving them at the end of that time. He could make no new laws, nor interpret the old ones, nor impose subsidies or assessments, nor declare war, without the advice and consent of the states. He was allowed, however, to levy an extraordinary tax, in cases where the kingdom might be attacked by sudden invasion; but, on the termination of the war, the states were to be assembled and the new tax discontinued. All negotiations for peace, truces, and alliances, whether offensive or defensive, were reserved to the king, by whom they were to be referred to the senate. If, in these cases, the unanimous voice of the senate was opposed to that of the king, it became his duty to acquiesce in their opinion. Every Swedish citizen was to be judged by his natural judge. The king could attain neither the life, honour, nor fortune of any citizen, otherwise than by the legal forms. All extraordinary commissions or tribunals were to be suppressed, as tending to establish tyranny and despotism.

The revolution of Stockholm, of which we have just now spoken, had nothing in common with that which happened at Copenhagen the same year; and which, without in any way affecting the constitution of the kingdom, merely transferred the reins of government from the hands of the reigning queen to those of the queen-dowager.¹⁴

In a remote corner of Europe there existed an association of warriors, of a kind quite peculiar, namely, that of the Zaparog Cossacs; so called because they dwelt near the cataracts of the Dnieper, where they served as a military frontier, first to the Poles, and afterwards to the Russians. The chief residence of these Cossacs was called Setscha. It contained a considerable mass of houses, scattered and badly constructed, and had a small fort occupied by a Russian garrison. The position of Setscha had not always been the same; but it was ultimately fixed on the western bank of the Borysthènes, opposite Kamenoi-Saton, an ancient fortress of the Russians, and was called New Setscha. These Cossacs, known in Poland by the name of *Haydamacs*, and formidable by their incursions and their devastations, had adopted a republican form of government. Their capital was

divided into thirty *Kurenies*, or quarters. Every Cossac belonged to one of these *kurenies*. There he lodged when he stayed at *Settscha*, and was obliged to conform to its laws. All those who belonged to the same *Kurenie*, formed as it were one and the same family. Like the ancient Spartans, they were nourished with the same food, and ate at the same table. The overseer of each separate *kurenie* was called *Ataman*, and the chief of all the *kurenies* *Koschewoi-Ataman*. All the chiefs, without distinction, were elected by common consent; the *Ataman* by his own *kurenie*, and the *Koschewoi* by the whole *kurenies* united. They were deposed whenever they became unpopular. The assemblies of *Settscha* were either ordinary or extraordinary. In that which was regularly held every year on the 1st of January, they made a formal division of the fields, rivers, and lakes, among the *kurenies*. They made use of lots in order to avoid disputes; and they renewed them every year that a favourable chance might be given to all the *kurenies* in succession. At that assembly they elected new chiefs, if they happened to be discontented with the old ones. As for the extraordinary assemblies, they were held when it was in agitation to undertake a campaign, or to make an excursion; and generally on all occasions when the common interest seemed to require it. They had a judge and some other officers in *Settscha*. The judge never pronounced sentence except in affairs of little importance. Those which appeared more weighty required the intervention of all the chiefs. They would suffer no woman to remain in *Settscha*. Those who were inclined to marry were obliged to remove elsewhere. To keep up their numbers, the Zaporogs received deserters and fugitives from all nations. They were particularly careful to recruit their ranks with young boys, whom they kidnapped in their excursions, and brought them up according to their customs and manner of living.

The treaty of Andrussov between Russia and Poland had left these Cossacs under the common protection of those two states. They preferred that of Russia, and were continued under the dominion of that power by the peace of Moscow. Being afterwards implicated in the revolt of *Matzeppa*, they put themselves under the protection of the Tartars of the Crimea after the battle of *Pultowa*, and transferred their capital of *Settscha* to the eastern bank of the *Dnieper*, nearer its mouth. Being discontented under the Tartars, who repressed their incursions, and often imposed exactions on *Settscha*, they took the resolution of putting themselves once more under the dominion of Russia (1733). The Empress Anne confirmed them in their privileges, and furnished money to assist them in rebuilding their capital on the western bank of the *Dnieper*.

As they continued, however, to commit robbery and plunder on the frontiers without intermission, and having neither friends nor allies, Catherine II. resolved to annihilate this fantastic association. Besides their depredations, the Zaporogs were accused of having usurped possession of several countries between the *Dnieper* and the *Bog*; as well as of several districts which had at all times belonged to the Cossacs of the *Don*. What more particularly exasperated the empress against them, was, that being so obstinately attached to their

absurd form of government, they opposed every scheme of reform, the object of which was to make them live in regular society, and in the bonds of matrimony; or to induce them to form themselves into regiments, after the manner of the other Cossacs. They had also refused to send their deputies to Moscow, at the time when Catherine had sent for them from all parts of the Empire, for the formation of a new code of laws; and there was some reason to fear they might attempt to revolt, on account of the changes which the empress proposed to make in the administration of the government. These and other considerations induced that princess to despatch a body of troops against *Settscha* (1775). The Zaporogs, attacked unawares, and inclosed on all hands, saw themselves without the means of making the least resistance. Their capital was destroyed, and their whole tribe dispersed. Those who were not inclined to embrace another kind of life, were sent back to their native towns and their respective countries.

The succession of Bavaria reverted of right to the Elector Palatine, Charles Theodore, as head of the elder branch of Wittelsbach. That prince had on his side the feudal law of Germany, the golden bull, the peace of Westphalia, and family compacts frequently renewed between the two branches of that house; all Europe was persuaded that, should the case so turn out, the rights of the Elector Palatine would be beyond all controversy. Meantime, the Elector Maximilian had scarcely closed his eyes, when several pretenders appeared on the field, to dispute the succession as his presumptive heirs. The Emperor Joseph claimed all the fiefs of the Empire, which his predecessors had conferred on the house of Bavaria, without expressly including the princes of the palatine branch in these investitures. The Empress Maria Theresa, besides the fiefs of the Upper Palatinate holding of the crown of Bohemia, demanded all the countries and districts of Lower and Upper Bavaria, as well as of the Upper Palatinate, which had been possessed by the princes of Bavaria-Straubingen, who had become extinct in 1425. She also alleged a pretended investiture, which the Emperor Sigismund had granted, in 1426, to his son-in-law Duke Albert of Austria. The Electress-Dowager of Saxony, sister to the last Elector of Bavaria, thought herself entitled to claim the allodial succession, which she made out to be very extensive. Lastly, the Dukes of Mecklenburg brought forward an ancient deed of reversion, which their ancestors had obtained from the emperors, over the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg.

Before these different claims could be made known, the Austrian troops had entered Bavaria, immediately after the death of the late elector, and taken possession of all the countries and districts claimed by the Emperor and the Empress-Queen. The Elector Palatine, intimidated by the cabinet of Vienna, acknowledged the lawfulness of all the claims of that court, by a convention which was signed at Vienna (January 3, 1778), but which the Duke of Deux-Ponts, his successor and heir presumptive, refused to ratify. That prince was supported in his opposition by the King of Prussia, who treated the pretensions of Austria as chimerical, and as being incompatible with the security of the constitution of the Germanic body. The king interposed in this affair, as being a guarantee

for the peace of Westphalia, and a friend and ally of the parties concerned, who all claimed his protection. He demanded of the court of Vienna, that they should withdraw their troops from Bavaria, and restore to the elector the territories of which they had deprived him. A negotiation on this subject was opened between the two courts, and numerous controversial writings were published; but the proposals of the King of Prussia not proving agreeable to the court of Vienna, the conferences were broken off about the end of June 1778, and both parties began to make preparations for war.

It was about the beginning of July when the King of Prussia entered Bohemia, through the county of Glatz, and pitched his camp between Jaromitz and Konigratz, opposite that of the Emperor and Marshal Daun, from which he was only separated by the Elbe. Another army, composed of Prussians and Saxons, and commanded by Prince Henry of Prussia, penetrated into Bohemia through Lusatia; but they were stopped in their march by Marshal Laudohn, who had taken up a very advantageous position, and defeated all the measures of the Prince of Prussia. At length a third Prussian army marched into Austria and Silesia, and occupied the greater part of that province. Europe had never seen armies more numerous and better disciplined, and commanded by such experienced generals, approach each other so nearly without some memorable action taking place. The emperor and his generals had the good sense to act on the defensive; while the efforts of the King of Prussia, to bring him to a general engagement, proved altogether unavailing. This prince, who had lost a great many men by sickness and desertion, was compelled to evacuate Bohemia about the end of October, and his example was soon followed by his brother Prince Henry. At the beginning of this first campaign, the empress-queen being desirous of peace, had sent Baron Thugut to the King of Prussia, to offer him new proposals. A conference was agreed to take place at the convent of Braunau (August, 1778), which had no better success than the preceding, on account of the belligerous disposition of the emperor, who was for continuing the war. At length the return of peace was brought about by the powerful intervention of the courts of Versailles and St. Petersburg.

France, who was obliged, by the terms of her alliance with Austria, to furnish supplies for the empress-queen, could not in the present case reconcile this engagement with the interests of her crown, nor with the obligations which the treaty of Westphalia had imposed upon her, with respect to the Germanic body. Besides, the war which had broken out between her and England, on account of her alliance with the United States of America, made her anxious for the restoration of peace on the continent, for avoiding everything which might occasion a diversion of her maritime forces. The Empress of Russia, who thought her glory interested, could not remain a quiet spectator of a struggle which, if prolonged, might set all Europe in a flame. She declared to the court of Vienna, that in consequence of the ties of friendship and alliance which subsisted between her and the court of Berlin, she would find herself called on to conjoin her troops to those of Prussia,

if the war was to be continued. But, before coming to that extremity, she would interpose her good offices, conjointly with France, to bring existing differences to an amicable conclusion.

The mediation of these two courts having been accepted by the belligerent powers, a congress was summoned at Teschen, in Silesia, which was opened in the month of March, 1779. The Empress of Russia, to give the greater weight to her interference, despatched a body of troops to the frontiers, destined to act as auxiliaries under the King of Prussia, in case the war should happen to be renewed. Prince Repnin, who commanded that body, appeared, at the same time, in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary at the congress. France sent, on her part, Baron de Breteuil, her ambassador at the court of Vienna. All things being already prepared, and the principal difficulties removed, the peace was concluded in less than two months. By this treaty, the convention of the 3rd of January, made between the court of Vienna and the Elector Palatine, was annulled. Austria was required to give up all her possessions in Bavaria, except the places and districts situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, which were ceded to her as all she could claim of the succession of Bavaria, which she had renounced in the most formal manner. The fiefs of the Empire, which had been conferred on the House of Bavaria, were secured by that treaty to the Elector Palatine and his whole family; as well as those situated in the Upper Palatinate, and holding of the crown of Bohemia.

The Elector Palatine agreed to pay the Elector of Saxony, for his allodial rights, the sum of 6,000,000 of florins, money of the Empire; while the empress-queen gave up to the said prince the rights which the crown of Bohemia had over certain seignories lying within Saxony, and possessed by the Counts of Schonburg. The Palatine branch of Birkenfeldt, whose right of succession to the palatine estates had been disputed, on the ground of their being the issue of an unequal marriage, were now declared capable of succeeding to all the estates and possessions of the House of Wittlesbach, as comprehended in the family compacts of that house.

The existing treaties between the court of Vienna and the King of Prussia, with those of Westphalia, Breslau, Berlin, and Dresden, were renewed and confirmed; and a formal acknowledgment made to the royal line of Prussia, of their right to unite the margraviates of Baireuth and Anspach, failing the present possessors, to the hereditary succession of the electorate of Brandenburg; which right the House of Austria had called in question during the dispute which we have already mentioned. As for the House of Mecklenburg, they granted to it the privilege of the *non appellando*, in virtue of which, no one could carry an appeal from the tribunals of that country to the sovereign courts of the Empire. The two mediating powers undertook to guarantee this treaty. Thus the war for the succession of Bavaria was checked at its commencement. The following peculiarities are worthy of remark, viz., that the Palatine family, who were the party chiefly interested, took no share in it; while Bavaria, the sole cause of the war, was no way engaged in it; and the Elector Palatine, who had even refused

the assistance of the King of Prussia, was, nevertheless, the party chiefly benefited by the peace, by means of the protection of that prince.

The House of Austria having failed, as we have just seen, in her project of conquering Bavaria, tried, in the next place, to get possession of that country by way of exchange for the Netherlands. The Elector Palatine appeared willing to meet the views of the court of Vienna; but it was not so with the Duke of Deux-Ponts, who haughtily opposed the exchange; while the King of Prussia, who supported it, was obliged to acknowledge that such an exchange was inadmissible, and in opposition both to former treaties, and to the best interests of the Germanic body. The court of Vienna then abandoned this project, at least in appearance; but the alarm which it had caused throughout the Empire, gave rise to an association, known by the name of the Germanic Confederation. It was concluded at Berlin (July 23, 1785) between the three Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hrunswick-Luneburg; besides several provinces of the Imperial State who adhered to it. This association, purely defensive, had no other object than the preservation of the Germanic system, with the rights and possessions of all its members.

The revolution in North America, of which we are now about to give some account, deserves to be placed among the number of those great events which belong to the general history of Europe. Besides the sanguinary war which it kindled between France and England, and in which Spain and Holland were also implicated, it may be regarded as the harbinger of those revolutions which took place soon after in several of the Continental States of Europe. The English colonies in North America were no otherwise connected with the mother country, than by a government purely civil, by a similarity of manners and customs, which long usage had rendered sacred. They were divided into provinces, each of which had its particular constitution, more or less analogous to that of England, but imperfectly united with the mother country, because the inhabitants of these provinces were not represented in the national parliament. If they had been so, Great Britain would certainly never have enjoyed that monopoly which she had reserved to herself, agreeably to the colonial system of all modern nations. The exclusive privilege of sending her commodities to the Americans, by fettering their industry, alienated their affections from England, and made them naturally desirous of shaking off her yoke; and this propensity could not fail to increase, in proportion as these colonies increased in strength, population, and wealth.

One consideration, however, likely to secure their allegiance, was the protection which England granted them against their powerful neighbours the French in Canada, the Spaniards in Florida, and the Barbarians in the West. The Canadians, especially, proved daring and troublesome neighbours to New England, which rendered the assistance and protection of the mother country indispensable. The aspect of affairs changed at the time of the peace of Paris (1763). England, by getting possession of Canada and Florida, broke the main tie which attached the colonies to her government. Delivered then from the terror of the

French, and having no more need of foreign succour to protect them from their attacks, the Americans began to concert measures for extricating themselves from the dominion of Britain.

The first disturbances that broke out were occasioned by the attempts which the British parliament had made to impose taxes on the Americans. The national debt of England having increased considerably during the preceding war, the parliament thought they had a right to oblige the colonies to furnish their quota for the liquidation of that debt, which had been contracted, in a great measure, for the interests of America. The parliament passed an act, according to which all contracts in the American colonies were to be drawn upon stamped paper; and the tax on the stamp was regulated according to the different objects of the contract (1765). When this act had passed into a law, and was about to be carried into effect in America, it caused a general insurrection. The people committed all sorts of excesses and abuses against the king's officers. The courts of justice were shut up, and the colonies began to form associations among themselves. They disputed the right of the British parliament to impose taxes on them; alleging that they were not represented there, and that it was the constitutional privilege of every Englishman, that he could not be taxed except by means of his own representatives. The colonies having thus attacked the sovereignty and legislative power of the parliament, laid an interdict on all commerce with the mother country, and forbade the purchase of commodities imported from Great Britain.

The Parliament had the weakness to rescind the Stamp Act. They published, however, a declaratory act which set forth, that the colonies were subordinate to, and dependent on, the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, in whom resided full power and authority to make laws and statutes binding on the colonies, in all possible cases. The provincial assemblies of the colonists were enjoined, by that act, to receive into their towns whatever number of British troops the mother country might think proper to send, and to furnish them with wood and beer. Far from allaying these disturbances, this new act tended, on the contrary, to exasperate them still more. The Americans considered it as tyrannical, and as having no other design than to destroy the foundations of their liberty, and to establish an absolute and despotic power.

The British ministry made still further concessions. They abandoned altogether the idea of a tax to be levied in the interior of the country, and limited themselves entirely to taxes or duties on imported goods. The Stamp Act was replaced by another (1767), which imposed certain duties on tea, paper, lead, glass, and paint-colours, &c. &c. exported from England into the colonies. This act was no better received than its predecessor. The Assembly of Massachusetts which was formed at Boston, addressed circular letters to all the colonies, exhorting them to act in concert for the support of their rights against the mother country. The resolutions which some of the colonies had already adopted, of prohibiting the use of commodities manufactured in Great Britain, became common to all the colonies; and the American merchants in general countermanded the goods which

they had ordered from England, Scotland, and Ireland. The spirit of revolt thus extending wider and wider, the British government determined to employ troops for the restoration of order and tranquillity in the colonies, and making them respect the sovereignty of Great Britain (1769).

Affairs were in this situation when Lord North, who had been placed at the head of the administration, succeeded in calming the minds of the colonists, by passing an act which abolished the obnoxious taxes, with the single exception of that on tea. The intention of the minister in retaining this tax, was not with any view of reaping advantage from it; but he hoped by this trifling duty to accustom the colonies to support greater taxes. The Americans were very sensible of this; however, as they imported very little tea from England, and as the Dutch furnished them with this article by way of contraband, they showed no symptoms of resentment until the year 1773. At that time, the Parliament having given permission to the East India Company to export tea to America, of which they had large supplies in their warehouses, the Americans, indignant to see this company made the organ of a law which was odious to them, resolved to oppose the landing of these tea cargoes. Three of the company's vessels, freighted with this article, having arrived at Boston, and preparing to unload, the inhabitants boarded them during the night of the 21st of December, and threw all the chests into the sea, to the number of 342. In the other provinces, they were content merely to send back the ships loaded with this obnoxious commodity.

On the news of this outrage, the British Parliament thought it necessary to adopt rigorous measures. Three acts were passed in succession (1774), the first to lay the port of Boston under interdiction; the second to abolish the constitution and democratic government of Massachusetts, and substitute in its place a government more monarchical; and the third to authorize the colonial governors to transport to England the Americans who were accused of rebellion, to be tried in the Court of King's Bench. General Gage was sent to Boston with a body of troops and several vessels, to carry these coercive measures into effect. By thus adopting decisive measures, the British Parliament in vain flattered themselves, that they could reduce, by force, a continent so vast, and so remote from the mother country as that of America. Supposing even that they could have succeeded, the spirit and nature of the English government would never have permitted them to maintain their conquests by force. The colonies, however, far from being intimidated by these acts, warmly espoused the cause of the province which had been singled out for punishment.

A general congress, composed of the representatives of all the colonies, was opened at Philadelphia (September 5th, 1774). They declared the acts of the British Parliament against Massachusetts, to be unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional. They agreed never more to import articles of commerce from Great Britain; and to present an address to the king, and a petition to the House of Commons, for the redress of those grievances of which the colonies had to complain. This latter step having produced no effect, and the Parliament having still persisted in their rigorous measures,

hostilities commenced in the month of April, 1775. The American Congress then conferred the command of their army on George Washington, a rich planter in Virginia, who had acquired considerable military reputation by his success in opposing the French in Canada; and at the same time, to raise the immediate supplies of which the colonies stood in need, the congress agreed to issue paper money, sufficient to meet the unavoidable expenses of the war. A declaration, published in the month of July, 1775, explained the reasons which had compelled the Americans to take up arms; and announced their intention not to separate from Great Britain, nor adopt a system of absolute independence. But as the British ministry had made extraordinary efforts for the campaign of 1776, and taken a body of German troops into their pay, the Americans thought proper to break off all alliance with England, that they might have recourse in their turn to the protection of foreigners.

The independence of the colonies was formally declared by an act of Congress (July 4th, 1776). They then drew up articles of confederation and perpetual union among the States of America, to the number of thirteen provinces, under the title of the *United States of America*.¹⁵ In virtue of this union, each of the states remained master of its own legislature and internal administration, while the congress, which was composed of deputies from all the colonies, had the power of regulating all political affairs; that is to say, every thing concerning war or peace, alliances, money matters, weights and measures, posts, &c.; as well as the settlement of any differences which might arise between two or more of the confederate states. The first favourable action for the Americans, in their war against England, was that fought at Trenton on the Delaware (December 25th, 1776), where General Washington surprised a body of Hessians and English, and made them prisoners. But the event which in some degree set the seal to the independence of America, was the important check which General Burgoyne met with near Saratoga. Having advanced from Canada to support the operations of General Howe, who was marching on Philadelphia, he was compelled by the American troops under General Gates to lay down his arms, by a capitulation which was signed in the camp at Saratoga (October 16th, 1777). The news of this disaster was no sooner received in Europe, than France, who, during the time that England was occupied with the disturbances in America, had put her marine on a respectable footing, took the resolution of acknowledging the new republic, and entered into a formal alliance with it. Treaties of friendship, alliance, and commerce, were concluded at Paris between them and the United States of America (February 6th, 1778). France demanded as a primary condition, that the United States should not lay down their arms, until England had acknowledged their independence. The notification which the Court of France made to that of London of this treaty with the United States, became the signal of war between these two nations.

This war which France had undertaken against England for the free navigation of the seas, was the first which did not involve the continent of Europe, as it was confined entirely to maritime operations.

The European powers, far from thwarting France in this enterprise, applauded her success; and while Great Britain depended on her own strength, and had not a single ally on the continent, France contrived to interest Spain and Holland in her cause.

Spain, after having for some time held the rank of a mediating power, entered into the war in fulfilment of those engagements which she had contracted, by the family compact; and as for Holland, England had determined to break with her. The British ministry were offended at that republic, which, instead of granting England the supplies that she was entitled to claim in virtue of former treaties, had lent itself an accomplice to the interests of her enemies. The Dutch, on their side, complained of the multiplied vexations with which they were incessantly harassed by the British privateers. They had sought to protect themselves against these, under the shield of that armed neutrality which the Empress of Russia had just negotiated for protecting the commerce of neutral states; and it was in order to prevent their accession to that neutrality that England made such haste to declare war against the republic (December 20, 1780).

Without entering here into the details of that war, the principal scene of which was in America, though it extended to Africa and the Indies, we shall merely confine ourselves to a few general observations.

When hostilities commenced between France and England, the latter had a very great superiority in maritime strength. She had armies at the two extremities of the globe. The number of her vessels was prodigious. Her arsenals were gorged with stores. Her dockyards were in the greatest activity; but after France and Spain had united their naval force, it was no longer possible for Great Britain, obliged as she was to divide her strength, to defend her distant possessions against the numerous attacks of the French and their allies. Not fewer than twenty-one engagements took place between the belligerent powers; in all of which England, from the experience of her admirals, and the ability of her naval officers, did not lose a single ship of the line. The first naval action was fought near Ushant (July 27, 1778), between D'Orvilliers and Admiral Keppel. This action, the glory of which was claimed equally by both nations, was as indecisive as most of those which followed it. The only decisive action, properly speaking, was that which Admiral Rodney fought with Count de Grasse (April 12, 1782), between the islands of Dominica and Saintes. The English admiral having broken the French line, succeeded in taking five ships of the line, including the admiral's, whom he had the honour to carry prisoner to London.

At the beginning of the war, the English stripped the French of their possessions in the East Indies, such as Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Mahé. They took from them the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, as well as that of St. Lucia, and Gorrea on the coast of Africa. The French afterwards repaid themselves for these losses, by conquering the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, St. Christophers, Nevis and Montserrat. All the forts and establishments of the English on the Senegal in Africa, as well as Gondelore in the East Indies, fell into their possession.

The Spaniards made themselves masters of the forts which the English occupied on the Mississippi. They took fort Mobile or Condé, in ancient French Louisiana, and subdued the whole of Western Florida, with the town of Pensacola. In Europe they recovered, with the assistance of the French, the island of Minorca, with port Mahon and fort St. Philip; but the combined forces of the two nations failed in their enterprise against Gibraltar. This place, which was bravely defended by General Elliot, was twice relieved with supplies by the English fleet—first by Admiral Rodney (1780), and afterwards by Lord Howe (1782). The floating batteries invented by M. D'Arçon, which were directed against the garrison, were destroyed by the red-hot bullets which the English commander showered upon them in great profusion. It was chiefly this obstinate determination of the Spaniards to recover the rock of Gibraltar, that for a long time deprived France and Spain of the advantages which ought to have accrued to them from the combination of their naval strength against Great Britain. As for the Dutch, they experienced heavy losses in this war; their islands of St. Eustatia, Saba, and St. Martin in the Antilles, were seized by the English, who carried off immense booty. Besides their establishments of Demarara and Essequibo in Guiana, those which they had on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, especially Negapatam and Trincomalee, on the coasts of Ceylon, were reduced in succession. The French succeeded, however, in reconquering the Dutch Antilles, and the fortress of Trincomalee.

In North America, the success of the war was for a long time equally balanced between the English and the Americans. At length Lord Cornwallis, after having conquered the two Carolinas, advanced into Virginia. He took York Town and Gloucester; but having penetrated into the interior of that province, Generals Washington, Rochambaud, and La Fayette, turned their forces against him, and were supported in this attack by a French fleet, which the Count de Grasse had brought to their aid. Lord Cornwallis, surrounded on all sides, and shut up in York Town, was obliged to capitulate (October 19, 1781), and surrendered himself and his whole army prisoners of war. This event decided the fate of America. The news of it no sooner arrived in England, than a change took place in the British ministry. Lord North and his colleagues gave in their demission, and were replaced by the members of the opposite party. The new ministry attempted to negotiate a special peace, either with the Americans or with the Dutch; but their efforts having proved unsuccessful, they adopted the alternative of recognising the independence of America, and then entered into a negotiation with France. A conference was opened at Paris, under the mediation of Joseph II., and the Empress of Russia. It continued from the month of October 1782, till September 1783, when definitive treaties of peace were signed at Paris and Versailles between Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States of America. The conclusion of the treaty between England and Holland did not take place till the 20th May, 1784.

In virtue of these treaties, the independence of the thirteen United States of America was acknow-

ledged by England; and the boundaries of the respective possessions of the two powers were regulated over the whole extent of North America. A continent of more than 70,000 square German miles was assigned to the United States, who also obtained the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and in all other places where fishing had till then been practised.

The French fisheries at Newfoundland, were settled in a manner more advantageous than had been by the former treaties. The islands of St. Peter and Miquelon were ceded with full privileges to France. In the Antilles, France retained St. Lucia and Tobago, restoring to England Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa, the forts and settlements on the Senegal remained in the possession of France, with the island of Gorea, which was restored to her. In the East Indies, all the French settlements, such as Chandernagore, Pondicherry and Mahé, were restored, and England engaged to make some additions to Pondicherry. The clauses in the former treaties relative to Dunkirk were abolished. The island of Minorca in the Mediterranean, and the whole of Florida in America, were ceded to Spain, who restored to England the islands of Providence and Bahama; and moreover granted the English the liberty of cutting logwood or dyewood in certain places on the Bay of Honduras. Finally, Holland ceded Negapatam to England, and granted to British subjects a free trade in the Indian Seas, where the Dutch had till that time maintained an exclusive commerce and navigation.

Such is an outline of the treaties of Paris and Versailles, which terminated the American war. France thereby maintained the balance of maritime power against England, whose vast naval superiority, had alarmed all the commercial States of Europe. [It is true that this advantage was of short duration, and that the English recovered their superiority, and during the French Revolution, carried it to a pitch which it had never before reached; besides, their commerce suffered no check by the loss of their extensive colonies. The growing industry of the new republic had more need than ever to be supported by all the capital and credit which the merchants could find in the mother country]. France acquired the glory of having contributed, by her efforts, to establish the new republic of the United States, which, by the vast extent of its territory, the progressive increase of its population, its industry, and its commerce, promises, to exercise, in course of time, a prodigious influence on the destinies of Europe.

One memorable event, which has some reference to the American war, was the confederacy of the Northern powers, under the title of the *Armed Neutrality*. That war, which was purely maritime, having given an astonishing alacrity to the commerce of the North, by the demand which the belligerent powers made for wood for shipbuilding and naval stores of all kinds, England, in order to prevent the French and Spaniards from procuring these commodities in the North, took advantage of her maritime superiority, by seizing, without distinction, all merchant vessels under a neutral flag, and confiscating all articles found on board belonging to the subjects of hostile countries. The

Empress of Russia, wishing to put a stop to these depredations, resolved to protect by force of arms the commercial interests of her subjects. By a manifesto, which she addressed to France and England (February 1780), she informed these powers, that it was her intention to maintain free intercourse for all effects which might belong to the subjects of those nations at war; excepting only genuine warlike stores, such as powder, balls, and cannon, and in general whatever might be reputed contraband goods; in virtue of the 10th and 11th articles of her commercial treaty with Great Britain (1766). She did not rest satisfied with making this declaration herself. She engaged Sweden and Denmark to publish similar ones, and entered into a contract with those powers for the purpose of protecting the navigation of their subjects by means of convoys, and for rendering each other mutual assistance in case of any insult offered to their merchantmen. The court of Copenhagen declared more especially (August 10, 1780), that the Baltic, by its local situation, being a shut sea, no ships of war belonging to the belligerents could be admitted there, or allowed to commit hostilities against any one whomsoever. Several of the continental powers, such as the King of Prussia, the Emperor Joseph II., the Queen of Portugal, and the King of the Two Sicilies, joined the armed neutrality on the principles established in the declaration of the Empress of Russia. France and Spain applauded these measures, and the principles which the empress had thus sanctioned. England dissembled, pretending to refer to treaties, and to wait a more favourable opportunity for explanation. But, in order to prevent the Dutch from taking shelter under the armed neutrality, she declared war against that republic, even before the act of her accession to these treaties had been ratified by the powers of the North.

New disputes had arisen between the Russians and the Turks after the peace of Kainargi. The haughtiness of the Porte was unwilling to admit the independence of the Tartars, which was sanctioned by that peace. She was indignant to see the Russians parading their flag even under the walls of Constantinople; and moreover, she tried every stratagem to elude the execution of those articles in the treaty which did not meet with her approbation. Russia, on her part, who regarded the independence of the Crimea as a step towards the execution of her ambitious projects, expelled the Khan Dowlat Gueray, who was favourably inclined towards the Porte, and put Sachem Gueray in his place, who was devoted to the interests of Russia. This latter having been dispossessed by Selim Gueray, with the assistance of the Porte, the empress marched a body of troops into the Crimea, under the command of Suwarow (1778), and restored her protégé to the throne by force of arms.

The Turks made great preparations for war, and a new rupture between the two empires was expected, when, by the interposition of M. de St. Priest, the French ambassador at the Porte, the divan consented to an accommodation, which was concluded at Constantinople (March 21, 1779), under the name of the *Explicative Convention*. The independence of the Crimea, and the sovereignty of Sachem Gueray, were thereby acknowledged and confirmed anew. Russia and the

Porte engaged to withdraw their troops from that peninsula, as well as from the Island of Taman. The Porte promised especially never to allege any pretex of spiritual alliance for interfering with the civil or political power of the khans. The free intercourse between the Black Sea and the White Sea, was secured in the most express manner to all Russian vessels that were of the form, size, and capacity of the ships of other nations who carried on trade in the ports of Turkey.

This convention did not restore any permanent good understanding between the two empires; new troubles were not long in springing up again in the Crimea. The Khan Sachem Guerau was once more expelled by the party adhering to the Turks (1782). A Russian army immediately entered that peninsula and restored the fugitive khan; while a Russian fleet, sailing from the port of Azoff, cut off the malecontents from all communication with Constantinople. Under these circumstances, the Empress Catherine II. thought the moment had arrived for placing the Crimea among the number of her own provinces. She caused her troops to occupy that peninsula, as well as the whole of Cuban; and expelled the Turks from Taman, of which they had made themselves masters, with the view of opening up a communication with the Tartars. Finally, she explained, in a manifesto, the motives which induced her to unite the Crimea to her Empire, together with the Isle of Taman and the Cuban. Sachem Guerau formally resigned the sovereignty which he had enjoyed for so short a time (June 28, 1783).

That event was a terrible blow to the Ottoman Porte. The inhabitants of Constantinople loudly demanded war; but the divan, who were sensible of their weakness, used every endeavour to avoid it. The preparations of the Russians, both by sea and land, were immense; and there subsisted a co-operation and a perfect intimacy between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. England tried in vain to engage the Turks to take up arms, but they were withheld by France and Austria. Instead of fighting, they were resolved to negotiate; and a new treaty was signed at Constantinople (January 8, 1784). The sovereignty of the Crimea, the Island of Taman, and all the part of Cuban which lay on the right bank of the river of that name, and formed, as it were, a frontier between the two empires, were abandoned to Russia. The fortress of Oczakoff, to which the Tartars of the Crimea had some claims, was ceded to the Porte with its whole territory. Thus ended the dominion of the Tartars in the Crimea, once so terrible to Russia. The empress formed the whole of that vast country into two new governments, namely, those of Taurida and the Caucasus.

There had existed for a long time certain disputes between the Dutch and the government of the Austrian Netherlands, as to the execution of the Barrier Treaty (1715), and that of the Hague (1718). They had neglected to define precisely the limits of Dutch Flanders, which these treaties had pointed out rather than determined; and for a long time the Imperial Court had ceased to pay the Dutch the subsidies which the Barrier Treaty had stipulated in their favour. That court would not consent to agree to a definitive settlement of these limits, or the payment of the subsidies, until England and Holland should co-operate with her

in repairing the Barrier towns, whose fortifications had been ruined during the war of the Austrian succession. She demanded, also, that these powers should unite for concluding a treaty of commerce, and a tariff favourable for the Low Countries, as they had engaged to do by former treaties. At length the Emperor Joseph II. thought he might avail himself of the war which had arisen between England and Holland, to free the Austrian Netherlands entirely from the claims which the Barrier Treaty had imposed on them. The order for demolishing all the fortified places in the Netherlands comprehended the Barrier towns; and the Dutch were summoned to withdraw their troops from them. These republicans, not being able to solicit the protection of England, with which they were at war, found themselves obliged to comply with the summons of the emperor. Their troops then evacuated all the Barrier towns in succession.

This compliance on the part of the Dutch, encouraged the emperor to extend his pretensions still farther. Not content with annulling the treaties of 1715-18, he required that the boundaries of Flanders should be re-established on the footing of the contract of 1664, between Spain and the States-General; and instead of making his new demand a subject of negotiation, he took possession of the forts, as well as of the towns and districts included within the limits which had been fixed by this latter agreement. The Dutch having addressed their complaints to the court of Vienna against these violent proceedings, the emperor consented to open a conference at Brussels (1784), for bringing all these disputes to an amicable termination. He declared, at the opening of the meeting, that he would desist from all the claims which he had against the republic, provided they would grant to the Belgic provinces free passage and navigation of the Scheldt; with the privilege of direct commerce with India, from the ports of the Netherlands. But while proposing this state of things as the subject of negotiation, he announced, that from that moment he was firmly resolved to consider the Scheldt as free; and that the least opposition on the part of the States-General would be, in his eyes, as the signal of hostilities and a declaration of war. The Dutch, without being intimidated by these threats, declared the demand of the emperor to be contrary to their treaties, and subversive of the safety and prosperity of their republic. Vice-Admiral Reyust was ordered to station himself, with a squadron, at the mouth of the Scheldt, and to prevent all Imperial or Flemish ships from passing. Two merchantmen having attempted to force the passage, the Dutch gave them a broadside and obliged them to strike.

The emperor then regarded the war as declared, and broke off the conference at Brussels; he had, however, made no preparations; and the Low Countries were entirely divested of their troops, magazines, and warlike stores. That prince had flattered himself that the court of France would espouse his quarrel, and that he would obtain from them the supplies stipulated by the treaty of Versailles. But France was then negotiating a treaty of alliance with the republic, and easily foresaw, that if she abandoned the Dutch at that particular time, they would be obliged to throw themselves into the arms of England. M. de Maillebois then

received orders to pass into Holland, while France set on foot two armies of observation, one in Flanders and the other on the Rhine. The king wrote to the emperor very pressing letters, wishing him to adopt pacific measures.

These proceedings, and the numerous difficulties which the war of the Netherlands presented to the emperor, induced him to accept the mediation of the court of France; a negotiation on this subject was entered into at Versailles. The emperor therein persisted at first in maintaining the liberty of the Scheldt, but afterwards became less rigid on this point. He was content to enforce his other claims. This negotiation was as tedious as it was intricate. It occupied the French ministry during the greater part of the year 1785. The emperor insisted much on the cession of Maestricht and the territory of Outre-Meuse. From this demand he would not recede, except on the payment of a large sum of money by way of indemnity, and another in reparation of the damage which the inundation of Flanders, ordered by the States-General, had occasioned to his Austrian subjects. By the peace which was signed at Fontainebleau, the treaty of Munster (1648) was renewed, but nothing was said of the Barrier Treaty nor of that of Vienna (1731). They agreed on shutting the Scheldt, from Saftingeu as far as the sea, as well as the canals of Saas, Swin, and other communications with the sea in the neighbourhood. The States-General engaged to pay the emperor, in lieu of his claims on Maestricht and the Outre-Meuse, the sum of 9,500,000 Dutch florins; and another of 500,000 florins for repairing the damages done by the inundations. That prince got ample satisfaction on the subject of most of his other claims, and France undertook to guarantee the treaty. Immediately after it was signed, they renewed the negotiation respecting the treaty of alliance projected between France and the republic. This treaty was also signed at Fontainebleau (November 10, 1785) two days after the treaty of peace.

Various intestine disturbances at that time agitated the republic of the United Provinces. The animosity of the republican party against the stadtholder and his partisans, had been revived more keenly than ever, on account of the war in America between France and England. The republicans reproached the stadtholder for his devotedness to the interests of England, which had made him neglect their marine, and fail in the protection which he owed the Dutch commerce, in his capacity of admiral-general of the forces of the republic. The different magistrates of the municipal towns, in order to discredit the stadtholder in the opinion of the public, encouraged periodical writers to inveigh against the person of William V. and his administration. They blamed his councillors, and especially Louis, Duke of Brunswick, who, as governor to the stadtholder during his minority, had had the principal direction of affairs, and who still continued to aid him with his counsels.

The city of Amsterdam, which had always been distinguished for its opposition to the stadtholder, was the first that demanded the removal of the duke, whom they blamed as the cause of the languid state of their maritime power. That prince was compelled to give in his demission (1784), and even to withdraw from the territories of the

republic. The retirement of the duke emboldened the opponents of the stadtholder, who soon went beyond all bounds. That party, purely aristocratic in its origin, had been afterwards reinforced by a multitude of democrats, who, not contented with humbling the stadtholder, attacked even the power of the magistrates, and tried to change the constitution by rendering the government more popular and democratic. In the principal towns, associations were formed under the name of *Free Bodies*, for exercising the citizens in the management of arms. The party opposed to the stadtholder took the name of *Patriots*. They were secretly supported by France, who wished to employ them as an instrument for destroying the influence of England and attaching the republic to her own interests. A popular insurrection, which happened at the Hague (1785), furnished the states of Holland with a pretext for removing the stadtholder from the command of that place, which was intrusted to a council. This blow, struck at a prerogative which was regarded as inherent in the stadtholdership, induced the Prince of Orange to quit the Hague, and fix his residence in the province of Guelders, the states of which were most particularly devoted to him. An attack which the prince made against the towns of Elburg and Hattem, for refusing to execute the orders which he had intimated to them in the name of the States of Guelders, exasperated the minds of the Dutch. It added to the strength of the patriotic party, and encouraged the states of Holland to make a renewed attack on the stadtholdership, and even to go so far as to suspend the prince from the functions of captain-general of that province.

The court of Berlin had taken measures, both with the states-general and the province of Holland, to facilitate an accommodation between the two parties. Frederic William II. who succeeded his uncle, Frederic the Great (1786), sent to the Hague, with this view, the Count de Gorts his minister of state; while M. Gerard de Rayneval was ordered to repair thither on the part of France. A negotiation was opened between these two ministers and the principal leaders of the patriotic party, but without effect. Their animosities rather increased, and the patriots broke out into every kind of violence. They dismissed the magistrates of the chief towns by force, and replaced them by their own adherents; a step which obliged the aristocrats to coalesce with the stadtholder's party, in order to withstand the fury of the republicans. A civil war seemed to all appearance inevitable. In this state of matters, the Princess of Orange took the resolution of repairing in person to the Hague, with the design, as she alleged, of endeavouring to restore peace. She was arrested on her route by a detachment of the republican corps of Gauda (June 28, 1787), and conducted to Schönhoven, whence she was obliged to return to Nimwegen, without being able to accomplish the object of her journey.

The King of Prussia demanded satisfaction for this outrage offered to his sister. The states of Holland, not feeling disposed to give it in the terms which the king demanded, he sent a body of 20,000 men to Holland, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, who, in the space of a month, made himself master of the whole country, and even obliged the city of Amsterdam to submit.

All the former resolutions which had been taken for limiting the power of the stadtholder, were then annulled, and the prince was re-established in the full plenitude of his rights.

Although the subsistence of the alliance between France and the republic was obviously connected with the cause of the patriots, nevertheless the former took no steps to support that party, or to oppose the invasion of the Prussians. France had even the wrackness to negotiate with the court of London for disarming their respective troops, declaring, that she entertained no hostile intentions relative to what had passed in Holland. The politics of the States-General from that time underwent a complete revolution. Renouncing their alliance with France, they embraced that of Prussia and Great Britain. By the treaties which were signed at Berlin and the Hague (April 15, 1788), these two powers undertook to guarantee the resolutions of 1747 and 1748, which made the stadtholdership hereditary in the House of Orange. France thus shamefully lost the fruits of all the measures which she had taken, and the sums which she had lavished for attaching Holland to her federative system, in opposition to England.

The troubles which we have just now mentioned were soon followed by others, which the innovations of the Emperor Joseph II. had excited in the Austrian Netherlands. The different edicts which that prince had published since the 1st of January 1787, for introducing a new order of administration in the government, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the Belgic provinces, were regarded by the states of that country as contrary to the established constitution, and incompatible with the engagements contracted by the sovereign by the *Joyeuse entrée*. The great excitement which these innovations caused, induced the emperor to recall his edicts, and to restore things to their ancient footing. Nevertheless, as the public mind had been exasperated on both sides, disturbances were speedily renewed. The emperor having demanded a subsidy, which was refused by the states of Brabant and Hainault, this circumstance induced him to revoke the amnesty which he had granted; to suppress the states and sovereign council of Brabant; and to declare, that he no longer considered himself bound by his *Inaugural Contract*. A great number of individuals, and several members of the states, were arrested by his orders. The Archbishop of Malines, and the Bishop of Antwerp, were suspected of having fomented these disturbances, and saved themselves by flight.

Two factions at that time agitated the Belgic provinces, where they fanned the flame of civil discord. The one, headed by Vonk, an advocate, and supported by the Dukes of Ursel and Arcenberg, inclined to the side of Austria. These limited their demands to the reformation of abuses, and a better system of representation in the states of the Netherlands. The other, under the direction of Vandernoot, and the Penitentiary Vaneupen, while standing up in support of the ancient forms, pretended to vest in the states that sovereignty and independence of which they wished to deprive the House of Austria. The partisans of Vonk thought of effecting, by their own means, the reforms which they had in view; while the adherents of Vandernoot founded their hopes on

the assistance of foreigners—especially of Prussia, who would not fail, they supposed, to seize this occasion of weakening the power of Austria. This latter party had undertaken to open an asylum for the discontented emigrants of Brabant, on the territory of the United Provinces in the neighbourhood of Breda. The two parties acted at first in concert. Vandermersch, a native of Menin in Flanders, and formerly a colonel in the Austrian service, was proposed by Vonk, and received as general by both parties. A body of the insurgents, under the command of Vandermersch, marched to Turnhout in Brabant, and repulsed the Austrians, who had come to attack them under the orders of General Shroeder. This first success gave a stimulus to the insurrection, which spread from Brabant over the other Belgic provinces. The Austrians abandoned by degrees all the principal towns and places, and retired to the fortress of Luxemburg. Vandernoot made his triumphant entry into Brussels. The states of Brabant assembled in that city, and proclaimed their independence (December 29, 1789). The Emperor Joseph II. was declared to have forfeited the sovereignty, by having violated the engagements which he had come under by his Inaugural Compact.

The example of Brabant was soon followed by the other provinces. An assembly of deputies, from all the Belgic provinces, was formed at Brussels (January 11, 1790). They signed an Act, by which these provinces joined in a confederacy, under the title of the Belgic United States. The rights of sovereignty, in as far as regarded their common defence, were vested in a congress, composed of deputies from the different provinces, under the name of the *Sovereign Congress of the Belgic States*. Each province preserved its independence, and the exercise of the legislative power. Their union was declared permanent and irrevocable. They meddled neither with religion nor the constitution, and they admitted no other representatives than those who had been already nominated. This latter determination highly displeased General Vandermersch, and all those of Vonk's party, who had as much horror for an oligarchy in the states as for the despotism of the court of Vienna. The party of the states prevailed nevertheless by the influence of Vandernoot, and the instigations of the priests and monks. Vandermersch, and all the zealous partisans of reform, were removed from the management of affairs. The former was even arrested, and General Schonfield put in his place. Ruinous impeachments and imprisonments were the consequences of this triumph of the aristocratic faction.

These divisions, added to the death of Joseph II., which happened in the meantime, produced a change favourable for the interests of the court of Vienna. Leopold II., who succeeded his brother on the throne of Austria, seemed disposed to terminate all these differences; and the Belgic Congress, seeing they could not reckon on the assistance of foreign powers, were also desirous of coming to an accommodation. The court of Berlin had refused its protection to the Belgians, and that of London was decidedly opposed to their independence. These two courts, conjointly with the United Provinces of the Netherlands, interposed their mediation for allaying those disturbances. The Emperor Leopold solemnly en-

gaged, under the guarantee of the three mediating powers, to govern the Netherlands agreeably to the constitution, laws, and privileges which had been in force under the Empress Maria Theresa; never to do anything to their prejudice; and to annul whatever had been done to the contrary under the reign of Joseph II. A declaration published by Leopold (November 1790), enjoined all his Belgic subjects to take anew the oath of allegiance. That prince granted a general and unconditional pardon to all those who should lay down their arms within a given time. All the provinces in succession then gave in their submission. Brussels opened her gates to the Austrian troops (December 2, 1790), and the patriots Vaneupen and Vandernoot took refuge in Holland.

The animosity which had for a long time subsisted between Russia and the Porte, occasioned a new war between these two powers in 1787. The Turks could not endure the humiliating conditions which the late treaties with Russia had imposed on them. The high tone which the court of St. Petersburg used in their communications with the Porte, wounded the pride of the Ottomans; and the extraordinary journey of the empress to Cherson and the Crimea (May 1787), in which she was accompanied by the Emperor Joseph II., carried alarm even to the city of Constantinople. The inhabitants of that capital thought they could perceive, in that journey, a premeditated design in the courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna to annihilate the Ottoman Empire, and divide the spoil between them. The court of London, supported by that of Berlin, dexterously fanned the spark which lay concealed under these ashes. They wished to be avenged on the court of St. Petersburg for the difficulties which she had thrown in the way of renewing their treaty of commerce; as well as the advantageous conditions which she had granted to France by the commercial treaty concluded with that power. The great activity with which Russia had carried on her commerce in the Black Sea, since she had obtained entire liberty by her treaties with the Porte, excited likewise the jealousy of England, who was afraid that the commercial connexions which she maintained with that power, through the Black Sea, might thereby be destroyed. The Turks, moreover, had to complain of the Russian consul in Moldavia, who, as they alleged, sought every means to interrupt the peace and good understanding between the two Empires. They demanded that he should be recalled, and moreover, that the empress should renounce the protection of Prince Heraclius, and withdraw her troops from Georgia. Finally, they wished that all Russian vessels that passed the Straits should be subjected to an examination, in order to prevent contraband trade.

These demands were no sooner made, than the divan, without waiting for an answer from the court of St. Petersburg, determined to proclaim war (August 18, 1787), by sending the Russian minister, M. de Boulgakoff, to the Castle of the Seven Towers. On the news of this rupture, the empress despatched a considerable force against the Turks; her troops extended from Kaminiuc in Podolia, to Balta, a Tartar village on the frontiers of Poland, between the Dnieister and the Bog. Prince Potemkin, the commander-in-chief of the army, had under him Suwarow, Repnin, Kamen-

skoi, and others. The Emperor Joseph II., after having for some time supported the character of mediator between the Turks and Russians, engaged in the war as the ally of Russia (February 9, 1788). He attacked the Turks in Moldavia, and on several points of Hungary. Marshal Laudon undertook the siege of Belgrade, of which he made himself master (October 8, 1789). It was obvious, however, that the progress of the Austrians did not correspond either to the ability of their generals, or the superiority of their arms.

Another enemy of Russia appeared on the stage. Gustavus III., King of Sweden, listened to the insinuations of the cabinets of London and Berlin, and made a diversion in favour of the Porte. That prince, after renewing his alliance with the Porte, commenced the war against Russia, at the very instant when the whole of her forces were turned against the Turks. A land army was formed by his orders in Finland, while a Swedish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line and ten frigates, advanced on Cronstadt, and threw the city of St. Petersburg into a state of great terror. An engagement between the two fleets took place near the isle of Hoogland (May 30, 1789). Both sides fought with equal advantage; but an unforeseen event disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch. After he had made his dispositions for attacking the city of Fredricksheim in Finland, several officers of his army refused to march; alleging as a reason, that the constitution of the kingdom would not permit them to be accessory to an offensive war, which the Swedish nation had not sanctioned. The example of these officers occasioned the defection of a great part of the troops. The expedition to Finland misgave, and the Russians thus gained time to put themselves in a state of defence.

The empress, thus attacked by the King of Sweden, claimed the supplies which Denmark owed her, in virtue of the alliance which subsisted between the two states. The Danes fitted out a squadron, and marched a body of auxiliary troops into the government of Bohus, which they soon conquered (1788). From Bohus they marched to West Gothland, and laid siege to Gottenburg. The King of Sweden hastened in person to the defence of that place, one of the most important in his kingdom. It would certainly have fallen, however, but for the powerful intervention of the cabinets of London and Berlin, who obliged the court of Copenhagen to conclude different truces with Sweden (1789), and to adopt a perfect neutrality, even with the consent of the court of St. Petersburg.

The war between the Swedes and the Russians was then confined to naval operations, the success of which, in the campaigns of 1789 and 1790, was nearly equal on both sides. The defeat which the Swedish fleet sustained in the Gulf of Viburg (July 3, 1790), was compensated by the victory which the King of Sweden gained in person (July 9, 10), at Swenkasund over the Russian fleet, commanded by the Prince of Nassau-Seigen. This action, which cost the Russians many men, and a great number of their ships, tended to accelerate the peace between the two powers. The King of Sweden being deserted by the courts of London and Berlin, who had drawn him into the war, was terrified lest the Russians should take advan-

tage of the discontents that prevailed among the Swedish nobles, to penetrate into the interior of his kingdom. He willingly accepted the equitable conditions which the Empress of Russia proposed to him. Peace was concluded in the plain of Werela, near the river Kymen (August 14, 1790), between the advanced posts of the two camps; and the limits of both states were re-established on the footing of former treaties.

As to the events of the war between Russia and the Porte, they were entirely in favour of the former power. A body of Russian troops, in conjunction with the Austrian army, made themselves masters of Choczim (September 1788). Prince Potemkin undertook the siege of the important fortress of Orzakoff (December 17), and carried the place by assault, in spite of the courageous defence made by the Turks. The whole garrison were put to the sword, and a great part of the inhabitants met with the same fate. Swarow and the Prince of Coburg beat the Turks near Focksan in Moldavia (July 21, 1789). The same general, with the assistance of that prince, gained a brilliant victory over the Turks near Martinesi, on the banks of the Rymia (September 22), which gained him the epithet of *Rymniski*. The taking of the fortress of Bender, was an immediate consequence of that victory. Besides the province of Orzakoff, the whole of Moldavia and Bessarabia, with Tulcza, Isakzi, Kilia, and Ismael, and the fortress of Sudjokkale, in Turkish Cuban, fell successively into the hands of the Russians. The taking of Ismail by Swarow, occasioned prodigious slaughter. It cost the lives of 30,000 Ottomans; without reckoning the prisoners, who amounted to the number of 10,000.

These victories stirred up the jealousy of the British ministry, who fitted out an expedition to make a new diversion in favour of the Porte, and engaged their ally, the King of Prussia, to despatch a body of troops to the frontiers of Silesia and Poland. Not confining himself to these operations, that prince concluded a formal alliance with the Porte, in which he agreed to declare war against the Austrians, as well as the Russians in the course of next spring. The Emperor Leopold II., yielding to these menaces, and being desirous of restoring peace to his subjects, concluded an agreement at Reichenbach (July 27, 1790), with the court of Berlin, by which he granted an armistice, and consented to make a special peace with the Porte—matters continuing as they were before the war. This peace was signed at Sztistowa, in Bulgaria (August 4, 1791), under the mediation of Holland and Prussia. The emperor restored Belgrade, and in general, all that he had taken from the Turks during the war. He agreed to retain Choczim no longer than the conclusion of the peace

between the Russians and the Turks; only they promised him a more advantageous frontier on the left bank of the Unna; and on the side of Wallachia, the river Trerna was adopted as the boundary between the two Empires.

The Empress of Russia having resolved not to receive the proposals which the two allied courts offered her, then continued the war alone against the Porte, and her generals signalized themselves by new exploits. At length, the British ministry being convinced that this princess would never yield, thought fit to abandon the terms which, in concert with the court of Berlin, they had demanded, as the basis of the peace to be concluded between Russia and the Porte. Besides, they were desirous of making up matters with Russia, at the time when she detached herself from France, by renouncing the engagements which she had contracted with that power by the treaty of commerce of 1787, with the court of Berlin. The British ministry agreed never to assist the Turks, should they persist in refusing the equitable conditions of peace which the empress had offered them.

A negotiation was opened at Galatz on the Danube. The preliminaries between Russia and the Porte were signed there; and the definitive peace concluded at Jassy in Moldavia (January 9, 1792). This treaty renewed the stipulations of all former treaties since that of Kainargi. The Dneister was established as a perpetual frontier between the two Empires. The Turks ceded to Russia the fortress of Orzakoff, with all the country lying between the Bog and the Dneister. The cession of the Crimea, the isle of Taman, and part of the Cuban, lying on the right bank of the river of that name, was confirmed to Russia. The Porte likewise engaged to put a stop to the piracies of the Barbary Corsairs, and even to indemnify the subjects of Russia for their losses, should they not obtain reparation within a limited time. Russia likewise restored all her other conquests; only stipulating, for certain advantages, in favour of Moldavia and Wallachia.

It had been agreed between the plenipotentiaries of the two Empires, that the Porte should pay a sum of 12,000,000 of piastres, to indemnify Russia for the expenses of the war. But immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, the empress gave intimation that she would renounce this payment in favour of the Porte,—a piece of generosity which excited the admiration of the Ottoman plenipotentiaries. The peace of Jassy gave new energy to the commerce of the Russians on the Black Sea; and the empress founded the town and port of Odessa, which is situated on a bay of the Black Sea, between the Bog and the Dneister, about nine leagues distant from Orzakoff.

PERIOD IX.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, TO THE
DOWNFAL OF BUONAPARTE. A.D. 1789—1815.

The French Revolution forms one of the most extraordinary events recorded in the annals of Europe. A variety of causes, both moral and political, combined to produce this anomaly in the history of nations,—the principal of which must be attributed to a set of opinions, whose speculative delusions, recommended by a powerful and seductive eloquence, unsettled the minds of the restless multitude, and prepared the way for the general subversion of public order. The career of this pretended philosophy ended in nothing but convulsions, wars, and assassinations. Such was the natural result of those doctrines, whose main object was to sap the foundations of all duty, by making a jest of religion; and next, to overturn the fabric of society, by letting loose the passions of the ignorant, and casting down the barriers of established forms,—those safeguards which wisdom and experience have reared against the licentiousness of innovation.

The period on which we are entering does not comprehend more than twenty-five years; but that short space contains more lessons of important instruction than the two centuries which preceded it. In course of that time, the condition of Europe was entirely changed. The political system, which it had cost the combined labour of 300 years to rear, was overturned from its basis, burying kingdoms and whole nations in the ruins. A people, the most refined and ingenious in the world, who had formerly set others an example of loyalty and unbounded attachment to their sovereigns, were now seen giving way to the delusions of a blind fanaticism; pulling down those venerable institutions which the wisdom of their ancestors had built; trampling religion and morality under foot; laying prostrate both the throne and the altar; and staining their hands in the innocent blood of their ancient kings. Vice was now seen honoured and exalted in the place of virtue. Anarchy and despotism were substituted for regular government and rational liberty.

This same nation, torn by the fury of contending democrats, was seen labouring to impose on her neighbours the galling chains of her own thralldom; and spreading war and desolation over the earth, as if to wipe out the reproach of her past crimes. Finding no remedy in the midst of universal confusion from the evils which she had inflicted on herself, she abandoned the phantom of liberty, which was become but another name for oppression, and transferred her homage to the shrine of despotism. The grasping ambition and insatiable power of the usurper whom she chose for her master, and the weakness of the states which opposed him, contributed to the formation of an imperial dominion, such as had not existed in Europe since the time of Charlemagne.

This memorable era was fertile in examples both of virtues and vices. It displayed the extremes of

suffering and violence, of meanness and magnanimity. Kingdoms rose and disappeared by turns. New principles in morals and in politics flourished for a day, and were quickly superseded by others. Europe was subdued and enslaved, first in the name of liberty and equality, and afterwards to gratify the ambition of a tyrant. At length an end was put to this reign of despotism; and the nations of the continent were delivered from a usurpation which they had too long supported with patience. The countries of the North, which had participated in this general convulsion, laying aside their jealousies and projects of ambition, united their forces to overthrow the dominion of injustice and oppression. A new order of things seemed to revive; sounder maxims began to prevail; and the nations of Europe, made wise by experience, appeared ready to abandon the chimerical doctrines of that false liberty which had led them astray; and which, after five and twenty years of war and desolation, seemed to have wrought its own antidote, and brought in a new era of peace and prosperity.

The system of political equilibrium invented in the fifteenth century, and established by the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht, was totally overthrown by France, during the period of which we speak. Two causes accelerated its downfall. The first was the violation of its fundamental principles, by the three powers who dismembered Poland,—an act which made justice and equity yield to convenience, and set an example that might prove dangerous to their own security. The other was the general belief which prevailed in the cabinets of Europe, that the project of founding an universal monarchy was for ever hopeless and visionary—a persuasion which had lulled them into a state of fatal repose. This project, however, which they thought impracticable, was actually carried into execution; though it appeared under a new form. The daring individual who conceived the design gave it the name of the *Federative System*. By his plan, the different states on the continent were to preserve an apparent independence, whenever this did not thwart his own views; but their policy was to be entirely subservient to his interest, and to be regulated according to his direction. In this manner he undertook to conquer the whole world, with the aid of the federal states, who were obliged to espouse his quarrels, and to make common cause with him against every power that refused to submit voluntarily to his sway, or to that of his family, whom he placed as his vassals on some of the most ancient thrones of Europe.

To this was added another, which he called the *Continental System*. Its main object was to exclude Great Britain from all commerce with the other European states. By this means he hoped to deprive her of the command of the sea, of which she was now undisputed mistress; to annihilate

her commerce; cut off the sources of her wealth; ruin her marine; and even to overthrow the constitution, which had so long been the boast and happiness of the English nation. Had it been possible to carry this project into execution, the continent must necessarily have been impoverished and ruined.

The twenty-five years of which we are now to give a brief outline, are so crowded with events, that, for the sake of perspicuity, it will be necessary to divide them into separate periods. In the history of France, the natural divisions are the five following, viz. 1. From the opening of the States-General, May 15, 1789, till the abolition of Monarchy and the Constitutional Government, August 10, 1792. 2. The Reign of Terror; from August 10, 1792, till October 26, 1795, when the convention ceased to govern France. 3. The Republican Government; from October 26, 1795, till May 18, 1804, when Buonaparte was declared emperor. 4. The Reign of Napoleon Buonaparte; from May 18, 1804, till March 30, 1814, when the allies entered Paris. 5. The Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, after an exile of more than twenty years.

These divisions point out the most remarkable changes that occurred in France during this period. Nevertheless, as we must notice the events which took place in the rest of Europe, a more convenient division will be as follows. 1. From the commencement of the French Revolution till the Peace of Amiens, March 27, 1802. 2. From the Peace of Amiens till the year 1810, when the power of France was at its greatest height. 3. From the end of the year 1810, till the Treaty of Paris, in November, 1815, which includes the decline and fall of the French Empire under Buonaparte, and the restoration of a new political system in Europe. After giving a sketch of the various events which happened in France, we shall shortly advert to the revolutions which the different states of Europe underwent during the same time. The affairs of other parts of the world can only be taken notice of, as they may happen to be connected or interwoven with those of Europe.

We now return to the first of these periods, commencing with the origin of the French Revolution (May 1789), and ending with the Peace of Amiens.

The primary and elementary causes of the Revolution in France must be traced back to the disordered state of her finances, which began under Louis XIV.; to the general immorality which prevailed under the Regent Orleans; to the mal-administration of the government in the reign of Louis XV.; and, finally, to the new doctrines, both religious and political, which had become fashionable after the middle of the eighteenth century. Among the more immediate causes which gave rise to this national convulsion, must be reckoned the mistake which Louis XVI. committed in supporting the American insurgents against their lawful sovereign; and sending troops to their aid, accompanied by many of the young noblesse, who, by mixing with that people, imbibed their principles of liberty and independence. By this rash step France gained a triumph over her rival, but she ruined herself; and her imprudence will ever remain a warning to nations against

incautiously rushing into unnecessary wars; and against that destructive system of policy which involves the fate of kingdoms in concerns unconnected with their own internal safety and prosperity.

At the same time it is not to be denied that there were many abuses in the existing government of France that required to be corrected. The royal prerogative at that time may be called arbitrary rather than despotic, for the monarch had, in reality, greater power than he exercised. The persons and properties of the subject were at the disposal of the crown, by means of imposts, confiscations, letters of exile, &c.; and this dangerous authority was resisted only by the feeblest barriers. Certain bodies, it is true, possessed means of defence, but these privileges were seldom respected. The noblesse were exempted from contributions to the state, and totally separated from the commons, by the prohibition of intermarriages. The clergy were also exempted from taxation, for which they substituted voluntary grants. Besides these oppressive imposts, the internal administration was badly organized. The nation, divided into three orders, which were again subdivided into several classes, was abandoned to all the evils of despotism, and all the miseries of partial representation. The noblesse were divided into courtiers, who lived on the favour of the prince, and who had no common sympathies with the people. They held stations in the army for which they were not qualified, and made a trade of all appointments and offices of trust. The clergy were divided into two classes, one of which was destined for the bishoprics and abbeys with their rich revenues, while the other was destined to poverty and labour. The commons scarcely possessed a third part of the soil, for which they were compelled to pay feudal services to the territorial barons, tithes to the priests, and taxes to the king. In compensation for so many sacrifices they enjoyed no rights, had no share in the administration, and were admitted to no public employments.

Such was the condition of France when Louis XVI. ascended the throne. This order of things could not continue for ever; but with proper caution and skilful management, many salutary improvements might have been introduced, without plunging the nation into rebellion and anarchy. Louis XVI. had just views and amiable dispositions; but he was without decision of character, and had no perseverance in his measures. His projects for regenerating the state encountered obstacles which he had not foreseen, and which he found it impossible to overcome. He was continually vacillating in the choice of his ministers; and his reign, up to the assembling of the States-General, was a complication of attempted reforms, which produced no beneficial result. Maurepas, Turgot, and Malesherbes, had been successively intrusted with the management of affairs; but they found it impossible to give satisfaction to any party. Their efforts for retrenchment displeased the courtiers, while the people were discontented at the continuation of existing abuses.* The exhausted state in which the American war had left the finances of the kingdom, and the unskilfulness of the ministers; one of whom, the celebrated

* Mignet.—Necker on the French Revolution. Bertrand's Annals.

Necker, could contrive no other method of repairing these losses, than by means of forced loans, which augmented the national debt, and added to the other embarrassments of the government. The plan of M. de Calonne, another of the ministers, was to assemble the *Notables*, or respectable and distinguished persons of the kingdom (February 22, 1787), with the view of obtaining through their means those new imposts which he could not expect to be sanctioned by the parliament of Paris. But this assembly seemed little disposed to second his designs. They discovered, with astonishment, that within a few years loans had been raised to the amount of 1,646,000,000 of francs; and that there was an annual deficit in the revenue of 140,000,000.* This discovery was the signal for the retirement of Calonne.

His successor, Cardinal de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, tried in vain to overcome the resistance of the parliament, who declared, by a solemn protestation (May 3, 1788), that the right of granting supplies belonged to the States-General alone. Louis XVI., yielding to this expression of the public opinion, promised to assemble the deputies of the nation. A second meeting of the *Notables*, held at Versailles (November 6), deliberated as to the form and constitution of the States-General. M. Necker, who was recalled to the ministry, counselled the king to prefer the advice of the minority, who had espoused the popular side; and proposed to grant to the *Tiers-Etat*, or *Third Order*, a double number of representatives in the States-General; an advice which was immediately followed.

The States-General were summoned to meet at Versailles on the 27th of April, 1789. The number of deputies was 1200; 600 of whom were of the tiers-état, 300 of the noblesse, and 300 of the clergy. The king opened the assembly in person (May 5, 1789). It was accompanied with great solemnity and magnificence. The clergy, in cassocks, large cloaks, and square bonnets, or in a purple robe and lawn sleeves, occupied the first place; next came the noblesse, habited in black, having the vest and facing of silver cloth, the cravat of lace, and the hat turned up with a white plume. The tiers-état followed last, clothed in black, a short cloak, muslin cravat, and the hat without plumes or loops. These individuals comprehended the choice of the nation; but the greater part of them were entirely inexperienced in state affairs, and not a few of them were imbued with the principles of the new philosophy. The majority proposed to regenerate the government according to their own speculative notions; while others secretly entertained the hope of overturning it, to gratify their own antipathies; or to satiate their avarice and ambition.

A difference immediately arose on the question, whether they should sit according to their orders. Conciliatory measures having been tried in vain, the deputies of the tiers-état resolved to declare themselves a *National Assembly*. The king having ordered them to suspend their sittings, they assembled in the Tennis Court (June 20), where, in opposition to the royal authority, they took an oath never to separate until they had achieved the regeneration of France. The ma-

ajority of the clergy and some of the nobles, joined this tumultuous assembly. Louis XVI., by a *Royal Session* (June 23), condemned the conduct of this meeting; abrogated its decisions; and published a declaration containing the basis of a free constitution. But the authority of the king had now ceased to be respected. The National Assembly refused to accept from him as a boon, what they were preparing to seize by force. Alarmed at this opposition, Louis commanded the nobles and the clergy to join the popular party, or tiers-état, as a measure for conciliating the public mind.

The prime agent in this revolution was Mirabeau, a man of an ambitious and turbulent spirit, who inflamed the assembly by his violent harangues. A demagogue from interest, and of good abilities, though immoral in his character, he was resolved to build his fortune on the public troubles, and to prevent, by all means in his power, the first symptoms of a return to subordination and tranquillity. The Duke of Orleans supplied money to corrupt the troops, and excite insurrections over all parts of France.

In the mean time, the king assembled an army at Versailles, under the command of Marshal Broglio; and banished Necker (July 11), with whom he had just reason to be displeased. This was the signal for a popular commotion. Paris was in a state of the greatest fermentation. The press inflamed the public mind. The people discussed in the open air those questions which were agitated in the Assembly. A table served the purpose of a rostrum; and every citizen became an orator, who harangued on the dangers of his country, and the necessity of resistance. The mob forced the Bastille (July 14), seized on the depôts of arms, mounted the tri-coloured cockade, and became the apostles of the revolution. Bailly, the academician, was appointed mayor; the citizens formed themselves into a *National Guard*, under the command of the Marquis La Fayette. The king, placed in so critical a situation, and surrounded with danger, consented to withdraw the troops collected in the capital and the neighbourhood. He recalled M. Necker (July 17), and repaired to Paris to intimate his good intentions to the Assembly; declaring, that he identified himself with the nation, and relied on the affection and allegiance of his subjects.

The National Assembly had usurped the whole legislative power, and undertaken to draw up a new constitution. Their charter, which commenced with a *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, contained principles erroneous in themselves, and subversive of all order. Such was the ardour of their revolutionary enthusiasm, that they abolished, without discussion, and at one nocturnal sitting, the feudal regime, the rights and privileges of provinces and corporations, the tithes and the greater part of the seigniorial prerogatives. It was decreed (August 4), that the legislative power should be exercised by a single chamber; and that the king could not refuse his sanction to these decrees longer than four years.

As the revolution did not proceed with a rapidity equal to the wishes of the Orleans faction, they took care to stir up new insurrections. The mob of Paris attacked Versailles (October 6), invested the chateau, committed the most horrible excesses, and conducted the king and his family prisoners to

* Necker on the French Revolution, vol. I.

Paris, where they were followed by the National Assembly. These levelling legislators decreed the spoliation of the clergy, by placing their benefices at the disposal of the nation. They ordered the division of France into eighty-three departments; the sale of the crown-lands, and ecclesiastical property; the issuing of paper money, under the name of *assignats*; the admission of Jews to the rights of citizens; the prohibition of monastic vows; the right of the National Assembly to declare war, in consequence of a proposition from the king; a secular constitution, which rendered the clergy independent of the head of the church, and gave the people a right to nominate their bishops; the abolition of the noblesse; and the establishment of a tribunal at Orleans, for judging crimes of high treason against the nation.

Occupied with these decrees (1790-91), the National Assembly left the king no authority to repress the crimes and excesses which were multiplying every day within the kingdom; nor did they adopt themselves any measures for putting a stop to them. The king, indeed, according to the plan of their constitution, was to be the depository and supreme head of the executive power; but he had been stripped of the means necessary to the effective exercise of any authority whatever. He had neither places to grant, nor favours to bestow. He was left without any control over the inferior parts of the administration, since the men who filled these posts were elected by the people. He was not even allowed the pomp of a throne, or the splendour of a crown. The Assembly seemed to think it a part of their glory to divest their monarch of his most valuable prerogatives; to destroy every tie of gratitude and attachment, that could inspire confidence, or create respect. Though they chose a king, they treated him in the first instance as an enemy, and proceeded to erase, one by one, the characteristic traces of his dignity. They foolishly imagined that a monarchy could subsist when its authority was reduced to a phantom; that the throne could stand secure amidst the ruin of ranks; exposed to all the waves of faction, and when every sentiment of respect and affection was destroyed. Such was the idea of royalty entertained by the French legislators. By abolishing the gradations of society, they sapped the very foundations of that frail and imaginary majesty which they had modelled and fashioned according to their own ideas. Thousands of noble families, finding their lives insecure, resolved to abandon the country. The king himself made an attempt to escape from the captivity in which he was held. He did escape in disguise, but was recognised, and arrested at Varennes by the National Guard (June 25), reconducted to Paris, and suspended from his functions. Monsieur, the king's brother, was more fortunate. He arrived at Brussels. The Count D'Artois, the younger brother, had quitted France the year before.

The Orleans party undertook to compel the National Assembly to pronounce the deposition of the king. A large assemblage, which had met in the Champs-de-Mars (July 17, 1791), was dispersed by an armed force, by order of Bailly, and commanded by La Fayette. The moderate party in the National Assembly had gained the ascendancy. The constitutional articles were revised in some points, and digested into a systematic form. The

king accepted this new code (September 13); and there was every reason to believe that he was resolved to carry it into execution, if the defects inherent in this production of these legislative enthusiasts had permitted him. The Constituent Assembly, after having declared Avignon and Venissin annexed to France, separated (September 30), to make way for a Legislative Assembly.

The royal brothers and most of the emigrants, having fixed their residence at Coblenz, published addresses to all the courts of Europe, to solicit their assistance in restoring the king, and checking the revolutionary torrent which threatened to inundate Germany. The princes of the Empire, who had possessions in Alsace, found themselves aggrieved by the decrees of the Constituent Assembly, in respect to those rights which had been guaranteed to them on the faith of existing treaties. They accordingly claimed the intervention of the emperor and the Empire. The electors of Mayence and Treves had permitted the French noblesse to organize bodies of armed troops within their estates. After the arrest of the king at Varennes, the Emperor Leopold had addressed a circular to all his brother sovereigns, dated from Padua (July 6), in which he invited them to form an alliance for restoring the king's legitimate authority in France. Accordingly, an alliance was concluded at Vienna a few days after between Austria and Prussia, the object of which was to compel France to maintain her treaties with the neighbouring states. The two monarchs, who met at Pilsnitz (August 27), declared that they would employ the most efficacious means for leaving the King of France at perfect liberty to lay the foundation of monarchical government. But after Louis had accepted the constitution of the Assembly, the emperor formerly announced (November 12), that the co-operation of the contracting powers was in consequence suspended.

In a moment of unreflecting liberality, the Constituent Assembly had formally declared, that none of its members could be elected for the first Legislative Assembly. This new Assembly, which met October 1, 1791, was composed of men altogether deficient in experience, and hurried on by the headlong fanaticism of revolution. It was divided into two parties. On the right hand were those who hoped to preserve monarchy, by maintaining the constitution with certain improvements and modifications; and on the left, those who proposed that they should proceed in their revolutionary career. This latter party, in which the deputies of the Girondists had the ascendancy, had conceived two methods for overturning the constitution, viz. 1, to bring the king into disrepute, by obliging him to make use of his suspensive *veto* against those decrees which appeared most popular; and 2, to involve the nation in war, that they might find employment for the army, who seemed pleased with the new order of things. The party on the right, who formed the majority, had not the courage to oppose the execution of this plan. The Assembly issued decrees against the king's brothers, highly unjust, inhuman, and revolting; as well as against the emigrants and the priests, who had taken no share in these levelling projects. They deprived the king of his body-guard, and heaped upon him every species of annoyance and humiliation.

This Assembly, however, was by no means in the enjoyment of entire liberty. It was under the influence of those popular societies, known by the name of *Jacobins*, so called from their meeting in a convent in Paris, formerly belonging to that religious order. These societies, who had overspread all France, were affiliated with each other, and all under the control and direction of the parent society in the metropolis. It was there that they prepared those laws which they compelled the National Assembly to pass, and concocted their plots against the royal authority. They had an immense number of emissaries among the profligates of every country, who propagated their doctrines, and prepared the way for the triumph of their abominable conspiracies.

In order to provoke a declaration of war, and thereby get rid of the army, the deputies on the left never ceased to inveigh from the public tribunals against the conduct of foreign powers; and to represent the king as secretly leagued with them in their designs. His most faithful servants had been the object of their calumnies. The ministry resigned their office, and the king reconstructed a cabinet composed of Jacobins (March 17, 1792), the most conspicuous of whom were Dumouriez, who became minister for the foreign department, Clavières and Duranthon, who were intrusted with the finance, and Roland, who was promoted to the administration of the interior.* The perfidy of these ambitious statesmen ruined the king.

The Emperor Leopold, with whom they were on terms of negotiation, demanded redress for the grievances of those princes who had possessions in Alsace. Instead of giving him satisfaction, the new French Cabinet induced the king to propose to the Assembly (April 20), that they could answer his demands in no other way than by a declaration of war. This proposition passed with little deliberation, and was hailed with enthusiasm. Seven members only had the courage to oppose it.† The Assembly continued to issue their revolutionary decrees, which were both repugnant to the conscience of the king, and dangerous to the security of the throne. Louis, who had been recently offended by the dismissal of his guards, declared he could no longer submit to the insolence of these new ministers, three of whom he discarded with indignation. Their accomplices, the Jacobins, and Pétion the mayor of Paris, then organized an insurrection of the armed populace of the *Fauxbourgs* or suburbs. The mob then repaired to the Tuileries (June 20), to force the king to sanction the decrees of the Assembly, and recall the *patriot* ministers. The king saved his own life and that of his queen, by repelling those factious demagogues with firmness and courage. He constantly refused to grant what they demanded of him by violence; while the National Assembly displayed the most shameful pusillanimity. They even carried their cowardice so far, as to replace Pétion and Manuel in their functions, whom the king had suspended for having failed to perform their duty.

Pétion, and that troop of miserable wretches who ruled at their pleasure the *Sections* of Paris, where no good citizen dared to appear, then de-

manded the dethronement of the king; and in order to compel the Assembly to pronounce sentence against him the conspirators publicly organized a new insurrection. The populace rose in arms and attacked the castle of the Tuileries (August 10). The king refused the assistance of those faithful citizens who had flocked round his person. Misled by unwise or perfidious counsels, he repaired with his family to Paris; and entering the National Assembly, addressed them in these words: "Gentlemen, I am come here to avoid the commission of a great crime. I shall always consider myself and my family in safety when I am among the representatives of the nation." The populace having assailed the castle, the faithful Swiss Guards defended it with courage, and perished in the performance of their duty. Every individual found in the Tuileries was massacred by the rabble. The representatives of the nation, who were, during this time, in a state of the greatest alarm, decreed, in presence of the sovereign, and on the proposal of Vergniaud, that the king should be suspended, and the National Convention assembled.

Some days after, Louis, with his queen, the Dauphin, Madame Royale, and Madame Elizabeth, the king's sister, were imprisoned in the Temple, under a guard of the municipality of Paris, composed of partisans of the revolution. This municipality, and the ministers appointed by the Assembly, exercised a most tyrannical authority. The prisons were crowded with priests and nobles. Danton, the minister of justice, and a most violent revolutionist, entered into arrangements with the *commune* for the massacre of these innocent men. The cruel work of butchery continued for three days without remorse (September 2 and 3), and without the Legislative Assembly daring to interpose. A few days after, the prisoners, who had been sent to the tribunal at Orleans, were conducted to Versailles, and put to death by the hands of relentless murderers. At length the Legislative Assembly, whose whole conduct had been a tissue of crimes and cowardice, were dispersed (September 21), to make way for the horrible National Convention.

The war had commenced in the month of April 1791. Luekner, Rochambaud, and La Fayette, commanded the French armies, but their operations were without success. The Austrians had merely acted on the defensive. In virtue of an alliance concluded at Berlin (February 7), between the emperor and the King of Prussia, an army of 50,000 Prussians, to which were added 6,000 Hessians and a body of emigrants, all under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, and an Austrian army, commanded by Clairfait, entered France by way of Ardennes. Longwy and Verdun opened their gates to the Prussians (August 13); but their progress was arrested by the manoeuvres of Dumouriez, who had succeeded La Fayette in the command of the army; as well as by sickness and the want of provisions. After cannonading Valmy (September 20), which was commanded by General Kellerman, the combined army retired towards the Rhine, and into the duchy of Luxemburg.

The Girondists, reinforced by all the most contemptible enthusiasts in France, formed the National Assembly (September 21, 1792). The

* Mignet. Necker.

† Among these was M. Koch, author of the former part of this work.

very day of their meeting, they voted the abolition of royalty on the proposition of the comedian Collet D'Herbois, and proclaimed the *Republic*. Like the assemblies which had preceded it, this was divided into two parties; the one composed of the Girondists and their friends, who wished for the restoration of order, that they might enjoy the fruits of their crimes; the other called the *Mountain*, had an interest in continuing the revolution. Political dominion was the object of contest which from the beginning engaged these two parties; but they assumed the pretext of honest design, to conceal their main purpose from the eyes of the vulgar. The deputies of the Mountainists, as they could not charge their adversaries with the reproach of royalism, exhibited them to the people as *Federalists*, a reproach which was afterwards fatal to the party; and in order to have a rallying word, Tallien decreed (September 5), that the republic was *one and indivisible*.

To detail all the laws and acts which the Convention published during the three years which it oppressed France, would be to unfold a disgusting catalogue of crimes and extravagancies; we must be content with merely adverting to such of its operations as were distinguished by their enormity, or produced any durable effect. One of its first decrees was, to banish all emigrants for ever; and to order those to be put to death who should return to their native country. Soon after, they made a tender of their assistance to all subjects who might be inclined to revolt against their legitimate sovereigns; and in the countries which were occupied by their own armies, they proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, and the abolition of the established authorities. The moderate party, or, more properly speaking, the less furious party of the convention, were willing to spare the king's life. This, however, was one reason for the Mountainists to put him to death. The convention accordingly decreed (December 3, 1792), that a trial should be instituted against Louis Capet, in the most absurd manner, the functions of accusers, judges, and legislators, they assumed the right of pronouncing as to his culpability. Twice they compelled him to appear at their bar (December 11, 26), where De Seze, Malesherbes, and Tronchet undertook his defence. The demeanour of the king was full of candour and dignity. Of seven hundred and twenty voters, six hundred and eighty-three declared him guilty (January 15, 1793). Thirty-seven refused to vote on different grounds, some of which were honourable; but the assembly did not contain a single man of character who dared positively to pronounce the innocence of their victim. Two only of those who refused to vote, declared they did not think themselves entitled to sit as judges of the king.

The minority in vain had flattered themselves that they might rescue the king from death, provided they referred the punishment to the nation itself. But in this they were disappointed. Of seven hundred and eighteen voters, four hundred and twenty-four objected to the appeal of the people. Two hundred and eighty-three admitted it; and eleven had voted from interested motives, which could not be sustained. Nothing now remained but to pronounce the punish-

ment to be inflicted on the king. Of seven hundred and twenty-one voters, three hundred and sixty-six, and among these the Duke of Orleans, pronounced death (January 17); which was carried by a majority of *five*. The partisans of Louis interposed, and appealed from this sentence to the nation. In vain did the Girondists support this petition. Of six hundred and ninety voters, three hundred and eighty decided that his execution should take place within twenty-four hours.

Louis heard his sentence of death with composure and Christian resignation. He had already made his will, a monument at once of his piety and the purity of his heart. He died the death of a martyr (January 21, 1793). At the moment when the executioner's axe was ready to strike, the Abbé Edgeworth, his confessor, addressed him in these sublime words:—"Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!" The whole inhabitants of Paris, who viewed this foul deed with horror, were under arms. A mournful silence reigned in the city.*

All governments agreed in condemning the conduct of the regicides; but the voice of general detestation did not check the career of the sanguinary faction. The crime with which the convention had stained themselves prezaged the ruin of the Girondists, though they retarded their downfall by a struggle of four months. An insurrection of the sections of Paris (June 2), organized by Hebert, procureur of the commune, and by the deputies Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, decided the victory. The Girondists were proscribed for the crime of federalism. The victorious party honoured themselves with the title of *Sans-culottes*, and commenced what has been called the Reign of Terror. The Convention was now nothing more than an assembly of executioners, and a den of brigands. To hoodwink and deceive the people, they submitted for their approbation the plan of a constitution, drawn up by Héroult de Séchelles (June 24); according to which the primary assemblies were to exercise the sovereignty, and deliberate on all legislative measures. After the 2nd of June, the whole power was in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, which was formed in the Convention. Danton, the chief of the Cordeliers, a popular assembly more extravagant than the Jacobins themselves, was the most influential person there; but he was soon supplanted by Robespierre. The constitution of the 24th of June had been adopted in the primary assemblies; but Robespierre decreed that it should be suspended (August 28); and that the republic was in a state of revolution, until its independence was acknowledged.

Under that title they organized a government, the most tyrannical and the most sanguinary which history ever recorded. Robespierre was at the head of it. All France swarmed with revolutionary committees. Revolutionary armies were dispersed everywhere, dragging the wealthy and well-affected to punishment. A law with regard to suspected persons changed all the public edifices into prisons, and filled all the prisons with victims devoted to destruction. To remedy the fall of the assignats, the Convention fixed an assessment, called the *maximum*, on all articles of consump-

tion; a measure which reduced the country to a state of famine. The queen, Maria Antoinette, was accused before this revolutionary tribunal, and brought to the scaffold (October 16). The Girondist deputies were arrested on the 2nd of June, and met with the same fate. The Duke of Orleans, who was become an object of execration to all parties, perished there in his turn (November 6). Nobody pitied his fate. Over all the provinces of the kingdom the blood of the innocent flowed in torrents.

The revolutionists did not stop here. To their political crimes they added acts of impiety. They began by abolishing the Gregorian calendar and the Christian era, and substituted in its place the era of the Republic; to commence on the 22nd September 1793. In a short time, Hebert and Chaumette, two chiefs of the commune, got the Convention to decree the abolition of the Christian religion (November 10). The worship of Reason was substituted in its place; and the church of Notre Dame at Paris was profaned, by being converted into a temple of atheism. Gobel, the Constitutional Bishop of Paris, and several other ecclesiastics, publicly apostatized from their faith. Plunder and sacrilege of all kinds were committed in the Catholic churches.

The departments in the west of France had remained faithful to the king. In Poitou, Maine, Brittany, and Normandy, a civil war arose, known by the name of the Vendéan War, which was on the point of overturning the republican phantom, with its sanguinary government. The Vendéan insurgents took the title of the Catholic army, which was commanded in the name of Louis XVII., (who still remained a prisoner in the temple after his father's death), by a council which sat at Chatillon. M. d'Elbée was commander-in-chief. He had under him Artus de Bonchamp, the Marquis de Lescure, de Larochejacquelin, Cathelineau, Charette, and Stofflet; whose names will long be preserved in the annals of honour and patriotism. This insurrection had broken out on account of a levy of troops which the republic had ordered. The youths of La Vendée rose in arms; but it was to turn them against the oppressors of their country.

The war was carried on with violence and cruelty. Among the most remarkable of its events that happened in the year 1793, were the battle of Saumur (June 9), after which all the towns on the Loire, except Nantes, declared for the king; the battle of Chatillon, where the royalists were repeatedly defeated by the army of Mayenne, which the Convention had sent against them; the passage of the Loire (October 17, 19), by 100,000 of the Vendéans, including old men, women and children, who were eager to approach the coast, where they expected the supplies promised by England to arrive; the defeat of the army of Mayence at Chateau Gontier; the taking of Mans by the republicans, and their victory at Savenay; the taking of Noirmoutier, where the brave d'Elbée fell into the hands of the enemy (January 2, 1794); and, in the last place, the defeat of Charette at Machedoult. The troops of the Convention were commanded in succession by Biron, Canclaux, Westermann, Kleber, Beyer, l'Echelle, Marceau, and the cruel Rossignol. The deputy Carrier de Nantes covered the whole country with slaughter, and ex-

erted his ingenuity to invent new methods of massacre.

Other insurrections arose in the south of France, after the revolution of the 2nd of June. Bourdeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, declared themselves against the Convention. Bourdeaux was speedily subdued (August 25, 1793). General Carreaux took possession of Marseilles, with the assistance of the populace. Toulon proclaimed Louis XVII. (August 29), and threw themselves under the protection of Admirals Hood and Langara, who were cruising off their coast with the English and Spanish fleets. Kellerman had orders to besiege Lyons; a task which was afterwards intrusted to Doppet. This city surrendered after a vigorous resistance (October 9). It became the scene of the most atrocious actions. Its finest buildings were entirely ruined and demolished by order of the Convention. Carreaux took Toulon by assault (December 24). It was during the siege of this place, that a young officer distinguished himself by his courage, and afterwards by his enthusiasm for the revolution. This youth was Napoleon Buonaparte, a native of Ajaccio in Corsica.

The very same day on which the Convention met, the Duke of Saxe-Teschén at the head of the Austrian army, had commenced the siege of Lille; but he was obliged to raise it in about twenty days. The Legislative Assembly had declared war against the King of Sardinia (September 10, 1792). General Montesquieu took possession of Savoy, and Anselm made himself master of Nice. Some months after, the Convention declared these provinces to be annexed to France. While the allies were retiring from Champagne, Custine took Mayence by a *coup de main* (October 21) assisted, as it afterwards appeared, by treachery. Dumouriez, with a superior force, beat the Duke of Saxe-Teschén at Genappe (November 6), and soon achieved the conquest of the Belgic provinces. The Convention having declared war against England and the Stadtholder of the Netherlands (February 1, 1793), as well as against Spain, a powerful coalition was formed against them, of which England and Russia were the prime supporters; the one by her admonitions, and the other by the subsidies which she furnished. They were joined by all the Christian sovereigns in Europe, with the exception of Denmark.

Dumouriez undertook the conquest of Holland, and penetrated as far as Moerdyk; but he was obliged to abandon his object in consequence of the defeat of Miranda, who had laid siege to Maestricht, by the Austrian army under the command of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. Dumouriez was himself defeated at Nervinden (March 18), after which he retired towards the frontier of France. Being determined to put an end to the tyranny of the Convention, and to re-establish the constitution of 1791, he concluded an armistice with the Austrians, and delivered up to them the commissioners which the Convention had sent to deprive him of his office; but his army having refused to obey him, he was obliged to seek for safety, by escaping to Tournay, where General Clairfait then was. The young Duke of Chartres accompanied him in his flight.

During the rest of the campaign, success was divided between the two parties. The Austrians,

who were conquerors at Famars (May 24), took Condé, Valenciennes, and Quenoy (July). The Duke of York, who commanded the English army, was beat by Houchard at Hondscote (September 8). Jourdan compelled General Clairfait, by means of the battle of Wattignies, to raise the siege of Maubeuge. On the side of the Pyrenees, the Spanish generals, Ricardos and Ventura-Caro, gained several advantages; the former having taken Bellegarde, Collioure, and Port Vendre. On the Rhine, the allies had the best of the campaign. After an obstinate siege, Mayence surrendered to the Prussians (July 22), who beat Moreau at Pirmasens (September 14), though they failed in the siege of Landau. An army of the allies, 80,000 strong, commanded by Wurmser and the Duke of Brunswick, forced the lines at Wissemburg (October 13), and penetrated nearly as far as Strasburg; but General Pichegru, who had taken the command of the French army, obliged Wurmser to re-pass the Rhine (December 30). The Prussians maintained themselves on the left bank of that river, between Oppenheim and Bergen.

In France, the revolutionary tyrants were divided into three parties. *The Committee of Public Safety*, at the head of which was Robespierre, supported by the club of Jacobins, governed with an absolute power. Hebert, Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz, a native of Prussia, and the other members of the commune of Paris, formed a second party; more violent than the first, but contemptible from the character of the individuals who composed it. The third, comprehended Danton, Desmoulins, Herault de Sechelles, and others, who stood in awe of Robespierre, and were terrified by the extravagant fury of these bandits. The faction of the commune was the first that was annihilated by the temporary union of the other two parties (March 24, 1794). After that, Robespierre found little difficulty in sending Danton and his friends to the scaffold (April 5); but in a short time some of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, and the remains of the Girondist party, conspired against him. In order to please the people, he abolished the worship of Reason (May 7), and caused the Convention to proclaim the existence of a Supreme Being (June 8); he introduced a new religion, that of Deism, of which he created himself high-priest.

The power of Robespierre was now in its apogee, and his downfall approached. As the revolutionary tribunal was not sufficiently expeditious in despatching those whom he had marked out for destruction, he passed a decree (June 10), by which an unlimited authority was vested in that tribunal. This opened the eyes of his enemies in the Convention; and, not doubting that they were doomed to death, they conspired the ruin of the tyrant. Tallien and Billaud Varennes were the first that attacked him before the tribunal. Having repeatedly attempted to defend himself, he was prevented by the voice of the assembly, crying, "Down with the tyrant!" At length, repulsed and dispirited, he allowed himself to be arrested. Having found means, however, to escape from the guard, he saved himself in the midst of the commune, which was composed of those who had adhered to him after the fall of Hebert. Both sides took to arms; Robespierre and his faction were outlawed, but they showed little courage. Finding

themselves undone, they endeavoured to escape the swords of the enemy, by despatching themselves. Robespierre attempted self-destruction, but he only broke his jaw-bone with a pistol-shot. He was executed, with twenty-one of his accomplices (July 28, 1794). Eighty-three others of these miscreants met the same fate in the course of the two following days; from that time the reign of terror was at an end, and thousands of innocent persons were liberated from the prisons. His savage policy, even after his death, was not yet discontinued; and the career of this Convention, from its beginning to its dissolution, was marked by a series of cruelties and oppressions.

The campaign of 1794 was triumphant for the French arms. Pichegru commanded the army of the North, and Jourdan that of the Sambre and the Meuse. The Duke of Cobourg had at first the command of the Austrian army; but, towards the end of the campaign, he transferred it to Clairfait. The King of Prussia, become disgusted with the war, had threatened to withdraw his grand army from the Rhine, and to leave only his contingent as a prince of the Empire, and the 20,000 men which he was bound to furnish Austria, in virtue of the alliance of 1792. But England and Holland being engaged, by a convention signed at the Hague, to furnish him with supplies, he promised to retain 62,400 men under arms against France. They were under the command of Field-Marshal Mellendorf. The taking of Charleroi by Jourdan, and the battle of Fleurus, which he gained over the Duke of Cobourg (June 26), decided the fate of the Netherlands. After some movements in conjunction with the army of the Upper Rhine, under the command of the Duke of Saxe-Teschén,—movements which had but little success, from the want of agreement among the generals,—Clairfait, at the head of the Austrian army, retired, about the end of the year, on the right bank of the Rhine, followed by Mellendorf, whom the French had never been able to bring into action.

The army of the Pyrenees, under the command of Dugommier, gained a splendid victory at Ceret over General La Union (April 30), and retook Bellegarde. The two generals of the enemy were slain at Monte-Nero, where, after a battle of three days, the Spaniards were repulsed by Perignon (November 27). The French took Figueres (February 4), and Roses about two months after. The western army of the Pyrenees, under the command of Muller, entered Spain, took Fontarabia and St. Sebastian (August 1, 11), beat the Spaniards at Pampeluna (November 8), and spread terror to the very gates of Madrid. After the reduction of Toulon, the English fleet, under Admiral Howe, being invited into Corsica by Paoli, took possession of that island (June 18), which submitted to Britain as an independent kingdom. The French fleet, under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, was defeated off Ushant by Admiral Howe (June 1). Most of the French colonies had already fallen into the power of the English.

General Pichegru, favoured by the rigour of winter, and the intrigues of the party opposed to the House of Orange, had made himself master, almost without striking a blow, of the United Provinces of the Netherlands (January, 1795), where the patriots had re-established the ancient constitution, such as it had been before the year 1788;

the office of stadtholder being again abolished, as the Prince of Orange, after being deprived of all his functions, had fled to England. France concluded a treaty with this republic at the Hague (May 16), where the independence of the latter was formally acknowledged. She entered also into an alliance against England, paid 100,000,000 of florins, and ceded a part of her territory. It was at this time (June 8, 1795) that the royal infant Louis XVII., only son of Louis XVI., died in the Temple, in consequence of the bad treatment which he had endured incessantly for nearly three years. His uncle, who had assumed the title of regent about the beginning of 1793, succeeded him in his right to the throne. That prince, who then resided at Verona, took the title of Louis XVIII.

After the battles of Mans and Savenay, and the taking of Noirmoutier, the Vendéans had found themselves greatly exhausted. But at the time of which we now speak, they formed themselves into bands of insurgents in Brittany and Normandy, under the name of *Chouans*. After the death of Larochejacquin, Charette and Sapineau concluded a peace with the Convention at Jausnaie (February 17, 1795). Cormartin, the leader of the Chouans, did the same at Mabilais; but, within a few weeks after, the Convention caused him to be arrested and shot, with seven other chiefs. This was the signal for a new insurrection. The English government at length resolved to send assistance to the royalists. A body of emigrants and French prisoners of war were landed in the Bay of Quiberon (June 18). But the whole of the expedition was badly managed, and had a most disastrous result. General Hoche attacked the troops on their debarkation. The greater part might have saved themselves on board the vessels, but the Marquis de Sombreuil, and 560 young men of the best families were taken and shot by order of Tallien (June 21) in spite of the opposition of General Hoche, who declared that he had promised to spare their lives.

In the National Convention, two parties were contending for the superiority; the Thermidorians or Moderates, and the Terrorists. The inhabitants of Paris, reduced to despair by the dearth which the *maximum* had caused, and instigated by the Jacobins, had several times revolted, especially on the days of the 12th Germinal (April 1), and the 1st Prairial (May 20). The moderate party, strengthened by the accession of many of the deputies proscribed since the 2d June, 1793, gained the victory; and purged the Convention, by banishing or putting to death the most execrable of the terrorists. They even conciliated, in some respects, the opinion of the public, by drawing up a new constitution (June 23), which might appear wise and judicious compared with the maxims which had been disseminated for several years. Its fundamental elements were a legislative body, composed of two elective chambers; one of which was to have the originating of the laws, and the other, composed of men of judgment and experience, was to be invested with a *veto*. The executive power was to be lodged in the hands of a council of five persons, clothed with an authority greater than that which the constitution of 1791 had given to the king. The Convention passed several other laws, which indicated a desire to return to the principles of morality. They also

resolved to exchange Madame Royale, the only remains of the family of Louis XVI., for the deputies delivered up by Dumouriez. But they lost again the affections of the people, by their laws of the 5th and 13th Fructidor of the year three, (August 22 and 30, 1795). Premonished by the fault which the Constituent Assembly had committed, in prohibiting its members from entering into the legislative body, and wishing, at the same time, to escape punishment for the many crimes they had committed, they ordained that two-thirds of the members then composing the Convention, should, of necessity, become a part of the new legislation; and that, if the primary assemblies did not re-appoint 500 of the ex-conventional deputies, the newly elected members should themselves complete the quota, by adding a sufficient number of their ancient colleagues.

The new constitution had been submitted for the approbation of the people, which they doubted not it would receive, as it was to deliver France from the revolutionary faction. The Convention took advantage of this disposition of the people, to compel the sections likewise to accept the two decrees, by declaring them an integral part of the constitution. But this attempt was the occasion of new troubles. The sections of Paris wished to vote separately on the constitution, and on the decrees which, in that case, would have been rejected over all France; the moderate party of the Convention, if we can honour them with that name, joined with the terrorists. Perceiving the storm to be gathering, they now sought assistance and support from the troops, whose camp was pitched under the walls of Paris. They armed a body of brigands, at the head of which was Buonaparte, who gained a sanguinary victory over the Parisians, on the 13th Vendemiaire, in the year three (October 5, 1795). The desire to restore the Bourbons had been the secret motive with the chiefs of the insurrection.

A new legislative body assembled, which might be regarded as a continuation of the Convention; so long at least as the 500 deputies of the Convention were not excluded, who sat in consequence of the annual renewal of one-third of its members. The Executive Directory, appointed by the Council of the Ancients from a list presented by the Council of Five Hundred, consisted of Lareveillière-Lepaux, Rewbel, Barras, Le Tourneur, and Carnot, who had replaced Sieyes,—this member having declined to make one of the Directory—the whole five being regicides. The forms of terrorism were mitigated in some respects, but the morals of the administration gained nothing by the change. The reign of the Directory was an era of corruption and dissoluteness, and its effects were long felt. An unbounded avarice seized the nation, and the Directory encouraged and fed that shameful passion, by lending itself to the most infamous traffic. Men coveted the nobility of riches, rather than that of honour and birth.

The Directory had to struggle against two inconveniences; the one was the spirit of rebellion, which induced the terrorists to form a conspiracy among themselves,—such as that of Druet and Babeuf (May 10, 1796), and that which is known by the name of the Conspiracy of the Camp at Grenoble (September 9). The other inconvenience was still more serious, namely, the embarrassed

state of the finances. The quantity of assignats thrown into circulation amounted to 18,933,500,000 francs. To reduce this sum, they decreed a loan of 600,000,000 in specie. This measure proving ineffectual, the assignats were replaced by another sort of paper-money, viz. *rescriptions*; and finally by *mandates*. But both of these were discredited; the former after being issued, and the latter even before they were put into effective circulation, on the ground that it would be found necessary to withdraw them altogether from circulation. The state thus became bankrupt for 39,000,000,000 of francs. It then became necessary to have recourse to a system of regular imposts, which the people had not been accustomed to pay.

The Executive Directory had succeeded in putting an end to the war in La Vendée. This success was owing to the firmness and moderation of General Hoche. Stofflet was betrayed, and shot at Angers (February 23, 1796). Charette, who had fallen into the hands of the republicans, met with the same fate at Nantes soon after. His death put an end to the war (March 29). The Count d'Autichamp, and the other Vendéean generals, signed a treaty of peace with Hoche. George Cadoudal, the leader of the Chouans, fled to England.

At first, from the accession of a third of the members of the two legislative councils, the moderate party gained the ascendancy. On M. Barthélemi's being appointed to the Directory, there arose a schism between Lareveillere-Lepeaux, Rewbel, and Barras, who were called the Triumvirs, and Carnôt and Barthélemi, who were inclined for peace, and for putting an end to the measures of the revolution. The triumvirate lost the majority in the council, where Pichegru had put himself at the head of the moderate party, who hoped to restore the monarchy. Royalism, assisted by the liberty of the press which France then enjoyed, had made such progress as frightened the triumvirs. They thought themselves sure of the army, so easy to be seduced when they are allowed to deliberate; and especially of Buonaparte. They then performed the exploit which is known by the name of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor (September 4). Sixty-five deputies, and the two directors, Barthélemi and Carnôt, were condemned to transportation; and such of them as were apprehended were banished to the deserts of Simamari in Guiana. The last named deputies of the two councils were expelled; and the moderate laws, issued three months before, were superseded by revolutionary measures. The authors, editors, and printers of royalist or moderate journals, were also transported; the liberty of the press was abolished, and continued so in France from that time till 1814. Merlin, a lawyer of Douay, was appointed to the place of one of the exiled directors. The poet François, a native of Neuchâteau in Lorraine, had the weakness to accept the situation of another.

Here, it will be proper to take a retrospect of the events of the war. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was the first that set the example of a reconciliation with France, which was signed at Paris (February 9, 1795). The King of Prussia, whose finances were exhausted, entered into a negotiation with Barthélemi, the republican ambassador, which was concluded at Basle by Baron Harden-

berg (April 5). Prussia not only abandoned the coalition; she even guaranteed the neutrality of the North of Germany, according to a line of demarcation which was fixed by a special convention (May 17). The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel likewise made peace at Basle (August 28).

The retreat of the Prussians on the one hand, and the scarcity which prevailed in France on the other, had retarded the opening of the campaign of 1795. Field-Marshal Bender having reduced Luxemburg, after a siege of eight months, and a plentiful harvest having once more restored abundance, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Jourdan, and that of the Rhine and Moselle, under Pichegru, passed the Rhine. The former, being beat at Hochst by Clairfait (October 11), repassed that river in disorder; and Mayence, then under siege, was relieved. Pichegru, who had taken Mannheim (September 22), retreated in like manner, and General Wurmsér retook that city. An armistice was concluded on the last day of the year.

In Italy the French were expelled from Piedmont and the states of Genoa, which they had invaded; but the victory which Seherer gained over De Vins at Lovano (November 23), was a prelude to greater advantages, which they gained in course of next year.

In Spain, Monecy gained the battle of Ornea, and occupied Bilbao. But the peace which the Chevalier Yriarte signed at Basle (July 6), put an end to his conquests. The King of Spain ceded to the republic his part of the island of St. Domingo. Lord Bridport defeated the French fleet off L'Orient (June 23, 1795), which intended to oppose the debarkation of the emigrants at Quiberon. The coalition, which the retirement of Prussia and Spain had threatened to dissolve, gained fresh strength by several new alliances, such as that of Vienna, between Austria and Great Britain (May 20), and the Triple Alliance of St. Petersburg (September 28).

The campaign of 1796 was glorious for the French arms in Italy. Napoleon Buonaparte was there, at the head of an army destitute of everything except courage. By a series of victories which he gained at Montenotte, Dego, Millesimo, Ceva, and Mondovi, over the Austrian General Beaulieu, and the Sardinian General Colli, he obliged the King of Sardinia to sign a truce at Cherasco (April 28), by which he surrendered up three fortresses. Buonaparte passed the Po at Placentia; granted a truce on very disadvantageous terms to the Duke of Parma; and forced the passage of the Bridge of Lodi (May 9). The fate of Lombardy was decided. Cremona and Piazighitone opened their gates to the conqueror (May 14), who soon made his entry into Milan. The Duke of Modena obtained a suspension of arms. The King of Sardinia agreed to sign a peace at Paris, by which he surrendered Savoy and the district of Nice. The terror of the French arms was so great, that the King of Naples promised to remain neutral, by a convention which he concluded at Brescia (June 5). The pope also obtained neutrality, by the armistice of Bologna (June 28), but on conditions exceedingly severe. Though the war had ceased in Tuscany, a body of French troops occupied Leghorn (June 28), to seize the English merchandise in that port.

The court of Vienna was resolved to make every effort to save Mantua, the only place which remained to them in Italy. At the head of 50,000 fresh troops, Wurmser marched from the Tyrol, broke the French lines on the Adige (July 31), and compelled Buonaparte to raise the siege of Mantua. The latter general encountered the Austrians, and beat them at Castiglione; without, however, being able to prevent Wurmser from throwing fresh supplies into Mantua. This place was invested a second time; and a second time the Austrian army marched to its relief. While Buonaparte was engaged with Davidovitch at Roveredo (September 4), and Massena pushing on as far as Trent, Wurmser marched in all haste towards Mantua. Buonaparte suddenly directed his course against him, vanquished him in several battles, and compelled him to throw himself, with the wreck of his army, into the fortress (September 15). After this event, the King of the Two Sicilies and the Duke of Parma signed a definitive peace at Paris; and the republic of Genoa concluded a treaty (October 9), by which it retained at least the appearance of independence. Austria tried a third time to blockade Mantua. Two armies under the command of Alvinzi and Davidovitch marched, the one from Friuli, and the other from the Tyrol. The former was encountered by Buonaparte, who defeated them in a sanguinary action at Arcole (November 17). Immediately he directed his march against the other, and beat them at Rivoli (November 21).

While matters were thus passing in Italy, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Jourdan, had several engagements with the Archduke Charles, brother of the emperor, on the Sieg and the Lahn. Moreau, at the head of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, passed the Rhine at Strasburg, and gained several advantages over the army which Wurmser had commanded at the beginning of the campaign; he concluded truces with the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Circle of Swabia, who supplied him with money and provisions (July), and penetrated into Bavaria, the elector of which was also obliged to submit to very rigorous conditions (September 7), to obtain a suspension of arms. Jourdan, on his side, having also passed the Rhine, marched through Franconia, as far as the Upper Palatinate. The Archduke Charles, who, since the departure of Wurmser for Italy, had been at the head of all the Austrian armies in Germany, retired before so great a superiority of numbers, and drew near to the quarter whence he expected the arrival of reinforcements. He immediately fell on the undisciplined army of Jourdan, defeated them at Ambert (August 24) and Wurzburg (September 3); and put them so completely to the rout that they were obliged to repass the Rhine (September 19). This disaster compelled Moreau to make his retreat; in effecting which he displayed the talents of a great general. After a number of engagements, in which he was more frequently the conqueror than conquered, he brought back his army to Huningen (October 26), where they passed the Rhine. That fortress and Kehl were the only points on the right bank of the Rhine which remained in the possession of the French.

The cabinet of London, finding that Spain had declared war against her (August 19) according

to the treaty of St. Ildefonso, which allied her strictly with France; and moreover, seeing Ireland threatened with an invasion, ordered the British troops to evacuate the island of Corsica (October 21), of which the French took possession. Lord Malmesbury was sent to Lille to negotiate a peace (October 24), which he was not able to obtain, because the conditions were not agreeable to the three directors who formed the majority. The attempts which the French made to land in Ireland (December 22), under Admiral Morard de Galles and General Hoche, proved unsuccessful.

In 1797 the Austrians made a fourth attempt to save Mantua. Alvinzi arrived with 80,000 men; but, after several bloody engagements, this army was dispersed, and old Wurmser saw himself compelled to surrender Mantua by capitulation (February 2). Buonaparte, who had broken his truce with the pope under some frivolous pretext, invaded the Ecclesiastical States; but being menaced in the rear by a new Austrian army, he again made peace with his holiness at Tolentino (February 19). The pope, besides renouncing Avignon and the Venaisin, ceded also Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna. The new Austrian army in Italy was commanded by the Archduke Charles; but not being able to cope with that of Buonaparte in pitched battle, the archduke retired through the Tyrol and Carinthia into Stiria, where he was followed by the French general. This precipitate march threw the French army into a situation highly perilous; since, besides the want of provisions, they were menaced in the rear by an insurrection of the Tyrol, and the arms of the Venetian republic. Buonaparte then offered peace, which was accepted by the cabinet of Vienna, and signed at Leoben (April 18, 1797), the same day that Hoche passed the Rhine at Neuwied; and two days after Moreau had passed that river at Strasburg.

The preliminaries at Leoben were honourable for Austria. She renounced, it is true, Belgium and all her possessions in Italy, as far as the Oglio; but she was indemnified by a considerable part of the Venetian territory, as well as by Istria and Dalmatia; for which the republic were to receive Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; Peschiera and Mantua were to be surrendered to the emperor. France recognised the principle, that the integrity of the Empire was to be the basis of a pacification with the Germanic body. Immediately after the peace of Leoben, Buonaparte, without having received orders, overturned the Venetian republic, and caused his troops to occupy that city (May 16). He united the provinces of Lombardy which Austria had ceded into a republic, on the model of that of France (June 29); and this new state was called the *Cisalpine Republic*. He obliged the Genoese to change their government, and to constitute themselves into the *Ligurian Republic* (June 6).

The negotiations for a definitive peace were long in coming to a conclusion. Buonaparte regretted having promised the restitution of Mantua; and the three Jacobin members of the Directory, who were displeased with the terms on which the peace with Germany was to be founded, began to intrigue for the cession of the left bank of the Rhine; and with this view, to protract the conclusion of the peace, until the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor

should gain their party the ascendancy. The negotiations with Lord Malmesbury were immediately broken off; and Buonaparte threatened to resume hostilities, unless Austria would accept the conditions dictated by the new directory. Peace was at length concluded at Campo Formio, near Udina (October 17), by Buonaparte and Count Louis de Cobenzl. The two parties divided between them, it is said, the whole territory of the republic of Venice; so that the Adige should be the frontier on the continent of Italy, while the Venetian Islands, on the coasts of Albania and Turkey, should belong to France. Austrian Lombardy, with Peschiera and Mantua, the Modenois, and the Venetian territory to the west of the Adige, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, were to form the Cisalpine republic. A congress for a treaty of peace with the Empire was to be opened at Rastadt. By certain secret articles, the emperor consented eventually to the perpetual and complete cession of the left bank of the Rhine; and stipulated for himself the possession of Salzburg, in case of a partial cession; and greater advantages, provided the whole left bank of the Rhine were abandoned to France. The states of Germany, who might suffer loss by the partial or total cession of the left bank of the Rhine, were to receive indemnification in Germany, as was expressed in the treaty. A compensation was to be allowed to the Prince of Orange; but this was not to take place in the neighbourhood of the Batavian republic, nor in that of the Austrian possessions. Prussia was to preserve her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine; but she was to claim no new acquisitions in Germany.

The Directory were not equally satisfied with all the articles of this treaty; but they durst not disavow the negotiator, who had assisted in accomplishing the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor. The French government were displeas'd with the increase of power granted to Austria, and especially with the dismemberment of Bavaria, which Rewbel, who piqued himself on his political abilities, regarded with reason as contrary to the interests of France. Moreover, the articles relative to Prussia and the Prince of Orange were in direct opposition to the Convention of Berlin (1794), which was the basis of the existing unanimity between Prussia and France. By that convention the bishopric of Munster was made over to the king, by way of reimbursement for his possessions beyond the Rhine; while the House of Orange was to have Wurzburg and Bamberg. These circumstances obliged the Directory to conceal from the court of Berlin the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio; and this constraint greatly embarrassed them, by the mistrust which it excited on the part of Prussia.

General Buonaparte, with Treillard and Bonnier, members of the Convention, were appointed to negotiate at Rastadt with the deputation of the Empire. Buonaparte made only a short stay there, to sign a secret convention with Count Louis de Cobenzl (December 1); according to which Mayence was to be restored to the troops of the French republic, in fulfilment of what had been resolved on at Campo Formio. The object which the French negotiators proposed, was to obtain the entire cession of the left bank of the Rhine, free from all charges; and to obtain it without be-

ing obliged to purchase it at the price which Buonaparte had promised to Austria. The means for attaining this object were, to secure the consent of the majority of the deputation, and the agreement of Prussia, and then to prevail with the latter to object to the dismemberment of Bavaria—a measure which would compel France to reveal the secret negotiations at Campo Formio. The first proposition on which these ministers demanded the cession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, became the subject of a tedious negotiation, alternately promoted and thwarted by a thousand intrigues. At length the deputation admitted it (March, 1798), but under restrictions which the ministers of France were determined to reject. The latter then proposed as a second basis, the indemnification of the princes in possession of the left bank of the Rhine; which was adopted without much difficulty (March 15). The third demand referred to the manner of carrying the two fundamental articles into execution. On this ground, the French advanced a multitude of pretensions, each more unjust and more ridiculous than the other.

Until then the negotiations, in all probability, were serious on the part of Austria and France; as the former, supported by Russia, hoped to obtain the consent of Prussia to the dismemberment of Bavaria; while France, on her side, vainly anticipated a strict alliance with the cabinet of Berlin, which would have enabled the Directory to have dictated its own conditions of peace. But, towards the middle of the year, war had become inevitable, in consequence of the numerous aggressions which the Executive Directory had committed in different countries. To them war had become necessary to occupy their armies. The continuation of the congress at Rastadt, therefore, served merely to gain time to prepare for hostilities. If the court of Vienna had flattered themselves that the Cisalpine republic would form an independent state, they were undeceived by the treaty of alliance with France which that republic was obliged to accept, in spite of the determined refusal of the Council of Ancients. It was, in reality, a treaty of subjection, by which, among other articles, it was stipulated that there should always be 25,000 French troops in the Cisalpine States, for the support of which they should pay 18,000,000 francs per annum.

A tumult having happened at Rome, in which one of the French generals was killed, the Directory made this a pretext for invading the ecclesiastical states. General Berthier proclaimed the Roman republic (February 15, 1798); and Pope Pius VI. was carried captive to France, where he died (August 29, 1799).

The Directory, without any other motive than the hope of plunder, and a wish to satisfy the ambition of certain individuals, excited a revolution in Switzerland; and, under pretence of being invited by one of the parties, they sent troops into that country (January 26); overturned the existing order of things; and, under the title of the *Helvetic Republic*, they established a government entirely subject to their authority (April 11). A piece of imprudence, committed by the French ambassador at Vienna, was the cause of a popular commotion there; in consequence of which he quitted his situation. This event made a great

noise. It gave rise to the conferences which took place at Seltz in Alsace (April 13), between the ex-director François and Count De Cobenzl; in which France and Austria tried, for the last time, if it were possible to come to a proper understanding regarding their mutual interests. These conferences had no other effect than to convince the court of Vienna that they must turn the current of their politics into a new channel.

A French fleet, commanded by Admiral Breueix, sailed from Toulon (May 19), with General Buonaparte and 40,000 men. When they arrived off Malta, Buonaparte got possession of that island by treachery, and by means of a capitulation, signed in name of the order of St. John (June 12), by some of the knights who had disclaimed all submission to the grand master and the assembly of the states. From Malta the French fleet sailed with a fair wind for Egypt, and landed at Alexandria (July 2), to undertake the conquest of that country; although France was then at peace with the Porte. The English fleet, however, under Admiral Nelson, which had gone in quest of the French, joined them off Alexandria, and defeated them in an action which was fought in the bay of Aboukir (August 1), and which lasted thirty-six hours.

Charles Emanuel IV., King of Sardinia, insulted in every kind of way by the French generals, and by his neighbours the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, resolved to shelter himself from these annoyances under the protection of the Directory. He had concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France (April 5, 1797); but the latter having demanded a new pledge of his friendship, he concluded a convention at Milan, by which the French government granted him their protection, on condition that he would surrender to them the citadel of his capital.

The events which we have now detailed gave rise to the second coalition against France, which was entered into by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, the Porte, and the Two Sicilies. The two first of these powers promised to support the rest; Britain furnishing supplies, and Russia auxiliary troops. Before taking up arms, the cabinet of Vienna attempted to conciliate that of Berlin, with the view of compelling France to moderate some of her claims. Negotiations were accordingly entered into at Berlin, at first between the two powers alone, and afterwards under the mediation of the Emperor Paul of Russia. But in order to obtain a mutual co-operation, it was necessary to begin by establishing mutual confidence. This was impossible, as each of the cabinets had its own secret, which it would not communicate to the other. Prussia had her own treaty of the 1st of August, 1796; and Austria her secret articles of Campo Formio. The circumstances which determined the Emperor Paul to take a part in the war against France, was the indignation which he felt at the spoliation of the knights of Malta, whom he had taken under his protection, and afterwards accepted the office of grand master.

This coalition was formed by the following treaties of alliance: 1. Between Austria and Russia; in virtue of which, a Russian army of 60,000 men under the command of Suwarow, advanced on the Danube towards the end of the year. 2. Between Austria and the Two Sicilies;

concluded at Vienna (May 19, 1798). 3. Between Russia and the Two Sicilies; concluded at St. Petersburg (November 29). 4. Between Great Britain and the King of the Two Sicilies; concluded at Naples (December 1). 5. Between Russia and the Porte; concluded at Constantinople (December 25). 6. The treaty of St. Petersburg, between Russia and Great Britain (December 29); by which the Emperor Paul promised to furnish Prussia with a body of 45,000 auxiliaries, to be paid by Great Britain. 7. The treaty of Constantinople, between Great Britain and the Porte (January 2, 1799). 8. The treaty of Constantinople, between the Porte and the King of the Two Sicilies (January 21, 1799). To these several others may be added, which were concluded at a later period, viz. 9. That of St. Petersburg, between Russia and Portugal (September 28). 10. Between Russia and Great Britain (June 29). 11. Between Russia and Bavaria (October 1). 12. Between Great Britain and Bavaria; signed at Munich (March 16, 1800). 13. Between Great Britain and the Duke of Wurtemberg; signed at Louisburg (April 20). 14. Between Britain and the elector of Mayence (April 30). 15. The treaty of subsidy, between Britain and Austria (June 20). 16. The same between Britain and Bavaria; signed at Amberg (July 15).

After the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, the Executive Directory of the French republic had to struggle against the general discontent, as well as against the disordered state of the finances, and the intrigues of the Jacobins, whose influence they had imprudently augmented, hoping, by their means, to annihilate the party of the opposition. That faction would infallibly have effected a counter revolution in France, had not the Directory, by a stretch of arbitrary power, annulled the elections of 1798. The want of funds, which was always growing worse, had retarded the renewal of the war; but when it broke out, the Directory adopted a measure which we ought not to pass in silence, as it has exercised a lasting influence on all the states of Europe, who were obliged to follow the example. We allude to the law which introduced the military conscription (September 5, 1798), and which was the work of General Jourdan.

The coalition was not yet consolidated, and Austria had not yet finished her preparations for war, when the King of the Two Sicilies, instigated by a party who wished to urge the cabinet of Vienna to greater dispatch, commenced hostilities, by expelling the French from Rome (November 24). That enterprise failed of success. The Neapolitan troops, who were commanded by a foreigner, General Baron de Mack, showed neither discipline nor courage. After this first repulse, the king took shelter in Sicily. His capital became a prey to the most frightful anarchy. Mack, to save his life, deserted to the enemy. The lazzaroni defended Naples against the French army, and it was not till after a battle of three days, that Championnet, who was at their head, succeeded in getting possession of the city; after which he proclaimed the *Parthenopean Republic* (January 25). General Joubert took possession of Turin; and when the new campaign opened, the whole of Italy was in the hands of the French.

The Executive Directory made these hostile preparations of the King of the Two Sicilies a pretext for declaring war against the King of Sardinia (December 6, 1798), who was in alliance with France. General Joubert having already advanced into Piedmont, Charles Emanuel IV. signed an act, drawn up by General Clausel, by which he renounced the exercise of all power, and commanded his subjects to obey the provisional government which the French were about to establish. He afterwards retired into Sardinia, where he protested against the violence which he had experienced.

The Congress of Rastadt had continued their sittings. On the 6th of December, 1798, the French plenipotentiaries gave in their *ultimatum* on the third proposition relative to the mode of carrying into execution the two fundamental articles agreed to; with a threat to quit Rastadt unless it was accepted within six days. The majority of the deputation, who were not initiated into the secrets of great cabinets, and who were importuned by a crowd of princes, nobles, and deputies under the influence either of interest or terror, accepted this ultimatum; against which Austria, Saxony, and Hanover alone voted. The plenipotentiary of the Empire ratified it; probably because the court of Vienna, who were on the point of abrogating every thing that had passed at Rastadt, did not think it necessary to enter into any discussion on that subject. This finished the operations of the congress. From that moment, the French plenipotentiaries did nothing but complain of the march of the Russian troops, who in effect had penetrated into Galicia, and were approaching the Danube. The deputation, whose distinctive character was pusillanimity, confirmed these complaints in presence of the emperor (January 4, 1799), who, however, eluded giving any positive answer, until the whole of his measures were organized. A French army, commanded by Jourdan, passed the Rhine, between Strasburg and Basle. The congress, nevertheless, continued to sit until the 7th April, when it was dissolved by Count Metternich, who annulled all its decisions.

The 28th of April was a day memorable in the annals of modern history. Some of the Austrian hussars, within a quarter of a league of Rastadt, assassinated the French ministers Bonnier, Debry, and Roberjot, who were on their return to Paris. That deed was not authorized by the Executive Directory, although it was attributed to them because they had artfully turned it to their advantage, by exciting the public mind which had already declared itself against the war; neither was it authorized by any cabinet, or commander of the army. Its real author has never been officially made known.

The French republic had already declared war against the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany (March 12, 1799), without any apparent motive. But, before this declaration was made, the campaign had already opened in Switzerland, where General Massena had dislodged the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, which they had occupied in consequence of a treaty with the republicans, concluded at Coire (October 7, 1798). The Archduke Charles, at the head of the main Austrian army, acquitted himself gloriously. He

defeated Jourdan in several pitched battles at Pfullendorf and Stockach (March 20, 25), and compelled the army of the Danube, as it was called, to repossess the Rhine. The remains of Jourdan's army were then united to that of Massena.

In Italy, while General Macdonald, who had succeeded Championnet in the command, was covering Rome and Naples, General Gauthier occupied Florence. Sherer, at the head of the army of Italy, was defeated by Kray at Legnago (March 25), Roco (30), and Verona (April 5). It was at this time that Suwarow arrived in Italy with the Russians, and took the chief command of the combined army. Moreau, who with a noble resignation had taken on himself the interim command of the French army in its present discouraging circumstances, was defeated at Cassano (April 27), and retired to Alessandria. It was of great importance for Suwarow to prevent Macdonald, who had arrived at Naples, from joining Moreau. But the two French generals manœuvred so dextrously, that this junction took place; although Macdonald had been attacked by Suwarow near the Trebia (June 17), where he sustained a considerable loss. The whole of Lombardy fell into the hands of the allies. Mantua likewise capitulated. Joubert, who had been appointed general of the army of Italy, had scarcely arrived when he offered battle to Suwarow near Novi (August 15); but he was slain near the commencement of the action. Moreau, who had continued with the army as a volunteer, could not prevent the general rout. Championnet, who succeeded Joubert, was not more fortunate. Coni, the last place in their possession, having been taken (December 3), the French retired within the Apennines.

The Archduke Charles having marched into Switzerland, Massena took up a strong position on the Aar and the Reuss. The hopes which they had entertained of bringing over Prussia to the coalition having entirely failed, it was agreed between Great Britain and Russia (June 29), that the army of 45,000 men, which the latter had eventually promised to place at the disposal of the King of Prussia if he became a party in the war, should henceforth be employed against France in Switzerland. Accordingly these troops, who were commanded by Prince Korsakoff, having arrived on the Limmat, the archduke joined to them 30,000 Austrians; while with the rest of his troops he marched towards the Rhine, where a new French army had occupied Heidelberg and Manheim. The archduke compelled them to repossess the river, and took Manheim by assault (September 18).

After the battle of Novi, Suwarow quitted Italy with the Russians, whose number was now reduced to 24,000 men, to march on the Limmat, and take the command of the allied army in Switzerland. Massena, who was anxious to prevent this junction, attacked Korsakoff, and defeated him near Zurich (September 24); which obliged him to evacuate Switzerland. Suwarow, whose march across the Alps had now become very dangerous, accomplished it nevertheless with boldness and celerity; and although he had to encounter Lecourbe, who wished to intercept him, and afterwards Massena, who was in pursuit of him, he crossed the small cantons of the Grisons, and effected a union with the remains of Korsakoff's army.

The Roman and Parthenopean republics had fallen to pieces after the departure of Macdonald. Ancona, where he had left a body of troops, did not surrender until the 29th of November. The combined fleets of the Turks and Russians, about the end of the year 1798, had taken possession of the French islands that had formerly belonged to the Venetians. Corfu held out till the 1st of March, 1789. The Archduke Charles having advanced on Switzerland after the defeat of Korsakoff, Lecourbe, who had been called to the command of the army of Alsace, passed the Rhine; but he was soon after compelled to return to the left bank of that river.

In virtue of a convention which was concluded at St. Petersburg (June 22), the Emperor Paul, in addition to the 105,000 men which he had already despatched, engaged to furnish 17,500 more. These being joined by 12,000 of the English, under the command of the Duke of York, they attempted to make a descent on Holland, and landed at Helder. This expedition proved a total failure. The Duke of York, after having been worsted in several engagements with General Brune, evacuated the country, in consequence of a capitulation signed at Alkmaar (October 18, 1799). These disasters were but feebly repaired by the taking of Surinam (August 16), the last of the Dutch colonies which fell into the hands of the English.

While these events were transacting in Europe, Buonaparte had subdued the greater part of Egypt; but he was less successful in the expedition which he undertook against Syria. Being obliged to raise the siege of Acre (May 19), after sustaining considerable losses, he returned to Egypt with the feeble remains of his army. Shortly after (July 15), a Turkish fleet appeared off Aboukir, and landed a body of troops, who took possession of that fort. Buonaparte directed his march against them, beat them, and almost totally annihilated them (July 25); but being displeased at the Directory, who had left him without support, and having heard of their disorganisation, he resolved to return to Europe. He embarked in a clandestine manner (August 23), and landed at Frejus on the coast of Provence (October 9, 1799).

At the time of his arrival, France was in a state of the most violent commotion. The Council of Five Hundred was become more and more Jacobinical, in consequence of new elections. Upstarts and enthusiasts, such as Sieyes, Gohier, Roger Ducos, and Moulins, with Barras, director of the ancients, formed the government. The revolutionary measures which were adopted by the council, seemed a prelude to the return of terror. Such was the law which authorized the Directory to take hostages among the relations of the emigrants (July 12); and the loan of 100,000,000 francs, which was decreed (August 6).

In the West, the Chouans had organized a new insurrection under the conduct of George Cadoudal and the Counts de Frotté, D'Autichamp, and de Bourmont. Disturbances had broken out in other provinces; the government had fallen into contempt; a general restlessness had taken possession of the public mind. Barras and Sieyes were perfectly conscious that this state of things could not continue. Each of them, separately, had contrived the plan of a new revolution; and each of them endeavoured to make a

partisan of General Buonaparte, who had just arrived in Paris, and on whom the hopes of France seemed at that time to depend. The general deceived Barras, and entered into a conspiracy with Sieyes and the more influential members of the Council of Ancients. On the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799), the council nominated Buonaparte commandant of the troops, abolished the Directory, and ordered the Legislative Assembly to be transferred to St. Cloud. The meeting which took place next day was a scene of great turbulence. Buonaparte lost all presence of mind; but his brother Lucien and the grenadiers of the guard dispersed the Council of Five Hundred. The constitution of the year three was abolished (November 11). A provisional government was established, consisting of Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and Buonaparte. A legislative commission of twenty-five members was charged to draw up the plan of a new constitution.

The new constitution was announced on the 22nd of Frimaire, of the year eight (13 December, 1799). The republican forms were preserved; and the government, in appearance, was intrusted to a council of three persons, appointed for ten years, and decorated with the title of consuls, viz., Buonaparte, Cambaceres, and Le Brun; but in reality to the first only, on whom they conferred a power truly monarchical. The other constituted bodies were a conservatory senate, contrived by Sieyes, to be the guardian of the public liberties; a tribunal of one hundred members, whose business it was to discuss such forms of law as the government laid before them; and the legislative body of three hundred members, who gave their vote without any previous debate. Buonaparte seized the reins of government with a firm hand. He abrogated several of the revolutionary laws, amalgamated its different parts into a system, and by degrees organized the most complete despotism. He consolidated his power by quashing the insurrection in the West. By his orders, Generals Brune and Hedouville concluded a peace (January 18, 1800), first with the Vendéens at Montfauçon, and afterwards with the Chouans. He gave a most striking example of perfidy, by causing the brave Frotté to be shot a few days after. But he conciliated the affection of his subjects by the restoration of religion, which he established by means of a concordat with the court of Rome (July 15, 1801).

Buonaparte was no sooner placed at the head of the government, than he proposed to make peace with England, by means of a letter (December 26, 1799), not written, according to etiquette, by one of his ministers to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, but addressed to King George III., whom he complimented for his patriotic virtues. He stated the necessity for peace; and trusted, that two nations so enlightened as France and Great Britain, would no longer be actuated by false ideas of glory and greatness. This step, made in so unusual a form, could not possibly have a successful result, especially as Mr. Pitt was determined to employ all the resources of England to overthrow the revolutionary despotism which the first consul was endeavouring to establish in France. That great statesman endeavoured, by the treaties of subsidy which we have already mentioned, to repair the loss which the coalition had just suffered

by the retirement of Paul I., who, being mortified with the bad success of the Russian arms, which he ascribed to the allies themselves, had recalled his troops at the beginning of the year 1800.

General Melas, who commanded the Austrians in Italy, opened the campaign of 1800 in the most splendid manner. In consequence of the victory which he gained over Massena at Voltri (April 10), the latter was obliged to throw himself into Genoa, where he sustained a siege of six weeks with great courage. Melas made himself master of Nice (May 11), and Suchet passed the Var on his march into Provence. But, in a short time, Buonaparte, at the head of a new army which rendezvoused at Dijon, passed the Alps, and took possession of Milan (June 2), while Melas was not yet aware that his army was in existence. Fortunately for the latter, Massena was obliged to surrender Genoa at that very time (June 5), which placed the corps of General Ott at his disposal. He had found it difficult, with his small garrison, to preserve order among the inhabitants, of whom 15,000 are said to have perished by famine or disease during the blockade. General Ott was defeated by Berthier at Montebello (June 9). Melas himself engaged General Buonaparte at Marengo (June 14). Victory was already within his grasp, when the arrival of the brave Desaix with his division disappointed him of the triumph. The defeat had a most discouraging effect on General Melas, and cost Austria the whole of Lombardy. A truce, which was concluded at Alessandria (June 16), put Buonaparte in possession of that town; as well as of Tortona, Turin, Placentia, Coni, Genoa, &c. The Austrians retired beyond the Mincio.

Moreau, at the head of a French army, had passed the Rhine (April 25), and defeated Kray in several engagements. The Austrians then retired within the Upper Palatinate. Moreau had already made himself master of Munich, when he received the news of the truce at Alessandria. He then concluded an armistice at Parsdorf (July 15). The Count St. Julien, who had been sent by the Emperor Francis II. to Paris, having signed the preliminaries of peace without sufficient authority, the court of Vienna refused to ratify them, as they had engaged not to make peace without the consent of England. Hostilities were to re-commence in Germany in the month of September; but the Archduke John, who commanded the Austrian army in Bavaria, having requested that the armistice should be prolonged, General Moreau consented, on condition that Philippsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, should be given up to him. This arrangement was signed at Hohenlinden (September 20), and France immediately demolished the fortifications of these three places. Hostilities having recommenced about the end of November, General Moreau defeated the army of the Archduke John, at the memorable battle of Hohenlinden (December 3); after which he marched in all haste on Vienna. Austria being released from her engagements by the cabinet of London, then declared that she was determined to make peace, whatever might be the resolutions of England; on which a new armistice was concluded at Steyr (December 25). Braunau and Wurtzburg were delivered up to the French.

General Brune, who commanded in Italy, re-

newed the truce of Alessandria by the convention of Castiglione (September 29), and thus gained time to take possession of Tuscany, which they had forgot to include in the truce. Being reinforced by the army of Macdonald, who had arrived in Lombardy, he passed the Brenta; after traversing, by a perilous march, the lofty mountain of Splügen. In virtue of a new truce, signed at Treviso, the French obtained the recovery of Peschiera, the forts of Verona, Legnago, Fermo, and Ancona.

Meantime, negotiations for peace had been entered into at Luneville, between Joseph Buonaparte and Count Louis de Cobenzl. The first consul having refused to ratify the armistice of Treviso, because it had left Mantua in the hands of the Austrians, the Imperial plenipotentiary at Luneville signed an additional convention, by which that place was delivered over to the French. Peace between Austria and France was signed a few days after (February 9); and Francis II., at the same time, made stipulations for the Empire. He ceded the Belgic provinces, the county of Falkenstein, and Frickthal. In Italy, the frontier line between Austria and the Cisalpine republic was traced, so that the Adige should separate the two states, and the cities of Verona and Porto Legnago should be divided between them. The other conditions were, that the Grand Duke of Modena should have Briugau in exchange for his duchy; that the Grand Duke of Tuscany should renounce his grand duchy, and receive a free and competent indemnity in Germany; that the Empire should give up all the left bank of the Rhine; that the hereditary princes, who lost their territories in consequence of these cessions, should receive compensation from the Empire; and, lastly, that the Germanic body should ratify the peace within the space of thirty days. By a secret article, Saltzburgh, Berchtolsgadon, Passau, the bishopric and city of Augsburg, Kempten, and twelve other immediate abbays, besides nineteen Imperial cities in Swabia, including Ulm and Augsburg, were secured to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Empire showed great anxiety to ratify this peace, which was the precursor of its annihilation.

The English had compelled General Vaubois to surrender the isle of Malta. After the flight of Buonaparte from Egypt, Kleber had taken the command of the French army, which was then reduced to 12,000 men. A convention was concluded at El Arish with the Grand Vizier, who had arrived from Syria at the head of a formidable army, by which the French general engaged to evacuate the country. The English government having refused to ratify this treaty, unless Kleber would surrender himself prisoner of war, that general immediately attacked the Grand Vizier, and defeated him at El Hanka (March 20); after which he again subdued Cairo, which had raised the standard of revolt. The English government were willing to ratify the convention of the 24th January; but General Menou, who had succeeded Kleber, who had fallen by the dagger of a Turkish fanatic, was determined to maintain himself in Egypt, in the teeth of an evident impossibility. Sir Ralph Abercromby, the English commander, who had arrived with a British force, effected his landing at Aboukir (March 8, 1801). Menou was defeated in the battle of Rahmanieh, near Alexandria (March 21), which

cost General Abercromby his life. But the French soon saw themselves assailed on all hands by the Turks and the English, who had been recalled from the East Indies, and had disembarked on the shores of the Red Sea. General Belliard, who had the command at Cairo, concluded a capitulation (June 27), in virtue of which he was sent back to France with the troops under his orders. Menou found himself obliged to follow his example, and capitulated at Alexandria to General Hutchinson (August 30), who consented to the safe conveyance of the French troops to their native country. Thus ended an expedition, which, had it proved successful, must have become fatal to the British Empire in India, and given a new direction to the commerce of the world.

Various treaties were concluded between the peace of Lunéville and that of Amiens, which put an entire end to the war. 1. General Murat, who commanded the army in Italy, having shown some disposition to carry the war into the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand IV. concluded an armistice at Foligno (February 18), which he afterwards converted into a treaty of peace at Florence. He gave up the state of Presidii, and his share of the island of Elba and of the principality of Piombino. By a secret article, he agreed that 16,000 French troops should occupy the peninsula of Otranto and part of Abruzzo, until the conclusion of peace with England and the Porte. 2. Portugal, since the year 1797, had wished to withdraw from the first coalition, and even concluded a peace with the executive directory at Paris (August 10); but the English squadron of Admiral St. Vincent having entered the Tagus, the queen refused to ratify that treaty. Portugal thus continued at war with France until 1801. The French army, which was already in Spain, having shown some disposition to enter Portugal, peace was concluded at Madrid between Lucien Buonaparte and M. Freire (September 29), the ministers of the two states at the court of Spain. Portugal shut her ports against the English, and regulated the frontiers of Guiana, so as to prove advantageous to France. 3. In Russia Buonaparte had succeeded to a certain extent in conciliating the goodwill of the Emperor Paul. Nevertheless, at the death of that prince (October 8, 1801), there existed no treaty of peace between Russia and France. A treaty, however, was signed at Paris in the reign of Alexander, by Count Markoff and Talleyrand (October 11), and followed by a very important special convention, by which, among other things, it was agreed:—That the two governments should form a mutual concurrence, as to the principles to be followed with respect to indemnifications in Germany; as well as to determine respecting those in Italy, and to maintain a just equilibrium between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg: That France should accept the mediation of Prussia, for the pacification with the Porte: That the integrity of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should be maintained, according to the treaty of the 28th March, 1801; and that the French troops should evacuate the country as soon as the fate of Egypt was decided: That a friendly disposition should be shown to the interests of the King of Sardinia; and that the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wurtemberg should be compensated for their losses, by a full indemnity in Germany. 4. Immediately after

General Menou had signed the capitulation of Alexandria, the preliminaries of peace between France and the Porte were concluded at Paris (October 9); but they were not confirmed into a definitive peace, until after the preliminaries were signed at London (June 25, 1802). The free navigation of the Black Sea was secured to the French flag.

When Mr. Pitt had quitted the English ministry, France and England came to terms of better accommodation. The first advances were made on the side of the latter power. The preliminaries were signed at London, between Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto; including their respective allies (October 1, 1801). Of all her conquests, Great Britain was to retain only the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. Malta was to be restored to the Knights of St. John, under the protection of a third power; and Egypt was to belong to the Porte. The French troops were to abandon the kingdom of Naples, and the English to quit Porto Ferrajo. France was to acknowledge the republic of the Seven Islands, which was composed of Corfu and the six other islands formerly belonging to the Venetians.

For carrying these preliminaries into execution, a congress was opened at Amiens, where Joseph Buonaparte appeared for France, Lord Cornwallis for England, the Chevalier Azara for Spain, and M. Schimmelpennick for the Batavian republic. Some unexpected difficulties arose with regard to Malta, as Great Britain had repented of having given it up in the preliminary treaty. They found means, however, to remove these obstacles; and the peace of Amiens was finally signed after a negotiation of six months (March 27, 1802).

We shall only take notice here in what respects these articles differed from the preliminaries. With regard to the stipulation respecting the surrender of Malta to the Knights of St. John, several modifications were added, viz. as to the election of a new grand master; the suppression of the French and English *Langues*, or class of knights; the institution of a Maltese *Langue*; the time for its evacuation; and the future appointment of the garrison. Finally, it was said in the treaty, that the independence of that island and its present arrangement were placed under the guaranty of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia. It may be mentioned, that Russia and Prussia declined to undertake that guaranty, unless certain modifications were added. This refusal furnished England with a pretext for refusing to part with that island; and the war, as we shall soon find, was re-commenced rather than give up that important possession.

One article of the treaty of Amiens having promised the Prince of Orange a compensation for the losses he had sustained in the late republic of the United Provinces, both in private property and expenses, another convention was signed at Amiens between France and the Batavian states, importing that that compensation should in no case fall to the charge of the latter.

There is one essential observation which we must make on the peace of Amiens. Contrary to the general practice, the former treaties between France and Great Britain were not renewed by that of Amiens. It is not difficult to perceive the

cause of this silence. At the time when the peace of Utrecht was concluded, Great Britain had an interest in having the principle of free commerce for neutral states held sacred; and she had consequently announced it in the treaty of navigation and commerce, which was concluded in 1713. All the following treaties, until that of 1783 inclusive, having renewed the articles of Utrecht, the silence on this subject at Amiens placed Great Britain, in this respect, on the footing of a common right, which, according to the system of the English, would not have been favourable to the principle of a free trade,—a doctrine which it was for their interest to suppress, since they had then the command of the sea.

We have now brought down the history of the French revolution, from its commencement to the year 1802, when the French power began to preponderate in Europe. The influence of the republic was enormously great. The Netherlands and a flourishing portion of Germany, as well as Geneva, Savoy, and Piedmont, were incorporated with the territories which had been governed by Louis XVI. The Dutch and the Cisalpine states, including the Milanese, a considerable part of the Venetian territories, the duchies of Mantua, Modena, and Parma, besides some of the ecclesiastical provinces, had bowed their neck to the yoke of the first consul. The Swiss, enslaved by the Directory, had not been able to recover their ancient independence. Tuscany and the Ligurian republic durst not presume to dispute the will of the conqueror; while Spain, forgetful of her ancient dignity, was reduced to a state of subservient and degraded alliance. It will be now necessary, according to the plan of this work, that we take a survey of the more remarkable events which happened in the course of the preceding thirteen years in the other states of Europe.

Portugal had been a co-partner in the first coalition against France, and had furnished a body of 6,000 troops to Spain, and some ships of war to England. We have already related how Mary I. was prevented from disengaging herself from the treaty of 1797. The Prince of Brazil, who had assumed the regency (July 15, 1799) in consequence of the infirm state of his mother's health, took a more decided part in the second coalition, by signing an alliance with Russia (September 28). This alliance drew him into a war with Spain. The Duke of Alcudia, usually styled the *Prince of Peace*, seized several cities in Portugal without much difficulty, as her army was in as bad condition as her finances. A peace was speedily concluded at Badajos (June 6, 1801). Portugal agreed to shut her ports against English vessels, and ceded to Spain Olivença and the places situated on the Guadiana. The engagement respecting English vessels was renewed by the peace of Madrid (September 29), which reconciled Portugal with France.

In Spain, Charles IV. had succeeded his father Charles III. (December 13, 1788); Philip, the eldest son, having been declared incapable of reigning, on account of his deficiency of intellect. The king, who had no pleasure but in the chase, gave himself up entirely to that amusement. He was the jest of the queen and her favourites, to whom he abandoned the cares of government. In 1790 a difference, which had arisen with Eng-

land respecting the right of property to Nootka Sound in North America, was on the point of interrupting the repose of this indolent monarch. But matters were adjusted by a convention signed at the Escurial (October 28, 1790) by which Spain renounced her rights over that distant possession. The chief favourite since 1790 had been Don Manuel Godoy, created Duke of Alcudia, a weak minister, under whom every thing became venal, and the whole nation corrupt. The revolutionary principles which had taken root there after the expulsion of the Jesuits, as sufficient care had not been taken to supply the place of these fathers with other public instructors of youth, were readily propagated under so vicious an administration; especially after the publication of the famous Memoir of Jovellanos (1795), on the improvements of Agriculture and the Agrarian Law; a work which was composed by order of the Council of Castile, and written with clearness and simplicity. The author, no doubt, deserved credit for the purity of his sentiments; but, in his enthusiasm for the objects which he recommended, he overlooked all existing laws; encouraged the spoliation of the church, the crown, and the community; as well as the suppression of corporations, and conditional legacies, or life-rents; in short, a total and radical subversion of the institutions of the country. This work may be said to have produced a revolution in Spain, for the Cortes of Cadiz did no more than carry into execution the schemes of Jovellanos.

If the Prince of Peace failed in conducting the administration of the interior, he was not more successful in making the crown of Spain be respected abroad. By the peace of Basle (July 22, 1795), Charles IV. renounced the Spanish part of St. Domingo. By the alliance, offensive and defensive, of St. Ildefonso (August 10, 1796), Spain identified herself with the French system. The war with Great Britain ruined her marine. Admiral Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent (February 14, 1797), commanded by Admiral Cordova. It was in this engagement that Captain Nelson, afterwards so famous, established his fame by the courage and conduct which he displayed. Admiral Hervey conquered the important island of Trinidad (February 18). General Stewart, without much difficulty, took possession of Minorca (November 7, 1798). The alliance of Spain with France was also the reason why the Emperor Paul declared war against her, after his accession to the coalition (July 27, 1799). The Porte followed the example of Russia (October 1, 1801). After the peace of Luneville, a reconciliation with the former power was signed at Paris (October 4). The war which Spain was obliged to wage with Portugal, procured her the city of Olivença, which was ceded by the peace of Badajos (June 9).

By the treaty signed at St. Ildefonso, Spain surrendered Louisiana to Buonaparte, and eventually the state of Parma (October 1, 1800). She also surrendered to him five ships of the line, besides a considerable sum of money which she paid him; and all this on the faith of his promising to procure the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, with the title of royalty, to the king's son-in-law, the Infant of Parma. These stipulations were more clearly established by the treaty which Lucien Buonaparte

and the Prince of Peace afterwards signed at Madrid (March 21, 1801). The peace of Amiens cost Spain no other sacrifice than the island of Trinidad, which she was obliged to abandon to England, entirely on the decision of Buonaparte, who did not even ask the consent of Charles IV. Spain had lost all sort of respect or consideration, both from the universal and contemptible weakness of her government, and because she had voluntarily placed herself under dependence to France.

From the very commencement of this period, Great Britain had been preserved from the influence of the revolutionary principles, which had a great many partisans among the whigs of that kingdom, by the firmness of her prime minister, William Pitt, and the splendid eloquence of Edmund Burke, a member of the House of Commons. Pitt consolidated the system of finance by extending the sinking fund, which he had created in 1786. He gave firmness to the government by obtaining the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and by means of the *Alien Bill* (January 4, 1793), which allowed the magistrate an extensive authority in the surveillance of foreigners. It was in Ireland where the greatest number of malcontents appeared, and these consisted chiefly of Catholics, although an act, passed in 1793, had rendered the Catholics eligible to almost all official employments. That island, nevertheless, was the theatre of several conspiracies, the design of which was to render it independent. Their seditious leaders acted in unison with the French, who made attempts at different times to effect a landing in that country. Fifteen thousand troops, accompanied by eighteen sail of the line, embarked for that purpose from Brest harbour in the month of December. But this formidable armament had scarcely put to sea, when they were accidentally overtaken by a storm. Eight of these vessels reached the Irish coast, and appeared off Bantry Bay; but they were forced from that station by another tempest, when they returned to France with the loss of two ships of the line, some frigates having narrowly escaped falling in with two squadrons of the English navy. At length, as a remedy for this political mischief, the union of Ireland with Great Britain was effected, so that both kingdoms should have one and the same parliament; and George III. assumed the title of King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (July 2, 1800).

Great Britain was the moving principle of the two first coalitions against France, although she fought rather with money than with troops. She succeeded in ruining the marine and the commerce of both France and Spain, and obtained the complete command of the sea. A short time before the death of Paul I., she was involved in a war with the powers of the North. The resentment of that prince against the cabinet of London, for refusing to put him in possession of Malta, which the English troops had seized, was the true cause of hostilities, although a litigated question of public right was made the pretext. The point at issue was to know, whether the convoy granted to the merchant ships of neutral states by their sovereign, protected them from being searched by those of the belligerent powers, or not. Denmark, with whom the discussion first arose, maintained the affirmative, and England the negative; al-

though it was not till the end of the year 1799 that she maintained this doctrine. At that time there had been some misunderstanding between Admiral Keith, the commander of the British forces in the Mediterranean, and Captain Van Dockum, who was convoying a fleet of Danish merchantmen. In the month of July following, the Danish frigate *La Freya*, which had attempted to defend her convoy against a search of the English cruisers, was taken and carried into the Downs.

These acts of violence gave rise to a very warm discussion between the courts of London and Copenhagen. The former having sent a fleet to the Sound, commanded by Admiral Dickson, Denmark was obliged to yield to the tempest, but in a manner very honourable. By a convention which was signed at Copenhagen (August 29, 1800), the decision of the question was remitted for further discussion. The English government released the *Freya*, and the King of Denmark promised to suspend the convoys.

This accommodation did not meet with the approval of the Emperor Paul. That prince, who entertained lofty ideas, but who yielded too often to his passions, had determined to revive the principles of the *Armed Neutrality*, according to the treaty of 1780, and to compel England to acknowledge them. He invited Denmark and Sweden, in so very peremptory a manner, to join with him for this purpose, that these states could not refuse their consent without coming to an open rupture with him. This agreement with the courts of Copenhagen, Sweden, and Berlin, was finally settled by the conventions signed at St. Petersburg (December 16, 18). As Great Britain could not find a more convenient occasion than that of her maritime preponderance, for deciding those questions on which she had maintained silence in 1780, war was declared, and hostilities commenced in course of a few months. A body of Danish troops occupied Hamburg and Lubeck. The Prussians took possession of Bremen and Hanover (April 3). An English fleet, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, commanded by Admirals Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson, forced the passage of the Sound, without sustaining much injury (March 30). A squadron, under Lord Nelson, engaged the Danish fleet before Copenhagen (April 3), which was commanded by Admiral Olfart Fischer. The action was spirited on both sides, and added a new wreath to the fame of Nelson; and, although the Danes were obliged to yield to the superiority of British valour, they acquitted themselves bravely and honourably. Within seven days after, an armistice was concluded.

Admiral Parker continued his route by the Baltic, and arrived before Carlscrona (April 19), where he was on the eve of commencing hostilities against Sweden, when he was apprised of the death of the Emperor Paul. That event dissolved the league of the North, and put an end to the war. By a convention which the Emperor Alexander concluded at St. Petersburg (June 17), the principles of maritime law which the English had professed were recognised. The other powers of the North acceded to this convention. The Danes evacuated Hamburg und Lubeck, but Prussia continued in possession of Hanover until the conclusion of the peace between France and England.

With regard to Holland, the twenty years which elapsed between 1795 and 1814 formed an era of calamities and disasters. The patriots, who comprehended the middle class of the Dutch community, had gained the ascendancy on the entrance of the French army; one consequence of which was, the abolition of the stadtholdership. But that party became sensible of their error, when they saw the ruin of their country. The independence of their republic was acknowledged by the treaty of the Hague (May 16, 1795), which, by giving it France for an ally, subjected it in effect to that power, and reduced it to the condition of a province,—the more neglected, as it was not entirely united. The constitution which the *Batavian Republic* (for that is the title which it assumed) had adopted, vacillated between two opposite systems, the adherents of which could come to no agreement;—namely, that of a *United* and that of a *Federal* republic. While these matters were under debate, the English, who had joined the stadtholder's party, stripped the republic of its colonies; destroyed its marine, particularly in the action which Admiral Duncan fought with De Winter near Camperdown (October 11, 1797); and annihilated her commerce and her navigation, by blockading her coasts,—not excepting even her fisheries.

The following is a summary of the treaties which were concluded between France and the Batavian republic before the peace of Amiens, some of which are for the first time here made known to the public. 1. The treaty of alliance at the Hague (May 16, 1795). 2. The convention at the Hague (July 27, 1796), relative to the maintenance of 25,000 French troops by the Dutch. 3. The convention at the Hague (May 3, 1796), relative to the payment of the second moiety of the 100,000,000 of florins which the Batavian republic had engaged to pay. 4. The treaty of Paris (January 5, 1800), by which Buonaparte sold to the Batavian republic, for a sum of 6,000,000 of francs, the property and effects which the French or Belgian emigrants, the clergy of France and Belgium, the Elector Palatine, the House of Salm and other princes of the Empire, possessed within the bounds of that republic; as also, the Prussian territories lying within other countries, which at that time had not been ceded by the court of Berlin, and other rights equally inalienable. 5. The convention at the Hague (August 29, 1801), by which the Batavian republic, on paying a sum of 5,000,000 of florins, procured the reduction of the French troops in Holland to 10,000 men; although the original number of 25,000 still remained there nevertheless, under different pretexts. 6. The convention at Amiens (March 27, 1802), by which France guaranteed to the republic, that they should not be charged with the indemnities promised to the stadtholder by the treaty with England.

The overthrow of the ancient Helvetic Confederacy is undoubtedly one of the high crimes with which history has to reproach the Executive Directory of France. The constitution drawn up by MM. Ochs and La Harpe, after the model of that of France, which excluded the federative system, was published by the French party (March 30, 1798), in spite of the modifications which the more judicious patriots had attempted to introduce, and supported by the French army under General

Schauenburg. To compel the smaller cantons to submit to this yoke, it was necessary to have recourse to fire and sword. The Grisons found means, however, to evade it by receiving an Austrian army among them, in virtue of a convention which was concluded at Coire (October 17); and it was not till after the unfortunate campaign of 1799 that they were compelled to renounce their independence. France appropriated to herself the Swiss part of the bishopric of Basle, and the cities of Mulhouse and Geneva. The terms of subjection on which the Helvetic republic was to stand in future with France, were determined by an alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded at Paris (August 19). Switzerland henceforth renounced that neutrality which for centuries she had regarded as the pledge and safeguard of her liberties.

The animosity which reigned between the unionists and the federalists, caused several revolutions in the government of that republic. But as these intrigues were carried on on a small scale and have left few traces behind, it is unnecessary here to enter into any detail. If the revolution in Switzerland did not produce a single man remarkable for great talents, or of a commanding character, the religious spirit of the country, the instruction of the people, and the diffusion of knowledge, at least preserved them from those crimes and excesses which stained the revolutionists in France.

At the peace of Amiens all Italy, with the exception of a part of the Venetian territory, which was united to Austria, had yielded to the dominion of France. The King of the Two Sicilies alone had still maintained a sort of independence. In no country had the revolutionary principles of the eighteenth century found more abettors among the higher classes than in Piedmont. The King of Sardinia was the first sovereign whose throne was undermined by their influence. Scarcely had Victor Amadeus III., who ascended the throne in 1773, joined the league against France (July 25, 1792), when the republican armies attacked, and made an easy conquest of, Savoy and Nice. Great Britain granted him, by the treaty of London (April 25, 1793), subsidies for carrying on the war with vigour. We have related above the disasters which he met with in the war against France. The peace of Paris cost him the sacrifice of two provinces. In vain did his son Charles Emanuel IV. hope to save the remainder of his estates, by becoming an ally of the French Directory at the treaty of Turin (April 5, 1797). His political influence was lost; they knew they could command anything from that ally. Their first request was the surrender of the city of Turin, by the convention of Milan (June 28, 1798). The Directory afterwards declared war against that prince without any grounds; and he could not obtain permission to retire to Sardinia, except by signing a kind of abdication (December 9), against which he afterwards protested. Piedmont was thus governed entirely according to the pleasure of France; and immediately after the peace of Amiens it was definitively annexed to her territories.

Austrian Lombardy (with the exception of Mantua), the duchy of Modena, the three legations ceded by Pius VI., and a part of the Venetian territory, formed the Cisalpine republic, which Buonaparte declared independent, by the

preliminaries of Leoben (June 29, 1797). He soon after (October 22) added to it the Valtelline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, which he had taken from the Grisons; and, at a later period (September 7, 1800), he added a part of Piedmont, viz., the Novarese, and the country beyond the Sesia. Mantua was likewise annexed to this republic at the peace of Luneville. Its connexions with France had been determined by the alliance of 1798, which was more servile than those in which the Batavian republic, and afterwards that of Switzerland, were placed. In this pretended republic, France exercised an absolute power; she changed its constitution at pleasure, appointed and deposed its highest functionaries as suited her convenience. The victories of Suwarow put an end for some time to the existence of that state; but after the battle of Marengo, matters were replaced on their ancient footing.

The republic of Genoa, distracted by innovations at home, and threatened from abroad by England and France, hesitated for some time as to the system which they should adopt. But after the French had become masters of the Bocchetta, the senate consented, by a treaty concluded at Paris (October 9, 1796), to give them a sum of money, and shut their ports against the English. After the preliminaries of Leoben, this republic accepted a democratic constitution from the hand of Buonaparte, according to the treaty of Montebello (June 6, 1797). It paid large sums of money, and was gratified by the Imperial fiefs which Buonaparte added to its territory. It then took the name of the Ligurian Republic (June 14). We have already mentioned how the Grand Duke of Tuscany was unjustly deprived of his estates, which Buonaparte made over by the treaty of St. Ildefonso to the hereditary Prince of Parma, son-in-law to Charles IV. of Spain. This young prince was proclaimed King of Etruria (August 2, 1801), and acknowledged by all the European powers; but, during his brief reign, he was more a vassal of Buonaparte than an independent sovereign.

Pius VI. had protested against the spoliation of the church, which the Constituent Assembly of France had committed, by the re-union of Avignon and the county of Venaisin (November 3, 1791); and from that time he was treated as an enemy to the republic. The truce of Bologna (June 23, 1796), cost him 21,000,000 of francs, and many of the finest specimens of art. He consented that such statues and pictures, as might be selected by commissioners appointed for that purpose, should be conveyed to the French capital. Finding it impossible to obtain an equitable peace, he set on foot an army of 45,000 men, which he placed under the command of General Colli, a native of Austria; but Buonaparte, notwithstanding, compelled his holiness to conclude a peace at Tolentino (Feb. 19, 1797), which cost him 15,000,000 more, and the three legatines of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. He renounced at the same time Avignon and the county of Venaisin. In consequence of a tumult which took place at Rome, in which the French General Duphot was killed, a French army, under General Berthier, entered that city (February 11, 1798), and proclaimed the Roman republic; which, as we have noticed, enjoyed but an ephemeral existence. The government was vested in five consuls, thirty-two sena-

tors, and seventy-two tribunes, called the Representatives of the People. Pius VI. was carried captive to France, and died at Valence (August 29, 1799). The conclave assembled at Venice, and elected Cardinal Chiaramonte in his place (March 13, 1800), who assumed the title of Pius VII., and within a short time after made his public entry into Rome. Buonaparte, then elected first consul, allowed him to enjoy the rest of his estates in peace.

Towards the end of 1792, a French fleet, commanded by Admiral La Touche, appeared off the port of Naples, and obliged the king to acknowledge that first of all sovereigns, the French Republic. This did not prevent him from entering into the coalition (July 12, 1793), by a treaty of alliance with England, which was concluded at Naples. After the success of Buonaparte in Lombardy, Ferdinand IV. averted the storm which threatened him, by signing first a suspension of arms at Brescia (June 5, 1798), and the peace of Paris a few months after, which he obtained on honourable conditions. We have already mentioned, that he was one of the first sovereigns who entered into the second coalition against France; and that the precipitancy with which he then commenced hostilities, proved prejudicial to the success of the war, as well as disastrous to himself. He did not regain possession of the kingdom of Naples till after the retreat of Macdonald in 1799; and he purchased peace (March 28, 1800) at the expense of receiving into his kingdom 16,000 French troops, who remained there until the conclusion of the treaty between Alexander and Buonaparte.

The combined fleets of Turkey and Russia had subdued the islands that formerly belonged to the Venetians, viz., Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maura, Ithaca, Paxo, and Cerigo. According to a convention concluded at Constantinople between Russia and the Porte (March 21, 1800), these islands were to form an independent state, although subject to the Ottoman Empire, under the name of the *Republic of the Seven Islands*. This republic was acknowledged in subsequent treaties by France and Great Britain.

By the peace of Basle, Germany had been divided into two parts; the North, at the head of which was Prussia; and the South, where Austria had the predominance, in consequence of her armies and by the favour of the ecclesiastical princes, for the secular states abandoned her as often as they could do so with impunity. By a convention which Prussia concluded at Basle with France (May 17, 1795), the neutrality of the North of Germany was recognised, on conditions which the princes situated beyond the line of demarcation were anxious to fulfil. Prussia afterwards concluded arrangements with these states for establishing an army of observation. This defection created no small animosity between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, which the French dexterously turned to their own advantage; especially during the sitting of the congress at Rastadt. In vain did the Emperor Paul, who had determined to make war against the republic, attempt to restore harmony between these two leading states. He was equally unsuccessful in his project of drawing Prussia into the coalition; although Frederic II. had been deceived by France, who, after having promised him, in a secret convention concluded at

Berlin (August 5, 1796), a compensation proportioned to the loss which he had sustained by ceding the left bank of the Rhine, entered into engagements directly opposite, by the secret articles in the treaty of Campo Formio; nevertheless Frederic William III., who succeeded his father (November 16, 1797), remained faithful to a neutrality which the state of the Prussian finances appeared to render necessary.

The revolutionary doctrines which were transplanted into Germany by the French emissaries, had fallen on a soil well prepared, and in which they speedily struck root. By the peace of Lunéville, all the provinces situated on the left bank of the Rhine were incorporated with France; and the moment was approaching which was to witness the downfall of the German Empire. While the French nation, seized with a strange mania, were overturning law and order from their very foundations, and abandoning themselves to excesses which appear almost incredible in a civilized country, in the North another nation, sunk into anarchy and oppressed by their neighbours, were making a noble effort to restore the authority of the laws, and to extricate themselves from the bondage of a foreign yoke.

The Poles had flattered themselves, that while the forces of Russia were occupied against the Swedes and the Turks, as we have already mentioned, they would be left at liberty to alter their constitution, and give a new vigour to the government of their republic. An extraordinary diet was assembled at Warsaw (1788), which formed itself into a confederation, in order to avoid the inconveniences of the *Liberum Veto*; and of the unanimity required in ordinary diets. The Empress of Russia having made some attempts at that diet to engage the Poles to enter into an alliance against the Porte, she was thwarted in her intentions by the King of Prussia, who, in consequence of his engagements with England, used every effort to instigate the Poles against Russia. He encouraged them, by offering them his alliance, to attempt a reform in their government, which Prussia had recently guaranteed. A committee of legislation, appointed by the diet, was commissioned to draw up the plan of a constitution for the reformation of the republic.

This resolution of the diet could not but displease the Empress of Russia, who remonstrated against it as a direct infraction of the articles agreed between her and the republic in 1775. The Poles, who thus foresaw that the changes which they had in view would embroil them with that princess, ought to have considered, in the first place, how to put themselves into a good state of defence. But instead of providing for the melioration of their finances, and putting the army of the republic on a respectable footing, the diet spent a considerable time in discussing the new plan of the constitution which had been submitted to them. The assurance of protection from Prussia, which had been officially ratified to them, rendered the Poles too confident; and the treaty of alliance which the King of Prussia had in effect concluded with the republic (March 29, 1790), began to lull them into a profound security. Stanislaus Augustus, after having long hesitated as to the party he ought to espouse, at length voluntarily joined that party in the diet who wished to extricate

Poland from that state of degradation into which she had fallen. The new constitution was accordingly decreed by acclamation (May 3, 1791).

However imperfect that constitution might appear, it was in unison with the state of civilisation to which Poland had arrived. It corrected several of the errors and defects of former laws; and, though truly republican, it was free from those extravagant notions which the French revolution had brought into fashion. The throne was rendered hereditary in favour of the Electoral House of Saxony; they abolished the law of unanimity, and the absurdity of the *Liberum Veto*; the diet was declared permanent, and the legislative body divided into two chambers. One of these chambers, composed of deputies whose functions were to continue for two years, was charged with discussing and framing the laws; and the other, consisting of a senate in which the king presided, were to sanction them, and to exercise the *Veto*; the executive power was intrusted to the king, and a council of superintendance consisting of seven members or responsible ministers. The inhabitants of the towns were allowed the privilege of electing their own deputies and judges, and the burgesses had the way laid open to them for attaining the honours of nobility. The latter were maintained in all the plenitude of their rights and prerogatives; the peasantry, who had been in a state of servitude, were placed under the immediate protection of the laws and the government; the constitution sanctioned before-hand the compacts which the landed proprietors might enter into with their tenantry for meliorating their condition.

The efforts which the Poles had made to secure their independence, excited the resentment of Russia. The empress had no sooner made peace with the Porte, than she engaged her partisans in Poland to form a confederacy for the purpose of overturning the innovations of the diet at Warsaw, and restoring the ancient constitution of the republic. This confederation, which was signed at Targowica (May 14, 1792), was headed by the Counts Felix Potocki, Rzewuski, and Branicki. In support of this confederacy, the empress sent an army into Poland, to wage war against the partisans of the new order of things. The Poles had never till then thought seriously of adopting vigorous measures. The diet decreed, that an army of the line should immediately take the field, and that a levy should be made of several corps of light troops. A loan of 33,000,000 of florins passed without the least opposition; but the Prussian minister having been called upon to give some explanation as to the subsidies which the king his master had promised to the republic by the treaty of alliance of 1790, he made an evasive answer, which discouraged the whole patriotic party.

The refusal of the Polish diet to accede to a mercantile scheme, by which Dantzic and Thorn were to be abandoned to the King of Prussia, had disaffected that monarch towards Poland. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Empress of Russia to obtain his consent to a dismemberment of that kingdom. The aversion which the sovereigns of Europe justly entertained for every thing that resembled the French Revolution, with which, however, the events of Poland, where the king and the nation were acting in concert, had nothing in common except appearances, had a powerful effect

upon the court of Berlin, and proved the cause of their breaking those engagements which they had contracted with that republic. It was then that the Poles fully comprehended the danger of their situation. Their first ardour cooled, and the whole diet were thrown into a state of the utmost consternation.

Abandoned to her own resources, and convulsed by intestine divisions, Poland then saw her utter inability to oppose an enemy so powerful as the Russians. The campaign of 1792 turned out entirely to the disadvantage of the patriotic party. After a successful career, the Russians advanced on Warsaw ; when Stanislaus, who was easily intimidated, acceded to the confederacy of Targowica, by renouncing the constitution of the 3d May, and the acts of the revolutionary diet of Warsaw. That prince even subscribed (August 25, 1792) to all the conditions which the empress thought proper to dictate to him. A suspension of arms was agreed to, which stipulated for the reduction of the Polish army. In consequence of the arrangements entered into between Russia and Prussia, by the convention of St. Petersburg (January 23, 1793), the Prussian troops entered Poland, and spread over the country after the example of the Russians. Proclamations were issued by the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, by which they declared the districts of Poland, which their troops had occupied, incorporated with their own dominions. The adoption of the constitution of 1791, and the propagation of the democratic principles of the French, were the causes of this new dismemberment of Poland.

Prussia took possession of the larger part of Great Poland, including the cities of Dantzic and Thorn ; the town of Czenstochowa in Little Poland was also adjudged to her, with its frontier extending to the rivers Pilica, Sterniewka, Jezowka, and Bzura. The left bank of these rivers was assigned to Prussia, and the right reserved to Poland. The portion awarded to the former contained 1,061 square German miles, and 1,200,000 inhabitants. Russia got nearly the half of Lithuania, including the palatinates of Podolia, Polotsk, and Minsk, a part of the palatinate of Wilna, with the half of Novogrodek, Brzesc, and Volhynia ; in all, 4,553 square German miles, and containing 3,000,000 of inhabitants.

The Poles were obliged to yield up, by treaties, those provinces which the two powers had seized. The treaty between Poland and Russia was signed at the diet of Grodno (July 13th, 1793). But that with the King of Prussia met with the most decided opposition ; and it was necessary to use threats of compulsion before it was consummated. On this occasion, these two powers renounced anew the rights and pretensions which they might still have against the republic under any denomination whatsoever. They agreed to acknowledge, and if it should be required, also to guarantee, the constitution which should be established by the diet with the free consent of the Polish nation.

After these treaties came a treaty of alliance and union between Russia and Poland (October 16th, 1793), the third article of which guaranteed their mutual assistance in case of attack ; the direction of the war was reserved to Russia, as well as the privilege of sending her troops into Poland, and forming magazines there, when she might judge it

necessary ; while Poland agreed to enter into no connexion with foreign powers, and to make no change in her constitution, except with the approbation of Russia. The portion that was left to the republic, either in Poland or Lithuania, contained 3,803 square miles, with somewhat more than 3,000,000 inhabitants. This state was divided into eighteen palatinates, ten of which were in Poland, and eight in Lithuania. To each of these palatinates were assigned two senators, a palatine, a castellan, and six deputies to sit in the diet.

These different treaties, and the grievances of which the Poles had just cause to complain, threw the public mind into a state of agitation, which the following year broke out into a general insurrection. A secret association was formed at Warsaw ; it found numerous partisans in the army, which was to have been disbanded according to the arrangements with Russia. The conspirators chose Thaddeus Kosciuszko for their chief, in this projected insurrection against Russia. That general had distinguished himself in the American war under Washington ; he had very recently signalized his bravery in the campaign of 1792 ; and after the unfortunate issue of that war, he had retired into Saxony with a few other patriots, who were ready to exert their energy in the cause of freedom. The insurgents reckoned with confidence on the assistance of Austria, who had taken no part in the last dismemberment of Poland ; they flattered themselves that Turkey and Sweden would not remain mere spectators of the efforts which they were making to regain their liberty and their independence.

Kosciuszko had wished that they should postpone the execution of their plan, in order to gain more time for preparation ; especially as a suspicion was excited among the Russians. He even retired into Italy, where he remained until one of his accomplices, who had been ordered, as a propagator of sedition, to banish himself from the Polish territories, informed him that his countrymen wished him to appear among them without delay, as a better opportunity might not soon arise. Madalinski, who commanded a brigade of cavalry under the new government, when summoned to disband them, refused ; and throwing off the mask, gave the signal for insurrection. He suddenly quitted his station, crossed the Vistula, and after having dispersed some detachments of Prussians, whom he encountered in his route, he marched directly to Cracow, where he erected the standard of revolt. The inhabitants took arms, expelled the Russian troops who were quartered in that city, and proclaimed Kosciuszko their general. A sort of dictatorship was conferred upon him (March 24, 1794), which was to continue so long as their country was in danger. He took an oath of fidelity to the nation, and of adherence to the principles stated in the act of insurrection, by which war was declared against the invaders of their rights and liberties.*

The Russians and Prussians immediately despatched their troops to arrest the progress of the insurrection. The defeat of a body of Russians, near Raslavice, by Kosciuszko, inspired the insurgents with new courage. The inhabitants of War-

* *Vie de Catherine, par Castéra, tome ii. Histoire du Règne de Frédéric Guillaume, par Ségur.*

saw rose in like manner against the Russians, who had a garrison there of 10,000 men, under the command of General Igelstrom. It was on the night of the 17th of April that the tocsin of revolt was sounded in the capital; the insurgents seized the arsenal, and distributed arms and ammunition among the people. A brisk cannonade took place between the Russians and the Poles. The combat continued for two successive days, in which several thousands of the Russians perished, while 4,500 were made prisoners. Igelstrom escaped from the city with about 3,000 men. The same insurrection broke out at Wilna, from whence it extended over all Lithuania. Several Polish regiments who had entered into the service of Russia, changed sides, and enlisted under the banners of the insurgents.

In spite of their first success, it was soon perceived that Poland was deficient in the necessary resources for an enterprise of such a nature as that in which they were engaged. The great body of the citizens were neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently wealthy to serve as a centre for the revolution which they had undertaken; and the servitude in which the peasantry were kept was but ill calculated to inspire them with enthusiasm for a cause in which their masters only were to be the gainers. Besides, the patriots were divided in opinion; and the king, although he appeared to approve their efforts, inspired so much mistrust by his weakness and timidity, that he was even accused of secretly abetting the interests of Russia. Lastly, the nobles, who alone ought to have shown courage and energy, were found but little disposed to give any effectual support to the cause of liberty. Every contribution appeared to them an encroachment on their prerogatives; and they were as much averse to a levy *en masse* as to the raising of recruits, which deprived them of their tenantry. They were, moreover, afraid of losing those rights and privileges which they exclusively enjoyed; and it was with difficulty they renounced the hope of wearing a crown which was placed within their reach.

Under these considerations, Kosciuszko was convinced that it was impossible for him to organize an armed force equal to that of the Russians and the Prussians, who were acting in concert to defeat the measures of the insurgents. After some inferior operations, an important engagement took place on the confines of the palatinates of Siradia and Cujavia (June 8, 1794), where he sustained a defeat; in consequence of which the King of Prussia made himself master of Cracow. That prince, supported by a body of Russian troops, undertook, in person, the siege of Warsaw. The main forces of the insurgents were assembled under the walls of that city. They amounted to about 22,000 combatants, while the enemy had more than 50,000. The siege of Warsaw continued nearly two months, when a general insurrection, which had spread from Great Poland into Western Prussia, obliged the king to retire, that he might arrest the progress of the insurrection in his own dominions.

The joy of the insurgents, on account of this incident, was but of short duration. The court of Vienna, which till then had maintained a strict neutrality, resolved also to despatch an army into Poland. This army was divided into two columns,

one of which marched on Brzesel, and the other on Dowbno. On the other hand, the Russians, under the command of Suwarow, advanced into Lithuania, and pursued a body of the insurgents, who were commanded by Sirakowski. Kosciuszko, who now saw the great superiority of the enemy, made a last effort to prevent the junction of the army of Suwarow with that of Baron de Fersen, the Russian general. Directing his march towards the latter, he fought a battle with him near Matchevitz (October 10, 1794). The action continued from sunrise till beyond mid-day. Six thousand of the Polish army perished on the field, and the rest were made prisoners. Kosciuszko was himself dangerously wounded, and fell into the hands of the conqueror. He had endeavoured to escape by the swiftness of his horse, but was overtaken by some of the Cossacs; one of whom, without knowing him, ran him through the back with his lance. Falling senseless from his horse, he was carried to a monastery; when it was intimated, by one of his officers, that he was the commander-in-chief. Surgical aid was immediately administered to him, and he was soon after conveyed to St. Petersburg.*

This disaster quite dejected the courage of the Poles. Their generals, Dombrowski and Madalinski, who were carrying on the war in Prussia and Great Poland, abandoned these provinces, and marched with their troops to the relief of Warsaw. Suwarow likewise directed his march towards that capital, and was there joined by a considerable body of Prussians, under Dorfelden and Fersen, in conjunction with whom he commenced the blockade of that city (November 4). The Russians, who amounted to 22,000 men, prepared for an attack of the entrenchments of Praga, one of the suburbs of Warsaw. The Poles, who had a body of between 8,000 and 10,000 men, made a courageous defence; but nothing could withstand the ardour and impetuosity of the Russians, who were burning with rage to avenge the blood of their countrymen who were massacred at Warsaw.

Three batteries had been erected in the night; and the two first divisions, though harassed by a vigorous fire in every direction except the rear, bravely surmounted every obstacle. In the space of four hours they carried the triple entrenchment of Praga by main force. Rushing into the place, they pursued their adversaries through the streets, put the greatest part of them to the sword, and drove 1,000 into the Vistula. In this scene of action, a regiment of Jews made an obstinate defence, and at length were totally extirpated. Thirteen thousand of the Poles, it is said, were left dead on the spot; 2,000 were drowned in the Vistula, and between 14,000 and 15,000 were made prisoners.† The suburb of Praga was pillaged, and razed to the foundation. Terror seized the inhabitants of Warsaw, and they determined to capitulate. Suwarow made his triumphant entry into that capital, and was presented with the keys of the city (November 9). The Polish troops laid down their arms; the insurrection was quelled; and the greater part of those who had distinguished themselves in it were arrested by the Russians. The King of Poland retired to Grodno; and the

* Histoire des Campagnes de Suwarow, tome ii.

† Histoire de Suwarow, tome ii.

final dismemberment of that country was agreed upon by the three allied powers.

The court of Berlin having signified their intention of retaining Cracow and the neighbouring country, of which their troops had just taken possession, Austria, who was also desirous of procuring that part of Poland, took advantage of the discontent which the conduct of Prussia during the campaign of 1794, and her retreat from the ensuing coalition, had excited in the Empress of Russia, and entered into a separate negotiation with the court of St. Petersburg. They arranged privately between themselves as to the shares which were to fall to each. An act, in form of a declaration, was signed at St. Petersburg between these two courts (January 3, 1795), purporting that the cabinet of Berlin should be invited to accede to the stipulations therein contained; in consideration of the offer which the two courts made to acquiesce in the reunion of the remainder of Poland with the Prussian monarchy, and the engagement which they entered into to guarantee that acquisition.

A negotiation was afterwards set on foot with the court of Berlin, which was protracted to a great length; as that court, who were ignorant of the engagement which Catherine had come under to secure Cracow to Austria, had always entertained the hope of being able to retain it themselves. It was only when the act of the 3rd of January was communicated to them, that they agreed to a special convention with the court of Vienna, which was signed at St. Petersburg (Oct. 24, 1795). The city of Cracow was abandoned to Austria, who, on her side, resigned in favour of the King of Prussia a portion of the territory which the declaration of the 3rd of January preceding had secured to her. It was settled that the limits of the palatinate of Cracow should be regulated between these two powers, under the mediation and arbitrement of the court of St. Petersburg. Stanislaus had then no other alternative left than to resign his crown into the hands of the Empress of Russia. The act of his abdication was dated at Grodno (November 25, 1795).

It was by these different conventions that Russia obtained all that remained of Poland and Lithuania, as far as the Niemen and the confines of Brzesci and Novogrodek. She likewise obtained the greater part of Samogitia, with the whole of Courland and Semigallia. She had besides, in Little Poland, that part of the territory of Chelm situated on the right bank of the Bug, and the remainder of Volhynia; in all, containing about 2,000 square miles, with 1,200,000 inhabitants.

To Austria were assigned, in addition to the principal part of Cracow, the palatinates of Sandomir and Lublin, with part of the district of Chelm, and the palatinates of Brzesci, Podolachia, and Masovia, which lay on the left bank of the Bug; comprising, in all, about 834,000 square German miles, with about 1,000,000 inhabitants.

To Prussia was assigned part of the palatinates of Masovia and Podolachia, lying on the right bank of the Bug; in Lithuania, she had part of the palatinate of Troki and of Samogitia, which lies on this side of the Niemen, as well as a small district in Little Poland, making part of the palatinate of Cracow; the whole consisting of about 1,000 square German miles, with a population of

1,000,000. Finally, by a subsequent convention, which was concluded at St. Petersburg (January 26, 1797), the three co-participant courts arranged among themselves as to the manner of discharging the debts of the king and the republic of Poland. They agreed by this same convention to allow the dethroned monarch an annuity of 200,000 ducats.

At the commencement of this period it was not yet perceived of what importance it was for Russia to get possession of the Crimea; and it was not until the agriculture and industry of that country had begun to prosper under a wise administration, that they began to apprehend it might one day have a powerful influence on the balance of trade. The Empress Catherine, who had been flattered in her youth by the eulogies of the philosophers, so as to become a disciple of their new doctrines, was the first to perceive this danger. She then declared herself a most implacable enemy to the French Revolution. She would gladly have armed all Europe to exterminate that sanguinary faction. Nevertheless, she did not take up arms herself, and only joined the first coalition in an indirect manner, and by concluding treaties purely defensive, such as that of Dronningholm with Sweden (Oct. 19, 1791), that of St. Petersburg with the King of Hungary and Bohemia (July 12, 1782), and that which was concluded (August 7) in the same city with Prussia. Nevertheless, when Frederic had retired from the list, she resolved to send into the field the 60,000 men which England was to take into pay. The treaty was on the eve of being signed when the empress was suddenly cut off by death (November 17, 1796).

Paul, her successor, refused to sanction that treaty. We have already noticed the active part which that monarch took in the war of 1799 against France; and we have already mentioned the unsuccessful attempt which he made to revive the principle of the armed neutrality. This emperor, whose excellent qualities were tarnished by want of steadiness and consistency, published at his coronation (April 5, 1797) a fundamental law regarding the order of succession to the throne. This law, intended to prevent those revolutions which the unsettled state of the throne had produced in Russia, established a mixed lineal succession, agreeably to the order of primogeniture; admitting females only in case of the total extinction of the male descendants of the male line of Paul; and defining with the most scrupulous exactness the order in which females and their descendants should succeed to the throne. But that prince, who was weak and narrow-minded, and incapable of discharging his imperial functions, had entailed upon himself the hatred of both the nobility and the people. He met with a violent death, being murdered by a party of daring conspirators (March 24, 1801).

Alexander, who succeeded his unfortunate father, lost no time in restoring peace to his dominions; he entered into an arrangement with Great Britain (June 17), by which he abandoned the principle of free trade for neutral vessels; admitting that even a convoy should not protect these from being subjected to a search or visitation, when ordered by the captain of a vessel belonging to the navy of a belligerent state. He likewise concluded peace with France and Spain (October 4, 8).

Sweden had extricated herself without loss from the war which Gustavus III. had imprudently commenced. That prince succeeded in extending the royal prerogative, and caused the diet to adopt the fundamental act of union and security (March 29, 1792) vesting in himself the right of making war and peace, which, according to the former order of things, he could only exercise with the concurrence of the states. Endowed with an ardent and heroic character, he proposed to march at the head of the armies which Louis XVI. had set on foot; but he fell the victim of a conspiracy formed by the discontented nobles, leaving his son a minor.

The regency of the Duke of Sudermania, during the minority of Gustavus IV., was infested by jealousies and intrigues; while the finances, which were under bad management, fell gradually into a state of disorder. The policy of the regent

was decidedly for the maintenance of peace. The young king assumed the reins of government (November 1, 1796). Although he had entered into the league of the North, formed by Paul I., for the maintenance of the maritime rights of neutral states, he acceded shortly after to the opposite system, to which Alexander I. had declared himself favourable.

Christian VII. had reigned in Denmark since 1766; but for the last twenty years, the Prince Royal and Count Bernstorff had been at the head of his councils. Under their administration, the kingdom flourished in profound peace which had not for an instant been interrupted, except in 1800, by the vexatious treatment which the Danish ships had met with on the part of England. Denmark was the first of the European powers that abolished the African slave trade (May 16, 1796).

PERIOD IX., *continued.*

THE MILITARY PREPONDERANCE OF FRANCE UNDER THE SWAY OF NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE. A.D. 1802—1810.

In the period on which we are now entering, and which comprehends eight years, we shall find Napoleon Buonaparte devoting his unremitting efforts to a threefold project, the object of which was to secure for himself the empire of the world. The first of these was to render the monarchical government hereditary in his family, preparatory to the introduction of an universal despotism; the next was to extend the boundaries of France; and the last to surround that country, not with a multitude of republics as the directory had done, but with a number of petty monarchies, the existence of which should be so amalgamated with his own dynasty, that they must stand or fall with it. We shall find him keeping these projects incessantly in view, so that every step which he took towards the accomplishment of the one, was calculated at the same time to advance the other two.

Before the end of the year 1801, a council, composed of 450 deputies of the Cisalpine republic, was assembled at Lyons, in order to deliberate as to the changes to be made in the constitution, which was assimilated more and more to the monarchical form. In the mean time, the presidency of the republic was conferred on Buonaparte (January 26, 1802), under the title of the *Italian Republic*.

Notwithstanding the easy triumph which the constitution of the year eight had gained, by dissolving the legislative body of France, disension was not long in breaking out among its members; and an opposition was formed which, condemned to silence, had no other means of manifesting itself, than by secretly thwarting the views of the government. There was, however, another opposition which appeared among the members of the tribunate, and which greatly irritated Buonaparte, by openly attacking his projects of legislation. The

period had now arrived, when one-fifth part of the members of these two bodies were to retire. But the new constitution, in settling this partial alteration, were divided as to the mode of proceeding; or rather it was the general opinion, that the ex-members should be determined by lot. This temporary vacancy furnished Buonaparte with a pretext for getting rid of all those whose presence had laid him under any sort of restraint. A decree of the conservative senate, of the 22nd Ventôse, in the year ten (March 30, 1802), turned out twenty of the tribunes, and sixty of the legislators; and supplied their place with members taken from the lists formed by the electoral colleges of the departments.* Having thus discovered what advantages might accrue to him from an institution which Sieyès had contrived for balancing the authority of the government, from that moment he converted the senate into an instrument for sanctioning his own usurpations.

A notification from the French ambassador in Switzerland announced that the Valais should henceforth form an independent republic (April 3). The inhabitants had not requested this favour; it was granted to them because Buonaparte wished to get possession of the Simplon, preparatory to the union of that country with France. The second decree of the new constitution of the 6th Floreal (April 26) granted a general amnesty to all emigrants who should return within the space of three months, and take the oath of allegiance. All their property that remained unsold was restored to them, except the forests. About 1,000 individuals were excepted from this act of justice, which strengthened the authority of Buonaparte by conciliating the public opinion in his favour.

* Mignet, chap. xiv.

Immediately after this, Buonaparte submitted to the tribunate and the legislative body a plan for the institution of a Legion of Honour (May 10). This legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts of dignitaries for life. The first consul was the chief of the legion; each cohort was to be composed of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty officers, and 300 legionaries. The object of Buonaparte evidently was to establish a new aristocracy. But the minds of the council were so little prepared for this proposition, and so contrary was it to the republican ideas with which they were still imbued, that it passed but by a very small majority, and the first consul thought proper to delay carrying it into execution.*

For some time the first consul had been in negotiation with Pope Pius VII. on the affairs of religion. He had adjusted a concordat with his holiness, subjecting public worship to the superintendence of ten prelates of the highest rank, and fifty bishops. This famous concordat was signed at Paris (July 15), and ratified at Rome (August 15) 1801. It was afterwards submitted for the acceptance of the French nation, and adopted by a very great majority. The sabbath and the four grand festivals were restored; and from this date the government ceased to follow the deccenary system. This was the first abandonment of the republican calendar. Buonaparte hoped to attach to himself the sacerdotal party, the order most disposed for passive obedience; and in this manner to balance the clergy against the royalists, and the pope against the interest of the coalition. The concordat was ratified with great pomp in the church of Notre Dame by the senate, the legislative body, the tribune, and the public functionaries. The first consul appeared in the ancient court carriage, with all the circumstances and etiquette of royalty.†

Another law of the constitution of the 30th of Floréal (May 20) sanctioned the slave trade in the colonies restored to France by the treaty of Amiens, and in the French colonies situated beyond the Cape of Good Hope. By this law, however, slavery was not restored in St. Domingo. That colony was under the dominion of the negroes, who, after having massacred the whites, and committed barbarities which surpass even those of the French revolution, had succeeded in establishing their independence. After the preliminaries signed at London, Buonaparte had sent an expedition to that island, having on board 40,000 men, commanded by his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc. On their arrival at St. Domingo, the French took possession of the town of Cape François, which was the seat of government, as well as of several other places. Toussaint L'Ouverture, originally a slave, and raised to be chief of the blacks, then gave in his submission; but General Le Clerc, having afterwards arrested him, had him conveyed to France, where he died. This circumstance excited the blacks to a new revolt under the command of Christophe, the relative and friend of Toussaint; and after a bloody war, France lost this valuable colony, together with a numerous army and many commercial advantages.

After the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, the Tribunate, purged of its republican members,

signified a wish that some pledge of national gratitude should be offered to General Buonaparte. The Conservative Senate then nominated him first consul for ten years. When this decree of the senate was announced to him, he could not conceal his chagrin; and that he might not be compelled to accept a favour which he disdained, he demanded that the decision of the senate should be submitted for the sanction of the people. The two other consuls were resolved to consult the nation (and this was the only occasion in which they ever acted on their own authority), not as to the decree of the senate, but on the question whether Buonaparte should be elected consul for life. Out of 3,577,379, of which the primary Assembly was composed, 3,568,885 voted in the affirmative, and only 8,494 in the negative. Agreeably to this expression of the public voice, the senate proclaimed Buonaparte first consul for life (August 2, 1802).

Two days after, the third decree of the senate of the 16th Thermidor brought the government still nearer the monarchical form, by granting to the first consul great influence over the Electoral Assemblies, with the power of ratifying treaties, granting pardons, nominating senators without presentation, appointing the presidents of the Electoral Assemblies, adding to the number of their members, and even proclaiming his own successor. The Tribunate, which still appeared somewhat formidable, was reduced to fifty members.

Such, in the space of two years, was the progress of usurpation and despotism. In the course of 1802, the reunion of three different countries to France was either accomplished, or in a state of preparation. The first was that of the island of Elba, to which the Kings of Naples and Sardinia had resigned their rights; the second was that of Piedmont, which France had occupied since the 9th of December, 1798; and lastly, on the death of Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, his estates were taken possession of by France, as having devolved to her in virtue of the treaty of Madrid (March 21, 1801), although they were not annexed to that country till 1808. These acquisitions were made, on the political principle avowed by Buonaparte, which allowed everything to be done that treaties did not expressly forbid.

The peace of Campo Formio had recognised the right of Switzerland to form a constitution for herself; and Aloys Reding, happening to be at Paris about the end of 1801, obtained the consent of the first consul for the re-establishment of democracy in the petty cantons. From that time two parties rose who had long been kept down by force; and Switzerland experienced a series of revolutions, in which the unionists or aristocratic party, and the Federalists or democratic, alternately had the ascendancy. At length a new constitution, more aristocratic in its principles, was submitted for the approbation of the people. It was accepted by 72,453 citizens, and rejected by 92,423; but as 167,172 individuals, who had a right to vote, had disdained to exercise that privilege, the Helvetic Senate had the effrontery to reckon all the absentees among the acceptors; and the new constitution was introduced (July 3) as having been sanctioned by a majority of the people. Buonaparte had given the Swiss to understand, that he relied on their willingness to be united to

* Mignet, chap. xiv.

† Ibid.

France; but, as the Helvetic government made a pretence of not comprehending that invitation, he withdrew his troops from Switzerland (July 20). This was the signal for a civil war. The democratic cantons, who were assembled at Schwitz, restored the ancient confederation, to which most of the old cantons acceded. The central government, having no other support than the new cantons, and seeing themselves attacked even in their own territories, implored the assistance of the first consul. A French army, under the command of Ney, entered Switzerland, and re-established the government which was recommended by the first consul. Buonaparte constituted himself an arbiter between the two parties, and summoned a Helvetic Council at Paris (February 19, 1803), and proclaimed the constitution of Switzerland, known by the name of the *Act of Mediation*. Switzerland thus became a federative republic, composed of nineteen sovereign cantons. The constitution of each was more or less democratic; but the equality of the citizens formed the basis of them all. Once a year, a diet was to assemble in one of the six principal cities in Switzerland in rotation. In these the *Landamman*, or chief magistrate of the district, was to preside. The first Landamman, M. Louis d'Affry, was nominated by Buonaparte.

Buonaparte played a conspicuous part in the negotiations for indemnifying those princes who had lost a part or the whole of their possessions, by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It was he, in concert with the Emperor Alexander, who were the principal arbiters in this important affair.

Without here entering into the details of these negotiations, we shall merely observe, that the main obstacle which had impeded the negotiations of Ratisbon being removed by the treaties which France concluded on this occasion, the deputation came to a final conclusion, known by the name of the *Recess* (or resolutions) of the *Deputation* (February 25, 1803), by which the arrangement regarding indemnities and territorial exchanges was brought to a determination.

The war between France and Great Britain was renewed in 1803. Public opinion in England had declared against the peace of Amiens, which was by no means favourable to her, considering the sacrifices which she had made. The British ministry repented for having agreed to the surrender of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope. They delayed the restoration of Malta under pretext that the guarantees had not been granted without restriction. The arbitrary and violent acts which Buonaparte had committed since the peace, and above all the annexation of Piedmont to France, furnished a second motive for not evacuating an island so important from its position. After a very spirited negotiation, Great Britain offered to restore Malta to its own inhabitants, and to acknowledge it as an independent state; only for the term of ten years, however, and on condition that the King of Naples would cede Lampedosa. The French troops were to evacuate the Batavian and Swiss republics. On these terms England would recognise the Italian and Ligurian republics, and the King of Etruria. His Majesty of Sardinia was to receive an adequate territorial provision in Italy. The first consul having rejected this ul-

timatum, war was declared (May 18, 1803), and Buonaparte violated the law of nations by arresting and detaining as hostages all the English who were travelling or residing in France.

Charles V., King of Spain, by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, had ceded Louisiana to France. When this news arrived in America, it spread consternation in the republic of the United States. President Jefferson felt great reluctance in consenting to oppose, by a military force, the entry of the French into a country which would give them the command of the Mississippi. The party, who favoured a union and friendly alliance with England, and to which the president did not belong, was on the point of gaining the ascendancy. In that state of things, Buonaparte, who perceived that either the English or the Americans would prevent him from getting possession of Louisiana, sold it to the United States of America for 60,000,000 of francs, by a treaty signed at Paris (September 30, 1803).

A French army, which was assembled in the Batavian republic under the command of General Mortier, was despatched immediately after the declaration of war, to occupy the Electorate of Hanover, the patrimonial dominions of the King of Great Britain. The government of that country concluded a capitulation at Suhlingen (June 3), in virtue of which the native troops retired beyond the Elbe, while the French army were to occupy the country and its fortresses, and be maintained by the inhabitants. They likewise took possession of Cuxhaven and Retzebutel, belonging to the city of Hamburg. The German Empire, which had the mortification of seeing its interests regulated by two foreign powers, did not even protest against this violation of its territory. Buonaparte, deceived in his expectation of rendering the cabinet of London compliant, annulled the capitulation of Suhlingen, and ordered Mortier to attack Count Walmoden, who commanded the Hanoverian army. The latter, however, laid down their arms, in consequence of a convention which was signed at Artlenberg (July 5). After these proceedings, the mouths of the Elbe and Weser were immediately blockaded by an English squadron, which prevented the invaders from benefiting by the navigation of those rivers.

England had generously offered to acknowledge the neutrality of Holland, provided she could get the French troops to evacuate her territory. This measure, however, proved disastrous in its result for the republic. Buonaparte laid them under obligation to maintain a body of 34,000 men, both French and Batavians; and to furnish five ships of war and five frigates, with a number of transports and sloops of war, for conveying to England 61,000 men and 4,000 horses. After the conclusion of peace with the Emperor of Russia (October 8, 1801), Buonaparte had withdrawn his troops from the kingdom of Naples; but, by a forced interpretation of the treaty of Florence, he pretended that he had a right to send them back whenever he should happen to be at war with England. Ferdinand IV. was obliged to succumb; and in consequence of an arrangement with General St. Cyr (June 25, 1803), the French again took possession of Abruzzi.

The loss of Trinidad, and the selling of Louisiana to the United States of America, had created

no small coolness between the court of Madrid and Buonaparte. Already had he brought an army near to Bayonne, which, under the command of General Augereau, threatened Spain. She, however, succeeded in evading the storm. As it was of much importance for her to avoid war with England, and, on the other hand, as Buonaparte had more need of money than of ships, especially considering the nature of the attack which he meditated upon England, it was agreed by a secret treaty signed at Madrid (October 30), that Charles IV. should substitute money, instead of the succours which the nature of his former engagement bound him to furnish. The amount of this subsidy is not officially known. The hopes which this monarch had entertained of escaping from the war were sadly disappointed. He was dragged into it towards the end of the following year.

Portugal likewise purchased her neutrality, by a convention which was signed between General Lannes, Buonaparte's minister at Lisbon, and Don Manuel Pinto; the contents of which are not known with certainty.

From the breaking of the peace of Amiens to the second war with Austria, Buonaparte had employed himself about a project for effecting a landing in England, for which he had made immense preparations. All the ship-carpenters throughout France were put in requisition for the equipment of a flotilla intended to convey the hordes of the military despot to the English shores. A multitudinous army, called the *Army of England*, was assembled on the coasts, extensive camps were formed, and convoys prepared for protecting the transportation of these invaders. In England, under the ministry of Mr. Pitt, vigorous measures of defence were adopted, by setting on foot a regular army of 180,000 men. The English admirals frequently harassed the French shipping, and bombarded the towns situated upon the coasts. But from this there did not happen any result of importance.

St. Lucia, St. Peter, Miquelon, and Tobago, as also the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, fell into the hands of the English in the beginning of the year 1803. General Rochambeau, who had succeeded Le Clerc, concluded a capitulation at St. Domingo, with Dessalines the Black Chief, for the evacuation of Cape Francois; but as the English Admiral Duckworth blockaded it by sea, he was obliged to surrender with his whole army, which was transported to England. Dessalines, thus relieved from the French, proclaimed the independence of St. Domingo, or the island of Hayti, of which he assumed the government, under the title of governor-general, for life.

Meantime, the plan of Buonaparte for disengaging himself from those political restraints which fettered his ambition, was growing to maturity. Three parties divided France—the Royalists, the Systematic Republicans, and the Jacobins. Of the two first, the one had always entertained hopes that Buonaparte would recall the Bourbons; and the other, that the moment was approaching when true liberty would take the place of despotism. General Moreau was regarded as the head of this party, if his character had at all made him a proper person to play an active game in public affairs. Buonaparte, who desired neither king nor republic,

was convinced that he could only arrive at his purpose by attaching to himself the Jacobin party. In order to inspire them with confidence, he felt that it was necessary to give them a pledge; this was, to be continually at variance with the other two parties, which they equally detested.

Buonaparte resolved to ruin Moreau, whose principles he mistrusted, and whose glory eclipsed his own. By a tissue of intrigues and espionage, the police enticed Pichegru, George Cadoudal, and other royalist chiefs, into France; by making them believe that the time was now come for re-establishing royalty, and that Moreau would place himself at the head of the enterprise. Pichegru twice saw his old friend Moreau, who refused to take any part in a plot against the government; but he was reluctant to betray this excellent man, whom Buonaparte hated, and who had been excepted by name from the general amnesty. His silence was sufficient to entangle him in a pretended conspiracy, with which the tribunals resounded. Pichegru was strangled in prison; and though the innocence of Moreau was fully established, still Buonaparte demanded his death. By a kind of agreement, the judges consented to condemn him to two years' imprisonment; but the fermentation which this trial had caused among the people and in the army, convinced Buonaparte that the presence of his enemy, even in prison, might become dangerous to him; and he was extremely happy when Moreau preferred a voluntary exile. This great general, the most virtuous of all the republicans, betook himself to America.

The trial of Moreau incensed the republicans. But the commission of a second crime was necessary to render Buonaparte the object of execration to the royalists, and to every man of principle. He had made a proposal to Louis XVIII., and the princes of his house, to obtain their renunciation of the throne of France, in lieu of an establishment which he offered to them upon the coast of Barbary. The Bourbons replied to this strange proposal with dignity and moderation. One of them, the Duke D'Enghien, was living peaceably in the castle of Ettenheim in Suabia. Without respect to the law of nations, Buonaparte, violating the territory of the Elector of Baden and of the Germanic body, caused that young prince to be carried away by force (March 15, 1804). He was dragged to Vincennes, where he was tried by a commission, declared a conspirator, and shot (March 21). Murat, the brother-in-law of Buonaparte, and General Hullin, were the principal instruments in this foul deed. The Emperor Francis, Alexander, and the King of Sweden, protested with indignation against this outrage on the German Empire. The greater part of the Princes of Germany would not allow the French emigrants to sojourn longer in their states. Austria and Prussia alone afforded them an asylum.

This last crime paved the way for Buonaparte to ascend the throne. France had scarcely recovered from the stupor into which she had been plunged by the judicial murder of a Bourbon, when the Conservative Senate, who had perceived that the best way to please Buonaparte was not to wait till he should make his wishes known to them, presented an address, inviting him to complete the institutions necessary for tranquillizing the state (March 27). At this signal of flattery, many of

the orders of the state were eager to express their desire that the power which was vested in Buonaparte should be conferred on him by a hereditary title. One month was allowed to elapse, for preparing the public mind for the result. It was then that the first consul, in replying to the address of the senate, desired these orders to explain themselves more clearly. The Tribunate took the merit of anticipating this explanation, by voting the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy in favour of Buonaparte and his family (April 30). The senate, not wishing to be behind in complaisance, acceded to the desire; and a decree of that body declared Buonaparte Emperor of the French (May 18); conferring on him the Imperial dignity, to be hereditary in himself, and his lawful or adopted sons, to the exclusion of his daughters; and failing the males, to his brothers Joseph and Louis, and their male descendants.

The same decree of the senate made several important changes in the constitution, with the view of rendering it perfectly monarchical. Buonaparte accepted the dignity which had been conferred on him. He only asked, that the nation should be consulted upon the question of hereditary right. Wishing to legalize this usurpation in the eyes of the vulgar, he invited the sovereign pontiff to Paris to crown him. This ceremony took place in the church of Notre-Dame (December 2, 1804); and, contrary to the general custom, Buonaparte put the crown on his own head, after which he placed it upon that of his spouse. Some weeks afterwards, in opening the session of the Legislative Body, he solemnly declared, that, as he was satisfied with his grandeur, he would make no more additions to the Empire.

The base transaction of 21st March was followed by an exchange of very violent letters, between the Russian ambassador at Paris, and the minister of Buonaparte. In addition to the indignation which that event had excited in the mind of Alexander, and which the prevailing tone of the notes of the French minister were not calculated to diminish, there was dissatisfaction on account of the non-execution of many of the conditions agreed to in the treaty of 10th October, 1801. Alexander demanded, that the French troops should be withdrawn from the kingdom of Naples; that Buonaparte should concert with him as to the principles upon which the affairs of Italy were to be regulated; that without delay he should indemnify the King of Sardinia, and evacuate Hanover (July 27, 1804). To these, Buonaparte only replied by recriminations, when the two courts recalled their respective ambassadors. The emperor had not waited for this opportunity to employ means for setting bounds to the ambition of Buonaparte. By the declarations interchanged betwixt the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin (May 3 and 24), it was agreed, that they should not allow the French troops in Germany to go beyond the frontier of Hanover; and that should this happen, each of these two courts should employ 40,000 men to repel such an attempt. The Prussian declaration added, moreover, that there should be no dispute as to the countries situated to the west of the Weser. Not content with having thus provided for the security of the north of Germany, the Emperor Alexander immediately concerted measures with Austria, with the view of opposing a barrier

to the usurpations of France. Declarations, in the shape of a convention, were exchanged between these two courts before the end of the year; and they agreed to set on foot an army of 350,000 men.

The maritime war, like that of 1803, was limited to threats, and immense preparations on the part of Buonaparte, and also by Sir Sidney Smith, to prevent the junction of the French fleets, or burn their shipping in their own ports. The English took possession of the Dutch colony of Surinam (May 4); and towards the end of the year commenced hostilities against Spain.

The first six months of the year 1805 were marked by the new usurpations of Buonaparte in Italy. 1. A decree of the estates of the Italian republic assembled at Paris (March 18), proclaimed Napoleon Buonaparte King of Italy; and it was stipulated that he should give that crown to one of his legitimate or adopted sons, so soon as the foreign troops should have evacuated the kingdom of Naples (where there were no foreigners except the French troops), the Seven Islands and Malta; and that henceforth the crowns of France and Italy should never be united in the same person. Buonaparte repaired to Milan (May 23), where he was crowned with the iron crown of the Emperors of Germany, who were kings of Italy. Eugene Beauharnais, son of the Empress Josephine, was appointed his viceroy. 2. Napoleon conferred the principality of Piombino, under the title of an hereditary fief of the French empire, on Eliza Bacciochi his sister, and her male descendants (May 25). This completed the spoliation of the House of Buoncompagni, to whom that title and estate belonged, together with the greater part of the isle of Elba. 3. The senate and people of the Ligurian republic demanded voluntarily, as was said, to be united to the French Empire. Their request was agreed to (June 5); and the territory of that republic was divided into three departments. 4. The republic of Lucca demanded from Buonaparte a new constitution, and a prince of his family. By a constitutional statute (June 23), that republic was erected into a principality, under the protection of France; and conferred as an hereditary right on Felix Bacciochi, and his wife Eliza Buonaparte. 5. The states of Parma seemed destined to be given up by way of compensation to the King of Sardinia, together with the territory of Genoa; but Buonaparte, finding himself involved with the Emperor Alexander, caused them to be organized according to the system of France.

It was impossible for the sovereigns of Europe not to unite against a conqueror who seemed to apply to politics that maxim of the civil law, which makes everything allowable that the laws do not forbid. We have already seen that Russia and Austria had concerted measures for setting bounds to these usurpations. But it was William Pitt, who was restored to the British ministry in the month of May 1804, who conceived the plan of the third coalition. Disclaiming the petty resources which the preceding ministry had employed for harassing France, he conceived the noble idea of a grand European League, for the purpose of rescuing from the dominion of Buonaparte the countries which France had subdued since 1792, and for reducing that kingdom within its ancient limits. With regard to the territories which were

to be taken from France, he proposed arrangements, by means of which they might form a barrier against her future projects of aggrandizement; and finally, to introduce into Europe a general system of public right. In fact, the plan of Mr. Pitt, which was communicated to the Russian government (June 19, 1805), was the same as that which, ten years afterwards, was executed by the Grand Alliance; taking this additional circumstance into account, namely, the restoration of legitimacy, without which they would only have built their schemes upon the sand. If this plan failed in 1805, it was only because they calculated on the participation of Prussia, as an indispensable condition; which they did not give up when that power had declared her resolution to preserve her neutrality.

Here it will be proper to point out, in their chronological order, the treaties which composed, or were connected with, the third coalition. 1. A treaty in form of a declaration between the courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna (November 6, 1804), by which they engaged as follows:—Russia to fit out 115,000 men, and Austria 235,000; with the view, not of effecting a counter-revolution in France, but of preventing the further usurpations of Buonaparte, and obtaining the restoration of the King of Sardinia, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the heir of the House of Esté, to their own properties in Italy; or to obtain for them other settlements in lieu of these. 2. The convention of Stockholm, between Great Britain and Sweden (December 3), the object of which was, to enable the one to provide for the defence of Stralsund, and the other to form a body of Hanoverian troops in Pomerania. 3. A treaty of alliance between Russia and Sweden (January 14, 1805), the particulars of it are not known; but it is certain, that the debarkation of a body of Russians in Pomerania was reckoned on, which was to be under the command of the King of Sweden, in addition to the 12,000 men which he was himself to transport thither. It is probable, that by this treaty Gustavus Adolphus acceded likewise to the convention of November 6, 1804; but at the same time expressing his regret that they should have renounced the project of restoring legitimate monarchy in France. 4. The treaty of St. Petersburg between Russia and Great Britain (April 11), the object of which was to form a league for setting on foot an army of 50,000 men; independently of the force which Great Britain was to furnish for obtaining the evacuation of Hanover; for restoring independence to the republics of Holland and Switzerland; for re-establishing the King of Sardinia; for effecting the evacuation of Italy by the French; and for establishing in Europe an order of things which might oppose a barrier to any future usurpations. 5. Declarations exchanged at St. Petersburg (August 9), between Austria, Great Britain and Russia; in lieu of a convention; by which Austria acceded to the treaty of the 11th April. 6. The convention of Helsingborg (August 31), between Great Britain and Sweden; being an extension of that of December 5, 1804. 7. The treaty of Beskaskog between the same powers (October 3); by which the King of Sweden joined the coalition.

By the treaty of April 11th, it was agreed that the Emperor Alexander should make another at-

tempt for arranging matters with Buonaparte, so as to prevent the war. M. de Novosilzoff, one of the Russian ministers, was sent to Paris. On his arrival at Berlin, he received the passports which the cabinet of Prussia had procured for him from Paris; but at the same time, he received an order from St. Petersburg not to continue his journey. The annexation of the Ligurian republic to France, at the moment when they were making conciliatory overtures to Buonaparte, appeared too serious an outrage for the emperor to prosecute further negotiations. War was consequently resolved on.

The preparations for the invasion of England had been carried on for some time with extraordinary vigour. Everything seemed to announce, that Buonaparte meant to attempt that perilous enterprise. Part of his troops had already embarked (August 27), when of a sudden the camp at Boulogne was broken up, and the army directed to move towards the Rhine, which river it passed within a month after. Austria had set on foot three armies. The Archduke Charles commanded that of Italy, where it was expected a decisive blow was to be struck; the second army, under the command of the Archduke John, was stationed in the Tyrol, to maintain a communication with the third army on the Inn, which was commanded nominally by the Archduke Ferdinand the emperor's cousin, but in reality by General Mack. The first Russian army under the command of General Kutusoff had arrived in Galicia, and was continuing its march in all haste. It was followed by another under Michelson. The Russian troops in Dalmatia were to attempt a landing in Italy.

The army of Mack passed the Inn (September 8). They had reckoned on the co-operation of the Elector of Bavaria; but that prince, who was always distrustful of Austria, abandoned the cause of the allies, and retired with his troops into Franconia. The Electors of Wurtemberg and Baden were desirous of concluding treaties of alliance with Buonaparte, after he had passed the Rhine; these treaties were signed at Ludwigsburg and Ettlingen (October 4, 10). The plan of Buonaparte was to cut off the army of Mack who had entered Suabia, from that of Kutusoff which was marching through Austria. In this he succeeded, by presuming to violate the Prussian territory. Marmont, who had marched by way of Mayence, and Bernadotte, who had conducted the army into Franconia, where they were joined by the Bavarians, traversed the country of Anspach, and thus came on the rear of the Austrian army (October 6). From that date scarcely a day passed without a battle favourable to the French. Several divisions of the Austrians were obliged to lay down their arms. Mack, who had thrown himself into Ulm, lost all resolution, and signed a capitulation (October 17), by which he promised to surrender if assistance did not arrive within eight days. He did not, however, wait for this delay. By a second capitulation two days after, he surrendered with 25,000 men.

The army of Mack was thus totally dissipated, except 6,000 cavalry, with which the Archduke Ferdinand had opened himself a passage through Franconia; and 20,000 others with which Kienmayer had retired to Braunau, where he was met by the vanguard of Kutusoff. These two generals continued their retreat. The Russian army re-

passed the Danube near Grein (November 9), and directed their march towards the Morau. A few days after (November 13), Vienna, the capital of Austria, fell into the hands of the French. They passed the Danube near that city, and pursued the Russians. In the meantime General Buxhowden, with the second Russian army, having joined Kutusoff at Olmütz, on the same day that the Emperor Alexander arrived in the camp, they conceived themselves strong enough to encounter the enemy, and immediately discontinued their retreat. The battle of Austerlitz, which Buonaparte fought (December 2) with the combined army of the Austrians and Russians, decided the campaign in his favour.

Meantime Buonaparte found himself in a position which might become dangerous. When the Archduke Charles had perceived that the French had concentrated their forces on the Danube, he sent supplies to General Mack, and commenced his retreat from Italy, that he might be nearer the centre of hostilities. This retreat he could not effect, except by hazarding several engagements with Massena, who continued the pursuit. When near Cilley he formed a junction with the Archduke John, who had retreated from the Tyrol (November 27). The united armies of these two princes amounted to 80,000 men, with whom they marched towards Vienna; while the Hungarians rose *en masse* to defend their sovereign. The next day after the battle of Austerlitz, the Russian army received a reinforcement of 12,000 men. An army composed of Prussians, Saxons, and Hessians were on the point of penetrating into Franconia; and some corps of Prussians, Russians, Swedes, Hanoverians, and English, had joined a second army in the north of Germany, ready to invade Belgium. Moreover, the English and the Russians were preparing to effect a landing in the kingdom of Naples.

It was in this critical moment that the cabinet of Vienna signed an armistice at Austerlitz, by which they engaged to send back the Russian army, and to quell the insurrection in Hungary. Within twenty days after, peace was signed at Presburg between Austria and France (December 26). The former acknowledged all the usurpations which Buonaparte had committed, and ceded to him, on the part of the kingdom of Italy, the ancient states of Venice, with Dalmatia and Albania; and on the part of her allies the elector of Baden and the new Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Tyrol and all her hereditary possessions in Suabia.

The violation of the Prussian territory in Franconia had excited the most lively indignation at Berlin. The king resolved, sword in hand, to avenge this outrage against his royal dignity. The Prussian troops occupied Hanover, which the French had just evacuated; and that country was restored to its legitimate sovereign. A body of Russians, for whom they had till then vainly demanded a passage through Silesia, obtained permission to traverse that province to join the army of Kutusoff. The Emperor Alexander had himself arrived at Berlin (October 23), as well as the Archduke Anthony, grand-master of the Teutonic Knights. A convention was concluded at Potsdam (November 3) between Alexander and Frederic III. of Prussia. This latter prince joined the coalition, with the reservation of a preliminary at-

tempt to obtain the assent of Buonaparte to conditions extremely equitable. In case these were rejected, Frederic promised to take the field with 180,000 men, who, in fact, were put in a condition to march at the earliest notice. Count Haugwitz, who had been sent to Vienna as the bearer of overtures of peace to Buonaparte, accompanied with an energetic declaration, took it into his head that it would be prejudicial to the interests of Prussia were he to press the object of his commission; he resolved, therefore, to wait the course of events. After the truce of Austerlitz, he took it upon him to change the system of his government. Without having any sort of authority, he concluded an alliance with Buonaparte at Vienna (December 15), for the guarantee of their respective states, and for those of Bavaria and the Porte. Prussia was to cede the principality of Anapach to Bavaria; that of Neuchatel to France; and that of Cleves to a prince of the Empire, whom Buonaparte might name. In return Prussia was to get possession of the Electorate of Hanover.

When Count Haugwitz arrived at Berlin with the treaty, Frederic at first was inclined to reject it; but the minister having represented to him the danger to which this would expose him in the present state of affairs, the king reluctantly consented to ratify the treaty; provided a clause was added, that the occupation of the provinces mutually ceded should only be announced as provisional, until the King of England should give his assent, by a future treaty, to the cession of Hanover. It was in this manner that Prussia, in effect, got possession of that electorate (January 27, 1806). Meantime, Count Haugwitz, who had repaired to Paris, found it impossible to obtain the acceptance of Buonaparte to the ratification of the treaty so modified. He then signed a second convention (February 15), by which Prussia engaged to declare the occupation of Hanover definitive; and to shut the rivers in the north of Germany against the English. The King of Prussia, who had already disbanded his army, found himself in a situation that obliged him to ratify that arrangement.

Buonaparte had made prodigious efforts to revive the French marine. The fleet at Rochefort, commanded by Admiral Missiessi, had taken the opportunity of sailing from that port (January 11, 1805). They had set out with the intention of levying contributions in the Little Antilles, belonging to the English; and after throwing in supplies to General Ferrand, who still kept possession of St. Domingo, they had returned without accident to Rochefort. The fleet at Toulon, consisting of fourteen vessels of the line, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve, and having on board troops under the command of General Lauriston, probably destined for Ireland, had repaired to Cadiz (April 9), where they were joined by the Spanish fleet under Admiral Gravina. Next day the two combined fleets sailed from that port, but afterwards separated. That under Villeneuve had proceeded to Martinico; but being apprized of the arrival of Lord Nelson at Barbadoes, Villeneuve again joined the Spanish admiral, when the fleet returned to Europe. An engagement took place near Cape Finisterre (July 22), which was honourable to Sir Robert Calder, the English admiral, who captured two ships of the line. Being soon after consi-

derably reinforced, and amounting to thirty-five ships of the line, they set sail for Cadiz, where a partial blockade was maintained for some time by Calder and Collingwood. But Nelson, who had been invested with the command of the English fleet, induced the enemy, by means of a pretended retreat, to leave their station. An engagement took place off Cape Trafalgar (October 21), which cost the English admiral his life, but which ruined the combined fleet. Villeneuve was made prisoner, and Gravina fled towards Cadiz with ten ships. This glorious victory secured to England the command of the sea.

When Buonaparte had made preparations for marching against Austria, he resolved to reinforce his army in Italy by the troops which occupied a part of the kingdom of Naples. To ingratiate himself with Ferdinand IV., he concluded a treaty with that prince (September 21), by which the latter, on obtaining the evacuation of his own states, promised to remain neutral. He did not depend, however, on that monarch's fulfilling his promise. It was a part of the plan of the allies, that the Russian and English armies should land in the kingdom of Naples; the one by the way of Corfu, and the other from Malta. The plan was carried into execution, and the foreign troops were received as friends. A decree of Napoleon, dated from Schönbrunn (December 27), had declared that the dynasty of the Bourbons had ceased to reign at Naples. After the battle of Austerlitz, the Russians and English abandoned Italy; and Ferdinand IV. found himself without defence, exposed to a French army, who were approaching his capital. He embarked for Sicily, when the French entered Naples (January 1806), and Joseph Buonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, was created King of the Two Sicilies (March 30), although his sway never extended further than the kingdom of Naples.

Those are probably in a mistake who imagine they find in the conduct of Buonaparte, the gradual development of a great plan, conceived beforehand, and springing from his head, so to speak, like the fabled Minerva from the brain of Jupiter. The circumstances in which he was placed, the success of his arms, and the weakness of foreign cabinets, suggested to him one idea after another. It was when he was on his march against the Russians that he received the news of the battle of Trafalgar, which had completely destroyed the labour of three years, and annihilated his hopes of reducing England by planting his standard on her soil. His imagination then conceived the plan of opposing one combination of strength to another, and surrounding France with a number of states, independent in appearance, but subject to the direction of the head of the Empire.

After the peace of Presburg, he had repaired to Munich, where he adopted his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, and declared him his successor in the kingdom of Italy. In announcing this elevation to the senate (January 12, 1806), he declared that he reserved to himself the right of determining the common tie which was to unite all the states composing the *Federative System of the French Empire*. This was the first time that this system was spoken of. In a short time after, he declared that the whole peninsula of Italy made part of the Grand Empire. Finally, a constitu-

tional statute of the Imperial family, which he published at that time (March 30), may be regarded as the fundamental law of the *Federative System* he had lately announced. That statute granted to the Emperor of the French an absolute supremacy over all the sovereigns of his family; and he no doubt had great hopes that the time would arrive when no others would be found in any of the adjacent states.

In annexing the Venetian provinces to the kingdom of Italy, Buonaparte detached from them Massa-Carrara and Carfagnana, which he bestowed on the Prince of Lucca. At the same time, he created within these provinces twelve duchies, as hereditary fiefs of the Empire, and three within the states of Parma; all of which he disposed of in favour of his generals and ministers.

The duchy of Cleves, ceded by Prussia, as well as that of Berg, which had been ceded to him by the King of Bavaria, were conferred, together with the hereditary dignity of Admiral of France, on his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat (March 30). Alexander Berthier was created Prince of Neuchatel (June 5). At a later period he granted the duchy of Benevento to M. Talleyrand Perigord, under the title of Sovereign Principality; and the principality of Pontecorvo to Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, the brother-in-law of Joseph Buonaparte. He took these two territories from the states of the church, under the pretext that their sovereignty was an object of litigation between the courts of Rome and Naples; an allegation which was not true.

The continuation of the History of Buonaparte presents us with a series of new usurpations and aggressions. Towards the end of January, the French troops entered into the free city of Frankfurt, where they levied 4,000,000, to punish the inhabitants for their connexion with the English. Buonaparte was living at that time in the most perfect peace with the German Empire, to which that city belonged, and which could not protect it. By the treaty of Presburg, the Bocca di Cattaro, in Dalmatia, was to be restored to the French; but the Russians, whose fleet was cruising off these coasts, immediately took possession of that place (February 4), at the moment when the Austrians were about to surrender it to the French. Buonaparte made this a pretext for refusing to give up to the court of Vienna the fortress of Braunau, which he was to evacuate according to the stipulations of that same treaty, and for leaving a part of his army in Germany. He did more; he ordered General Lauriston, who commanded the French army in Dalmatia, to occupy Ragusa (May 27), a republic placed under the protection of the Porte, with whom there subsisted a treaty of peace. It was not, however, until the 13th of August, 1807, that Ragusa was formally united to the kingdom of Italy.

The Elector of Baden and the Princes of Nassau were obliged to make cessions to France. The former surrendered Kehl, and the latter Cassel and Kosteim, opposite Mayence. Wesel, a fortress in the duchy of Cleves, was likewise occupied by the French troops. All these were so many violations of the peace of Luneville, and the treaty of Vienna in 1805.

In order to promote this federative system, the States-General of the Batavian republic received a hint to petition Buonaparte for a king. A treaty

was in consequence concluded at Paris (March 24), by which Louis, the brother of Napoleon, was created hereditary and constitutional King of Holland; the title to descend to his male issue. That young man accepted with reluctance a crown which he had never coveted, and which he wore with much dignity.

William Pitt, whom history would have been proud to call the great Pitt, had she not already given that title to his father, had died about the beginning of the year (January 23). Charles Fox, his former antagonist, succeeded him in the ministry. He immediately entered into negotiations for peace between France and England. This commission, on the part of the latter, was intrusted first to Lord Yarmouth and afterwards to Lord Lauderdale. After the death of Fox (Sept. 13), the negotiations ended without having produced any change in the relations between France and England; nevertheless they deserve to be placed among the important events of that year, as they were the immediate cause of the war with Prussia, as we shall have occasion to mention.

The Emperor Alexander likewise made an attempt for a reconciliation with Buonaparte. He sent M. D'Oubril to Paris, who, after a negotiation of ten days, concluded a treaty with General Clarke, the French plenipotentiary (July 20, 1806), by which it was agreed that the Russian troops should evacuate the Bocca di Cattaro, and the French troops quit Ragusa; that the independence of the republic of the Seven Islands should be acknowledged, as well as the independence and integrity of the Porte; that in three months the French troops should evacuate Germany; that the two parties should use their joint influence to procure a cessation of the war between Russia and Sweden; that Buonaparte should accept the mediation of Russia, in negotiating a maritime peace. A secret article secured to Ferdinand IV. the Balearic Isles, in compensation for the kingdom of Naples. It thus appeared that the King of Sardinia was the greatest sufferer. The Emperor Alexander refused to ratify this treaty, whether it was that he considered the terms not altogether honourable, or that he was displeased with the conclusion of the confederation of the Rhine, which took place at this time.

The confederation of the Rhine was undoubtedly the most important consequence of the peace of Presburg. That event, which entirely changed the state of Germany, and placed so large a portion of that Empire under obedience to Buonaparte, was prepared by the article of the peace which recognised the sovereignty of the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and the Elector of Baden; as well as by several other irregular transactions which took place after that time. Such was the conduct of the Elector Arch-Chancellor, in arrogating to himself the right of appointing his own successor; and nominating Cardinal Fesch as such, who was Buonaparte's uncle. The confederation of the Rhine was concluded at Paris (July 12, 1806), between Buonaparte and sixteen of the German princes, including the Duke of Cleves, who separated from the Germanic Empire, and formed a particular union among themselves, under the protection of Buonaparte.*

* Marquis de Lucchesini's Hist. of the Causes and Effects of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The declarations which the minister of France and those of the confederated estates remitted on the same day to the diet of Ratisbon, intimated to that assembly that the German Empire had ceased to exist. The chief of the Germanic body, who had been kept ignorant of all these intrigues, then published a spirited declaration (August 6), by which he resigned a crown which could only appear valuable in his eyes so long as he was able to fulfil the duties and exercise the prerogatives which were attached to it.

This transaction, which put an end to the German Empire, had been kept a secret from Prussia. Buonaparte, in announcing to Frederic William the result which it had produced, invited him to form a similar confederation in the North of Germany; but, at the same time, he negotiated privately with the Electors of Hesse and Saxony, to prevent them from entering into that union; and declared, that he could never permit the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubec, to become parties to it. In his negotiations with England, he proposed to make over these cities to Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies. He carried his perfidy even farther. He several times offered to the English plenipotentiaries the same Electorate of Hanover, which, a few months before, he had almost compelled Prussia to claim as her own; and he offered to the Elector of Hesse the principality of Fulda, which had been granted to the House of Orange, then in strict alliance with that of Brandenburg. All these underhand manœuvres opened the eyes of the cabinet of Berlin, which immediately resolved to declare war. Unfortunately for Prussia, she commenced hostilities without waiting the arrival of the supplies which Russia owed her, in virtue of the alliance between the two states by the treaty of Peterhoff (July 28, 1800); and she had to take the field against an active enemy, whose warlike troops were already in the heart of Germany.

General Knobelsdorff, whom the King of Prussia had sent to Paris, gave in the demands which were to be considered as his ultimatum:—Buonaparte treated his propositions as extravagant and insulting, and accordingly commenced hostilities. The campaign was decided by the battle of Jena, or rather by two battles which were fought on the same day (October 14, 1806). Buonaparte in person gained the one near Jena over Prince Hohenlohe; Marshal Davoust gained the other near Auerstadt over the Duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army. The route was complete. For a short time the troops retired without confusion. The approach of the enemy's cavalry, however, extinguished all remains of order, and the most precipitate dispersion of the vanquished army ensued. About 20,000 were killed and wounded in the battle and pursuit; and the prisoners formed at least an equal number.* The scattered remains of the troops who united after the action were either defeated or obliged to surrender as prisoners of war. The king, with the wreck of his army, marched back to Prussia. Berlin, his capital, fell into the hands of the conqueror. The carelessness, the unskillfulness, or the treachery of their commanders, and the want of means of defence, were the causes why several

* Cursory View of Prussia, from the death of Frederic II. to the peace of Tilsit.

fortresses, and whole battalions of troops, surrendered after a slight resistance. There were some who were even obliged to capitulate in spite of their bravery. At Erfurt, Field-Marshal Mellen-dorff capitulated with 14,000 men (October 16). Spandau fell on the same day that the enemy entered into Berlin (October 25). Prince Hohenlohe, after a brave defence, capitulated at Prentzlau (October 29), with a corps originally consisting of 16,000 infantry, and sixteen regiments of cavalry. Stettin and Custrin opened their gates after a slight resistance (November 1). At Lubeck, 21,000 men, with General Blucher, laid down their arms (Nov. 7). Magdeburg capitulated next day with 22,000 men.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, Buonaparte took possession of the principality of Fulda. He had the unfeeling insolence to send a message to the old Duke of Brunswick, that none of his family should ever reign after him. That prince died of the wounds he had received at Auerstadt; and his brutal foe would not even permit his lifeless body to be deposited among the ashes of his ancestors. The Elector of Hesse, who had remained neutral, was declared an enemy to France, and his territories seized. Buonaparte, in return, granted neutrality to the Elector of Saxony, whose troops had fought against him at Jena.

The King of Prussia had tried to allay the storm which threatened his monarchy. The Marquis de Lucchesini and General Zastrow entered into a negotiation with Mar-hal Duroc at Charlottenburg (October 30). Buonaparte refused to ratify the preliminaries which were signed there, because the idea had occurred to him in the meantime of exciting the Poles to insurrection. An armistice was then signed (November 16), on conditions extremely rigorous, by which Breslau, Glogau, Colberg, Graudentz, and Dantzic, were delivered up to the French. Frederic, who had resolved to throw himself on Russia, whose forces were approaching in all haste, rejected that armistice. From Berlin, Buonaparte repaired to Posnania, where he concluded a treaty with the Elector of Saxony (December 11). That prince then assumed the title of king, joined the confederation of the Rhine, and got possession of the Circle of Cotbus, belonging to Prussia. By a treaty signed at the same place (December 15), the Dukes of Saxony, of the race of Ernest, were likewise received into the Confederation of the Rhine.

A Russian army of 90,000 men had arrived in Prussia in the month of November. Frederic William, on his side, formed a new army of 40,000 men. Several actions took place without any decisive result; but after the battle of Pultusk (Dec. 26), where the victory was claimed both by the French and Russians, each party retired to winter quarters.

It was during Buonaparte's stay at Berlin that he conceived the idea of the continental system; or at least reduced its elements into shape. The purport of this system was to ruin the commerce, and by consequence the prosperity of England, by excluding from the continent of Europe the importation not only of her own manufactures, but the productions of her colonies; the use of which had become, through long habit, one of the necessities of life to all the nations of Europe; and for which, moreover, no substitute could be found in

home manufactures. This chimerical scheme, and the federative system, which we have already mentioned, were the two scourges which Buonaparte inflicted on the continent of Europe. The abuse, it was alleged, which the English made of their superiority by sea, had provoked Buonaparte to this measure. The right of blockade, that is, the right of a belligerent power to station a force before a hostile port sufficient to prevent any neutral vessel from entering, is founded in principle. But England pretended, that if a port were declared to be under blockade, it must be considered as actually blockaded; and accordingly, she had declared all the ports between Brest and the Elbe under blockade (May 16). An order issued by Buonaparte, known by the name of the Decree of Berlin, declared the whole British islands in a state of blockade, by way of reprisals (November 21). He commanded all British subjects to be arrested, who might be found in the countries occupied by his troops, or those of his allies. He ordered their property, and every article of British or colonial produce on the continent, to be confiscated; and excluded from his ports all vessels which should come directly from Britain, or any of its dependencies. The development of this system we shall notice afterwards.

The repose of the armies did not continue longer than a month. General Bennigsen, who had the chief command of the Russians and Prussians, undertook to relieve the cities of Graudentz, Dantzic, and Colberg. After a number of petty engagements, which claim no particular notice, the campaign was terminated by the battle of Eylau in Prussia (February 8, 1807). Buonaparte, or rather Davoust, was successful against the left wing and the centre of the allies; but Lestocq, the Prussian general, having arrived on the field of battle, near the right wing of the Prussians, which had never been engaged, marched instantly to support the left wing which was giving way, and snatched the victory from the hands of Davoust. Bennigsen, who was in want of ammunition, retired towards Koningsberg, leaving Buonaparte on the field of battle, which was covered with 30,000 of the French slain, and 12,000 wounded. The Russians had lost 17,000 men. After this carnage, Buonaparte announced that he had defeated the Russians, and retired behind the Passarge. Hostilities were then suspended for some months.

In the month of February, negotiations for peace were renewed. Buonaparte, who was at Osterode, sent General Bertrand to the King of Prussia at Memel, to try to detach him from Russia. When the king had declined this proposal, some deliberation took place as to the terms of an armistice; but the Emperor Alexander, who had also arrived at Memel, saw that this was only a manoeuvre of Buonaparte, who merely wished to gain time to repair his losses. The negotiations accordingly were broken off. Baron Hardenberg, who had been placed by the King of Prussia at the helm of foreign affairs, then resumed the project of Mr. Pitt, which had failed in 1805, because Count Haugwitz, the former minister, had dissuaded Frederic William from entering into the alliance. The basis of a new coalition was laid by the convention of Bartenstein, between Russia and Prussia (April 21), in which Austria, Great Britain, Sweden and Denmark, were invited to

join. The same day a convention with the King of Sweden was likewise signed at Bartenstein, in consequence of which Prussia promised to send a body of troops to Pomerania. Austria was disposed to enter into this project, but before coming to a decision, she tried the scheme of mediation; and in the month of March, new proposals for peace were made, which proved unsuccessful. Supplies were promised to Prussia by a convention signed at London (June 27), but which a change of circumstances prevented from being ratified.

While the armies continued in a kind of inaction, Marshal Lefebvre pressed the siege of Dantzig. After several attempts to blockade the place, General Kalkreuth took it by capitulation on very honourable terms (May 24). Neisse, Kozel and Glatz, likewise capitulated in course of the following month. These two latter places were not to be restored to the French. Hostilities recommenced in the month of June. Skirmishes were daily taking place, until the battle of Friedland decided the campaign (June 14). General Bennigsen defeated the divisions of Lannes and Mortier, when the Russians, thinking the battle was gained as they no longer saw the enemy, slackened their exertions; but towards the evening Buonaparte arrived on the field of battle with guides, and the corps of Marshal Ney and Victor; and taking advantage of the confusion which appeared in the Russian army, he put them completely to the route. In consequence of this defeat, Koningsberg opened her gates to the conqueror. The Russian and Prussian armies passed the Niemen (June 18); and next day Buonaparte entered Tilsit.

Meantime the cabinet of Vienna, with whom negotiations were still carrying on to obtain their accession to the convention of Bartenstein, had sent General Stutterheim to the head quarters of the two monarchs, with power to sign a defensive alliance; but the war had then recommenced with new vigour. There was a party in both cabinets, and even among the allied generals, who wished to prevent this alliance; and this party succeeded in their designs. A Russian General appeared at Tilsit on the part of Bennigsen to negotiate an armistice, which was concluded on the spot (June 21), without including the Prussian army. Four days after, an interview took place between Alexander and Napoleon, on the invitation of the latter, who wished to exert all his address to seduce the Northern Autocrat from the paths of honour and political virtue. This memorable interview took place on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen. Each prince, accompanied by five generals and courtiers, reached the raft from the opposite bank at the same moment, and embraced each other with all the appearance of perfect cordiality. They conversed for two hours in a pavilion, and the ambitious despot of France displayed in such glowing colours the joys of arbitrary power and unlimited dominion, and held out such an attractive prospect of the advantages which he might derive from an union of councils and co-operation, that Alexander listened with pleasure to his new adviser, and was ready to rush into an odious and disgraceful alliance. On the same day, Field-Marshal Kalkreuth signed an armistice on the part of Prussia. The next day he had a second interview, at which the King of Prussia assisted,

who, when he objected to some parts of the proposed treaty, was insulted with a hint of his not being entitled to the honour of consultation, as he had been so completely conquered. It was on this occasion that Buonaparte demanded that the Emperor Alexander should dismiss his minister Baron Budberg, and the King of Prussia Baron Hardenberg. The Prince Kourakin, and Count de Golts were substituted in their place.

The treaty with Russia was first signed (July 7). The Emperor Alexander obtained from Buonaparte the spoliation of his former ally, or, according to the form which was given to it in that transaction, *That the King of Prussia should recover one half of his estates.* The provinces which Prussia had obtained by the second and third division of Poland were ceded to the King of Saxony, under the title of the duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the fortress of Graudentz, which remained in the possession of Prussia, and the city of Dantzig, which was to regain its independence, with the exception of the department of Bialystock which was annexed to the Russian Empire. Alexander acknowledged the kings created by Buonaparte, including the King of Westphalia. He likewise acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine, and ceded to Buonaparte the seignory of Jever, which he inherited from his mother. He promised to withdraw his troops from Moldavia and Wallachia; and to make common cause with Buonaparte against England, should the latter refuse to make peace by submitting to the principles of free commerce by sea. It appears, moreover, by certain secret articles, that Alexander promised to surrender to Buonaparte the Bocca di Cattaro, and the isles of the Ionian republic; which took place in the month of August following. The peace which was signed between Russia and Buonaparte two days after (July 9), included nearly the same stipulations.

A special convention was required for executing the articles of the treaty, which related to the evacuation of the states of the King of Prussia. This was negotiated and signed at Koningsberg (July 12) with unpardonable precipitancy, by Field-Marshal Kalkreuth, who forgot to insert certain stipulations so essential and so obvious, that it must have appeared to him superfluous to mention them. Buonaparte showed a signal instance of bad faith in taking advantage of these omissions to ruin the provinces which were left in possession of Prussia. It may be justly said, that the convention of Koningsberg did nearly as much mischief to Prussia as the peace of Tilsit itself. It occasioned the necessity of signing a series of subsequent conventions, by each of which Prussia had to submit to some new sacrifice. Some of the more important of these we shall afterwards have occasion to mention.

The King of Sweden, who was attacked in Pomerania by Marshal Mortier, had concluded an armistice at Schlatkorr (April 18). Gustavus Adolphus IV. projected an attack on Marshal Brune, while a body of 10,000 Prussians were to make a descent for blockading Colberg. To carry this project into execution, he was so eager to declare against the armistice, that, on the signature of the peace of Tilsit, he found himself alone under arms, and exposing his troops to great danger. This unseasonable zeal obliged him to evacuate

Stralsund and the whole of Pomerania (September 7).

In erecting the duchy of Warsaw, Buonaparte had given it a constitution modelled after that of France, without paying the least attention to the difference of manners, customs, and localities of the inhabitants. The King of Saxony was put in possession of that state; but the new duchy was nothing else than a province of the French Empire. The city of Dantzic was again plunged into a state of the most abject dependence; and until the year 1814, it remained under the orders of a governor-general appointed by the French. The throne of Westphalia was destined by Buonaparte for his younger brother Jerome. That monarchy was composed of the greater part of those provinces ceded by the King of Prussia; of nearly all the estates of the elector of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick; of a district belonging to the electorate of Hanover; of the principality of Corvey, and the county of Rittberg—containing in all about 2,000,000 of inhabitants. Only a small part of this kingdom was situated in Westphalia; and it is not known by what chance the name of that country was selected for the new monarchy. Deputies from that kingdom were summoned to Paris where they received from the hands of Buonaparte a constitutional charter (November 15), in the construction of which they had never once been consulted. As to the other districts which Buonaparte had taken possession of in Germany, or of which he had deprived their rightful sovereigns, viz., the Electorate of Hanover, the principalities of Erfurt, Fulda, Baireuth, and Munster, with the counties of Catzenelbogen and Hanau, they were governed entirely to his own interest, and disposed of at his convenience.

While the armies of Buonaparte were occupied in Prussia, Spain formed the resolution of shaking off the yoke which the tyrant of France had imposed upon her. Charles IV. solicited privately the mediation of the Emperor Alexander, to bring about a peace with England. By a proclamation of October 30, 1806, a levy of 40,000 men was ordered for the defence of the country, without mentioning against what enemy. This imprudent step, which they had not courage to prosecute, ruined Spain. At the commencement of 1807, a French army was assembled in the vicinity of Bayonne. A trap was laid for Charles IV.; and he had the misfortune to fall into it. According to a convention signed at Fontainebleau (October 27), between his plenipotentiary and that of Buonaparte, for the partition of Portugal, that kingdom was to be divided into three lots. The most northerly part was destined for the King of Etruria (who was to surrender up Tuscany to Buonaparte), and to be called the kingdom of Northern Lusitania. The southern part, comprising Algarves, was to form a principality for Don Manuel Godoy. The provinces in the middle part were to be disposed of at the general peace, when the King of Spain was to assume the title of emperor of the two Americas.

Immediately after the signing of this treaty, Buonaparte announced to the Queen-Dowager of Etruria, who was regent for her son Louis II., that the kingdom no longer belonged to him; and that a new destiny awaited him in Spain. In course of a few days, the French troops occupied

Tuscany. Maria Louisa resigned the government, and retired to Madrid. All this took place after Buonaparte had obtained orders that the 15,000 Spaniards, who were in Etruria, should be sent to the islands of Denmark.

A decree of the French senate, of August 18, 1807, though not published till a month after, suppressed the tribunate, and introduced other changes, intended to extinguish all traces of the republic. By a treaty signed at Fontainebleau, Buonaparte made over to his brother Louis, the principality of East Friesland and the territory of Jever, in lieu of the city and port of Flushing.

In terms of the treaty of the 27th October, 30,000 French troops, under the command of Junot, crossed the Pyrenees in two divisions; and took possession of Pampeluna, St. Sabastian, Figueras, and Barcelona. The two divisions united again at Salamanca, and being reinforced by 13,000 Spaniards, they marched upon Lisbon; while 40,000 others assembled at Bayonne, under the pretence of supporting their companions if it were necessary. The Prince Regent of Portugal embarked with all his treasures (November 29), and departed for Brazil. The whole of Portugal was taken possession of; and General Junot proclaimed that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe; but the French never executed their scheme of partition.

We have already observed, what progress the federative system of the French Empire had made in 1807, by the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia and the duchy of Warsaw, and by the occupation of Portugal; and we shall next advert to measures adopted during the same year by Buonaparte, for consolidating the continental system, and by Great Britain for counteracting its effects. An order was issued by the British Cabinet (January 7), declaring that no neutral vessel would be permitted to trade with any port belonging to France or her allies, or occupied by their troops, or under their dependence. A decree, published at Warsaw (January 25th), ordered the confiscation of all English merchandise in the Hanseatic towns, which had been occupied by the order of Buonaparte. An order of the British Cabinet (March 11) again prescribed a rigorous blockade of the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. A declaration was made by Buonaparte (October 14), in presence of the foreign ambassadors at Fontainebleau, purporting that he would permit no connexion, either commercial or diplomatic, between the continental powers and England. An order of the British Cabinet (November 11) declared, that all the ports and places in France, and the countries in alliance with them, or any other country at war with England, as well as all other ports and places in Europe where the British flag was excluded, though not actually at war with Great Britain; and all other ports and places of the colonies belonging to her enemies, should henceforth be subjected to the same restrictions as if they were really under blockade; and, consequently, that the vessels destined for these ports should be subjected to examination by the British cruisers; and required to stop at a British station, and pay a duty proportioned to the value of the cargo. Another order of the British Cabinet (November 25) modified the preceding declaration in favour of neutral vessels,

which should come to discharge either English merchandise or colonial produce in the British ports. A decree of the 17th December, called the decree of Milan, because it was issued at that place, declared, that all ships which should be searched by a British vessel, or pay any tax whatever at the requisition of the English Government, should be denationalized, and regarded as English property; and having thus forfeited their original and national rights, they might be lawfully captured wherever found. The same decree declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade both by sea and land.

Having thus established the continental system, Buonaparte used every endeavour to make all the continental powers accede to it. Prussia and Russia adhered to it, after the peace of Tilsit. Denmark soon entered into this French system. Spain acceded to it (January 8), Austria (February 18, 1808), and Sweden (January 6th, 1810); so that, for some years, the Continent of Europe had no other medium of communication with England than by way of Constantinople. There was one prince in Christendom, who refused his accession to the continental system, and that was Pius VII. This sovereign Pontiff declared, that an alliance which prohibited all intercourse with a nation from whom they had suffered no grievance, was contrary to religion. In order to punish his holiness for this resistance, General Miollis had orders to occupy Rome (February 2, 1808). This was the commencement of a series of aggressions and attacks, by which Buonaparte vainly hoped to bend that great personage. To gratify his resentment, he stripped the states of the church, by a decree issued at St. Cloud (April 2), of the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata and Camerino, which were annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

In order to add lustre to his crown, and to attach his servants to him by the ties of vanity and interest, Buonaparte resolved, not to restore the noblesse—though there was no reason known why he should not—but to create titles of nobility which should pass in hereditary succession to their descendants. These titles were those of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and chevaliers or knights. They were constituted by an Imperial statute, which he transmitted to the senate; for the decrees of the senate were seldom used except in declaring the re-union of territories or ordering levies of conscripts.

The spoliation of the church appeared but a trivial crime, compared with that masterpiece of perfidy and cunning by which the House of Bourbon were deprived of the throne of Spain. The second French army formed at Bayonne, passed the Pyrenees about the beginning of the year, under the command of Joachim Murat, and advanced slowly as if it only waited an order to seize the capital. A popular insurrection broke out at Madrid, directed against Godoy, the Prince of Peace; and Charles IV., who, from the commencement of his reign, had been disgusted with state affairs, abdicated the crown in favour of his son, the Prince of Asturias (March 19, 1808), who assumed the title of Ferdinand VII. The intrigues of the queen-mother, who was unwilling to quit the throne, and the plots concerted by Murat, soon embroiled the royal family in disputes. The French troops entered Madrid (March 23). Taking

advantage of the inexperience and good faith of the young monarch, they inveigled him into an interview with Buonaparte at Bayonne, where Charles IV. and his queen, allured by promises of favour and friendship, likewise presented themselves. This weak prince there retracted his abdication, and ceded his dominions over to Buonaparte by a formal treaty (May 5). By threatening Ferdinand VII. with death, they extorted from him a similar declaration (May 10). Charles IV., his queen, and the Prince of Peace, were conveyed to Compiegne, and afterwards to Marseilles.

Ferdinand VII. and his brothers were imprisoned in the castle of Valençay. Buonaparte conferred the throne of Spain on his brother Joseph (June 6), who was then King of Naples. A Spanish junta, assembled at Bayonne, received a constitution from the hands of Napoleon. On obtaining the crown of Spain, Joseph made over the kingdom of Naples to his brother, who in his turn resigned it to Murat, by a treaty concluded at Bayonne. Murat then gave up the duchies of Cleves and Berg.

Buonaparte found himself deceived as to the character of the Spanish nation, when he supposed they would tolerate this outrage with impunity. A tumult of the inhabitants of Madrid was quelled by Murat, who ordered his troops to fire upon the crowd (May 2), when upwards of 1,000 people lost their lives. Towards the end of the same month, a general insurrection broke out in all those parts of Spain not occupied by the enemy. This was a great annoyance to Buonaparte during the rest of his reign, and prevented him from subduing that Peninsula. It served as an example and encouragement to other nations to shake off his yoke. The Portuguese rose, in imitation of their neighbours. The English sent supplies to both nations; and it was beyond the Pyrenees that Buonaparte experienced those first disasters which were the harbingers of his downfall.

One event, more remarkable for the pomp with which it was accompanied than for the consequences which it produced, was the interview which took place at Erfurt (September 27) between the Emperor Alexander and Buonaparte. What negotiations might have been agitated there are not known with certainty, but publicity has been given to the measures concerted in common between Buonaparte and Alexander for making overtures of peace to England, although they must have foreseen that the attempt would prove fruitless. From that time an intimate friendship subsisted for two years between the courts of Russia and France.

The inconsiderate haste with which Field-Marshal Kalkreuth had concluded the Convention of Koningsberg, and the defects or omissions of that act, furnished the agents of Buonaparte with numerous pretexts for oppressing the Prussian states by perpetual aggressions; and for continuing not only to occupy the country, but to impose taxes for the service of France, without deducting their amount from the usual contribution which that kingdom had to pay. To extricate themselves from so harassing a situation, Prince William, the king's brother, who had been sent to Paris to negotiate for the evacuation of Prussia, signed a convention there (September 8), by which the king engaged to pay, at stated terms, the sum of

140,000,000 of francs. The Emperor Alexander, during the interview of Erfurt, got this sum reduced to 120,000,000. In consequence of this, a new convention was signed at Berlin (November 3), according to which, Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau, were to remain in the hands of the French as security for payment of the stipulated sum; and the rest of the Prussian states were evacuated.

Austria was on the point of entering into the fourth coalition, when the peace of Tilsit was concluded. From that moment the cabinet of Vienna resolved to prepare for war by slow and successive operations, which might appear to be merely measures of precaution; more especially by organizing her armies on better principles, and training all the citizens to arms, by the institution of a militia, called the *Landwehr*, that they might be in condition to act on the spur of the moment. The Archduke Charles, who was appointed generalissimo, superintended all these preparations, and succeeded in reviving the courage of the nation. Although these armaments could not escape the notice of the French agents, and although in the course of the year 1808, and especially in the beginning of the year 1809, they had several times asked for explanations on this subject, nevertheless Count Stadion, who was at the head of the department for foreign affairs, and Count Metternich, the Austrian minister at Paris, dissembled so well, that Buonaparte never dreamt of war till it was on the very point of breaking out. The time chosen for this was when the French armies were occupied in Spain and Portugal.

Reasons—or it may be rather said pretences—were not wanting to Austria; for, undoubtedly, her true motive was to raise herself from that state of abasement into which she had sunk. Violations innumerable of the peace of Presburg, the organizing of the Confederation of the Rhine, the compelling her to accede to the continental system, and the spoliation of the Bourbons in Spain, were causes more than sufficient to justify her having recourse to arms. The war which Austria undertook in 1809 has been called the war of the fifth coalition. It is true that Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, and the King of Sicily, were her allies; but, with the exception of the descent which the English made on Zealand, she had to support alone the whole burden of the war. On opening the campaign, she made an appeal to the German nation, which was answered by the Kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, by a declaration of war.

The Austrians had divided their forces into three armies; 220,000 men, under the Archduke Charles, were destined to act in Germany; the Archduke Ferdinand of Esté, with 36,000 men, was to penetrate through the duchy of Warsaw into Prussia, where he expected to be joined by the troops of that country. The Archduke John, with 80,000 men, was to enter Italy. The campaign was opened, on the part of the Austrians, by the invasion of Bavaria (April 10, 1809). Buonaparte at first beat the Archduke Louis and General Hiller, who commanded two divisions, at Abensberg (April 20), and thus cut them off from the grand army under the Archduke Charles. The latter was himself defeated at Eckmühl and Ratisbon, three days after, and effected his retreat along the left bank of the Danube. Buonaparte

then pursued Hiller, who was defeated at Ebersberg (May 3), and retired to Krems, on the left bank of the Danube. Vienna in consequence was left defenceless, and surrendered by capitulation (May 13). It was there that Buonaparte passed the Danube and fought with the Archduke at Ebersdorff, Aspern and Essling, two most sanguinary engagements (May 21, 22), in which the French lost 30,000 men. He then retired to the Isle of Lobau, where his army, cut off from provisions and supplies, passed forty-eight hours in great distress, until they had succeeded in re-constructing the bridges which the floods of the Danube had carried away. In Italy the Archduke John had defeated Eugene Beauharnais, who commanded the French army, at Sacilé; but, being informed of the defeat at Ratisbon, he commenced his retreat, and was defeated near the Piave (May 8), after which he retired on the Raab, where he was again defeated (June 14). Beauharnais then joined the army of Napoleon. The Archduke Ferdinand took possession of Warsaw, and marched as far as Thorn, where he took from the Prussians 100 pieces of cannon. But an insurrection, which happened in the rear of his army, obliged him to retreat, when the Polish troops took possession of Cracow (July 14).

About the beginning of July, Buonaparte passed over to the left bank of the Rhine. The battle of Enzersdorff, where Bernadotte and the Saxons distinguished themselves, was bloody, but not decisive; next day (July 6), the Archduke Charles was defeated at Wagram, and retreated in good order into Moravia. An armistice was then concluded near Znaim (July 12), on conditions very oppressive for Austria. But the negotiations for peace were long protracted, as both parties were waiting the result of an expedition which the English had made to Zealand, and as Austria hoped that Prussia, and perhaps even Russia, would declare in her favour.

The inhabitants of the Tyrol, who were very much attached to the House of Austria, from whom they had been separated at the peace of Presburg, had taken up arms under the conduct of an innkeeper, named Hoffer. By the armistice of Znaim, Austria was compelled to abandon this brave people, whom the Bavarians and the French together had great difficulty in reducing to submission.

We cannot pass in silence the bold expedition made by the Duke of Brunswick, the son and heir of him who had commanded at Jena. At the head of a body of volunteers which he had formed in Bohemia, he had entered Saxony when the armistice was concluded. Not being disposed to accede to it, he traversed the duchy of Brunswick and the whole of Lower Saxony; beat the Westphalian General Rewbel, who had attempted to stop his march; and reached the mouth of the Elbe in safety, where he found transports which took him and his army on board and conveyed them to England.

An English fleet, commanded by Sir Richard Strachan, with 38,000 troops, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, the brother of Mr. Pitt, was despatched to Zealand, with the intent of destroying the shipping, dock-yards, and arsenals at Antwerp and Flushing, and for occupying the Island of Walcheren. They landed in that island

(July 30), of which they took possession, and made themselves masters of Flushing, after a siege of fifteen days. But Lord Chatham found it impossible to execute his commission with regard to Antwerp, on account of the activity of Marshal Bernadotte, who had formed there an army of 35,000 men. The whole expedition was badly conducted, and in about four months Lord Chatham returned to England. The English destroyed the fortifications of Flushing, which they were unable to retain.

Russia, as the ally of Austria, likewise took part in this war. A body of troops, commanded by Prince Gallitzin, had entered Galicia; but it was merely a display, by which Alexander meant to fulfil an engagement that he had contracted with reluctance. The peace between Austria and France was signed at Schonbrunn (October 14, 1809), which regulated the territorial cessions made by the former to Buonaparte, the King of Saxony, and the Emperor of Russia. The very day on which the peace was signed, Buonaparte united the territories which had been ceded to him directly into a single state, under the name of the *Illyrian Provinces*, which he governed on his own separate account, without annexing them to France.

A decree of the senate, of the 2nd March, 1809, erected the government general of the Tuscan departments into a grand dignity of the Empire, to be conferred on a princess of the imperial blood, under the title of Grand Duchess. This lady was Madame, so styled, or Eliza Bacciocchi, Princess of Lucca and Piombino, who was next day decorated with the arch-ducal title. On the same day, Napoleon ceded the grand duchy of Berg to his nephew, the son of the King of Holland; taking the government on himself during the minority of that child.

No outrage had been able to overcome the perseverance of Pius VII. Buonaparte published a decree at Schonbrunn (May 7), by which the states of the pope were annexed to the French Empire, and the city of Rome declared a free imperial city. The union of the states did take place, but Rome had no appearance of a free city. When the decree was put in execution (June 11), the undaunted successor of St. Peter published a bull of excommunication against Buonaparte and his adherents, councillors, and coadjutors. From that moment the venerable captive was more closely imprisoned. On the night of the 5th July, the satellites of Buonaparte forced open the gates of his palace and carried him off. After having paraded him through different cities, he was deposited at Savona (August 9), where he passed three years under a rigorous surveillance.

The year 1809 proved disastrous for the French arms by sea. The captain of an English vessel, and Marques, a Portuguese colonel, took possession of the Island of Cayenne and French Guiana (January 12). Lieutenant-General Beckwith and Rear-Admiral Cochrane took Martinico by capitulation (February 12). Admiral Gambier and Lord Cochrane destroyed a French fleet, commanded by the Vice-Admirals Villaumes and L'Allemant (April 11), in Basque Roads, by means of Congreve rockets. The French fort of Senegal fell into the hands of the English in the month of June following. General Carmichael, and a body of Spaniards who had arrived from Portorico, ex-

pelled the French from St. Domingo (July 7). Admiral Collingwood and General Oswald took possession of the Ionian Islands (October 8).

Buonaparte had now arrived at the summit of his grandeur, but Providence had denied him a family by his wife Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie. With the consent of both parties, a decree of the senate pronounced the dissolution of that marriage (December 10); while the official authorities of Paris annulled it, on the pretext of informality. Another decree of the senate (February 17, 1810) conferred on the eldest son of the French Emperor the title of King of Rome; and ordained, that the Emperor of the French should be crowned a second time at Rome within the first ten years of his reign. Buonaparte soon after (April 1) espoused the Archduchess Maria Louisa, eldest daughter of the Emperor of Austria.

By a treaty of peace concluded at Paris, between Buonaparte and Charles XIII. of Sweden, this latter prince regained possession of Swedish Pomerania, on condition of acceding to the continental system, though under certain modifications. Had Charles executed this engagement, his kingdom would have been ruined beyond resource. The part of the Hanoverian states belonging to the King of England which Buonaparte had still reserved in his own possession, was ceded by a treaty concluded at Paris (January 14), to his brother Jerome, to be incorporated with the kingdom of Westphalia. Besides the duchy of Lauenburg, Buonaparte reserved to himself a landed revenue of 4,559,000 francs, for bestowing in legacies and endowments.

Louisa Buonaparte had reluctantly accepted the crown of Holland; but from the moment he had placed it on his head, he had nothing more at heart than the interests of the country; and resisted, as far as prudence would allow, the tyrannical orders of his brother, when he judged them prejudicial to the welfare of Holland. This gave rise to frequent broils, accompanied sometimes with threats. Buonaparte reproached the Dutch government, more especially for not earnestly and rigorously enforcing the continental system, so pernicious to their commerce. At the beginning of the year 1810, things had come to such a state that it was expected Napoleon, in a moment of chagrin, would cancel the kingdom of Holland from the list of European states. To avert this calamity, Louis signed a treaty at Paris (March 16), by which a body of 12,000 Dutch and 6,000 French were to be stationed at the mouths of all the rivers, to protect the swarms of French revenue-officers who were superintending the execution of Buonaparte's orders. Louis ceded to him Dutch Brabant, Zealand, and a part of Goeldres, of which the Waal was henceforth to form the frontier. In vain did that excellent man hope, by so great a sacrifice, to repurchase the independence of his kingdom. Under pretext of certain insults which the French agents had received at the hands of this exasperated people, Buonaparte sent a French army to occupy the whole country. Then it was that Louis resigned a crown which he could no longer wear with honour; he abdicated in favour of his son (July 3). But Napoleon, indignant at a measure on which he had not been consulted, annexed the kingdom of Holland to the French Empire, by a decree dated at Rambouillet (July 9).

Some months afterwards, the republic of Valais, which, since the year 1802, had formed an independent state, was united to the French Empire by a decree of Buonaparte (Nov. 12). But the most important of the usurpations of Buonaparte in 1810, and that which was instrumental in working his downfall, was the reunion of the Hanseatic countries situated on the coasts of the North Sea, viz., certain districts of Westphalia, and the grand duchy of Berg, some possessions of the princes of Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, part of the duchy of Oldenburg, the free cities of Bremen and Hamburg, as well as the city of Lubeck and the duchy of Lauenburg. By a decree of the senate (Dec. 13), these places were declared united to France; the necessity of which Buonaparte had stated in a message addressed to that pliant and submissive body.

France still retained possession of Guadaloupe, the Isle of Bourbon, and the Mauritius. The year 1810, in which the greatness of Buonaparte in Europe reached its summit, deprived him of these possessions. General Beckwith and Admiral Cochrane attacked and seized Guadaloupe. An expedition sent by Lord Minto, the English Governor-General in India, and 1,000 men from the Cape, reduced the Isle of Bourbon (July 7th), and that of the Mauritius some months after.

It will now be necessary to point out some of the modifications which the continental system underwent. The English, in 1800, had taken the first step to put an end to that unnatural state of commerce which preceding measures had established. They first revoked the orders of 1807 regarding America; so that the Americans were permitted to carry on trade in all ports subject to French influence, which were not actually under blockade; and the law of blockade was even restricted to the ports of Holland and France, and those of the northern parts of Italy, between Pesaro and Orbitello. The clause in the decree of the 11th of November, relative to the payment of a compulsory duty in England, was abolished.

A new era in the continental system began with a decree of Buonaparte (August 7), known by the name of *The Decree or Tariff of Trianon*. A second, by way of supplement, was issued from St. Cloud (September 12). Making a distinction between the trade and the produce of the colonies; and availing himself of the universal custom which had rendered the latter among the necessities of life, he resolved to take advantage of this circumstance to replenish his treasury, by permitting their importation on paying an *ad valorem* duty of fifty per cent. A third decree, signed at Fontainebleau, ordered all English merchandise, found in France or her dependencies, to be seized and burnt. At that time, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, were covered with bonfires, which destroyed the property of native merchants, and opened a new prospect for English manufactures one day to replace the articles that were thus wantonly consumed.

We shall now give a short outline of the most remarkable events that took place in the rest of Europe, during this period of French preponderance.

For more than six years Portugal, by means of the pecuniary sacrifices which she had made to the French crown, had maintained her neutrality be-

tween France and England. But as she had betrayed her predilection for England during the Prussian war, her ruin was determined on; and as she could no longer conceal from herself the danger of her position, the prince regent entered into a strict alliance with Great Britain, by a convention signed at London (October 22, 1807). General Junot had taken possession of the country after the royal family had embarked for Brazil; and solemnly declared, that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe (February 1, 1808). Following the example of the Spaniards, the Portuguese soon shook off the yoke of the Corsican oppressor. The city of Oporto gave the first signal of insurrection (June 6); an English army, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, whom, by anticipation, we shall call Lord Wellington, landed in Mondego Bay (July 31), and defeated Junot at Vimeiro (August 21). The French general, whose army was reduced to a most distressing state, obtained from General Dalrymple, who had taken the command of the English troops, a capitulation on very honourable terms, which was concluded at Cintra (August 30). Junot and his troops were conveyed to France in English vessels.

The Russian admiral, Siniavin, was not so fortunate. He was then lying in the Tagus with a fleet of nine ships of the line, and a frigate, which had been employed in the war against the Turks in the Archipelago, and found himself under the necessity of surrendering his fleet to Sir Charles Cotton, the English admiral (September 3), which was not to be restored to the emperor until the conclusion of a specific treaty between Russia and Great Britain. The convention of Cintra, of which the true circumstances were not well known, excited so great a discontent in England, that Sir Hew Dalrymple and Lord Wellington were called home, that an investigation might be made into this unpopular measure.

During their absence, and after the affair of Corrunna, Soult received orders to attempt the conquest of Portugal, where there were not more than 8,000 English troops, under the command of General Craaddock, and an army of the natives. At the head of 23,000 men he marched towards Chaves, and took possession of that place (March 7), which is one of the frontier fortresses of the kingdom. But on his arrival at Oporto he encountered the Portuguese army, who for three days disputed with him the possession of the place. Here he remained a full month before he durst proceed on his march. Meantime Lord Wellington had landed at Lisbon with a new English army. He manoeuvred so well that, by the end of May, Soult was obliged to retire into Galicia, with the loss of his artillery and baggage. Next year the French sent a third expedition to Portugal, but as this belongs more properly to the war in Spain, we shall take occasion to notice it afterwards. After the retreat of Soult, the Portuguese acted a considerable part in the liberation of Europe. Lord Wellington, who was intrusted with very extensive powers, organized their army, and augmented it to 40,000 men, with the assistance of £600,000 sterling, which England furnished for that purpose.

The connexion between Great Britain and Portugal became still more intimate by the treaty of alliance which was concluded at Rio Janeiro (February 19, 1811). George III. therein promised

never to recognise any King of Portugal but the heir and legitimate representative of the House of Braganza. The regent granted Britain the right of building ships of war in Brazil, and of supplying themselves with timber for the purpose from the forests of that country; and by abrogating certain former stipulations, he agreed to receive into his ports as many British vessels as chose to enter. The regent likewise promised to co-operate with England for the abolition of the slave trade; and this is the first example of a stipulation of the kind. Together with this treaty there was also concluded a treaty of commerce. Towards the end of 1810, Portugal became the theatre of war, as we shall observe when we come to speak of Spain.

Charles IV., King of Spain, had flattered himself that by submitting to the payment of subsidies to France, according to the treaty of October 30, 1803, he would be exempted from the necessity of taking part in the war which had broken out between Buonaparte and England; and it was on the faith of this that the latter power had commenced hostilities. Four Spanish ships, returning to Europe, loaded with treasures and valuable merchandise from South America, were seized off Cape St. Mary (October 5, 1804), by an English squadron. After that act of hostility, which, but for the negotiation that had preceded it, might have been regarded as a violation of the law of nations, Charles IV. declared war against England (December 12); and the following year he had the mortification to see his marine totally destroyed by the battle of Trafalgar, which Admiral Nelson gained over the combined fleets of Gravina and Villeneuve.

In 1808, the English made an attempt to get possession of the Spanish colony of Buenos Ayres. The expedition sailed from St. Helena under the command of Admiral Sir Home Popham. The troops were commanded by General Beresford. Buenos Ayres capitulated on the 2nd of July; there the English found numerous treasures which were transported to Europe; but an insurrection of the inhabitants, headed by a Spaniard named Pueridon, and Liniers, a native of France, obliged General Beresford to surrender himself and his troops prisoners of war (August 12). Admiral Popham took possession of Maldonado (October 29), where he remained in expectation of the supplies which he expected to come from England. General Auchmuty landed at Maldonado in the beginning of the following year, and took the town of Monte Video by assault (February 2). New reinforcements having arrived from England, General Whitelocke again attacked Buenos Ayres, and penetrated into the town (July 5); but Liniers, at the head of the Spaniards, made so able a defence, that the English general signed a capitulation, by which he obtained the restitution of all British prisoners; and the English promised to evacuate Monte Video within the space of two months.

Charles IV. and his minister, during the war with Prussia, had shown a desire to shake off the yoke of Buonaparte. By signing at Fontainebleau the partition of Portugal, they opened a way for the French armies into Spain, who took possession of St. Sebastian, Pampeluna, Figueras, and Barcelona, and were even masters of Madrid; while one part of the Spanish army were occupied in Portu-

gal, and the other in Denmark. The consequences of these imprudences were, the conquest of Spain, and the dethronement of the Spanish family of Bourbon, as we have noticed above.

When the Spaniards rose in rebellion against the French intruder, they formed themselves into Juntas, or directorial committees, in every province. That of Seville, which was composed of enterprising men, took the lead in the insurrection, declared war against Buonaparte in the name of Ferdinand VII., and concluded an armistice with England. Their authority was not acknowledged by the provincial juntas, each of which had set on foot an army of their own. All these armies engaged the French troops wherever they met them, and were very often vanquished. The insurrection did not come to a head till after the battle of Baylen (July 20, 1808), where 14,000 French troops, under Generals Dupont and Vidal, laid down their arms. Castanos, to whom this success was owing, was then appointed generalissimo; and the junta organized a regency, at the head of which they placed the old Cardinal de Bourbon. There were two other events which greatly encouraged the Spaniards; the one was the expulsion of Le Febvre from Saragossa by General Palafox, and the other the arrival of the Marquis de la Romana at Corunna with 7,000 men, who had been conveyed to the island of Funen for invading Sweden, but had embarked, in spite of the French, to come to the assistance of their country.

Joseph Buonaparte having abandoned Madrid and retired to Burgos (August 1), a central junta was established at Aranjuez. This junta raised three armies: that of the North, under Blake and Romana; that of the centre, under Castanos; and that of Arragon, under Palafox. Immediately after the interview at Erfurt, Buonaparte placed himself at the head of his army, which had been increased to 180,000 men; and, after gaining several advantages over the enemy, he sent back his brother Joseph to Madrid. Meantime, two divisions of the English army, having arrived, the one from Lisbon and the other from Corunna, formed a junction in the province of Leon, under the command of Sir John Moore. Buonaparte marched against them, but they thought it prudent to retire. Having arrived at Astorga, he received intelligence of the preparations of the Austrians, when he set out for Paris, leaving the command of the army to Soult, who obliged the English to embark at Corunna, after a severe engagement in which Sir John Moore lost his life. A treaty of peace and alliance was signed at London between England and the Supreme Junta, acting in the name of Ferdinand VII. (January 14, 1809.) England sent into Portugal a new army, under the command of Lord Wellington. The second siege of Saragossa, which was undertaken first by Junot, and continued by Lannes, was one of the most extraordinary events in modern war. The garrison, commanded by Palafox, and the inhabitants of the place, who were completely devoted to him, performed prodigies of valour. When the French took the city (February 21), it presented nothing but a mass of ruins. It was calculated that above 100,000 men perished in that siege.

Marshal Victor defeated Cuesta at Medellin (March 28), and Suchet defeated General Blake

at Belchite (June 16): but Soult, who had penetrated into Portugal, was repulsed by Wellington, who fought the battle of Talavera with Marshals Jourdan and Victor, which turned to the disadvantage of the French. The misconduct of the army of Cuesta, which had been conjoined with that of Wellington in this battle, determined the latter henceforth to carry on a defensive war with the English and Portuguese alone; and to leave to the Spaniards the care of occupying the French by harassing their troops incessantly, destroying their convoys and magazines, and surprising their entrenchments. The battle of Ocana (November 19), which Cuesta fought with General Mortier and lost, was the last pitched battle which the Spaniards fought. From that time they confined themselves to a guerrilla warfare, by which they did infinite damage to the enemy.

Since the commencement of 1809, the central junta had retired to Seville. Towards the end of the year, they were replaced by an executive directory of nine members; and next year these were superseded in their turn by a regency of five members, which was established at Cadiz. An assembly of the cortes was summoned to meet there, the members of which were nominated, not by the clergy, the nobility, and the cities, which composed the legitimate states of Spain, but by the great body of the inhabitants. That assembly, who could do no more for the defence of their country, employed themselves in establishing a democratic constitution in Spain, destroying by degrees all the institutions of the monarchy.

Soult, who was commander-in-chief of the army of the south, conquered the whole of Andalusia in 1810, with the exception of Cadiz, which Victor had in vain attempted to besiege. The principal efforts of the French were then turned towards Portugal; and on this occasion Massena was charged to undertake the reduction of that country, at the head of 70,000 men. Junot laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, which surrendered after a vigorous defence (July 10). Almeida was likewise obliged to capitulate a few weeks after (Aug. 27). These conquests were made without any apparent wish on the part of Wellington to prevent them. He had then begun to carry into execution the plan of defensive warfare which he had conceived after the battle of Talavera. In the spring he was stationed on the Coa, and began to retreat after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo; nor did he stop till he had reached Torres Vedras. Four months were employed in effecting this slow retrograde march. Massena followed him every step, suffering from continual fatigue and daily skirmishes; and struggling against famine, as the English army had destroyed everything that lay in their way. Towards the end of October, Wellington took up an impregnable position, where for four months the French general found all his manœuvres unsuccessful. Wellington took advantage of this interval to secure considerable reinforcements which arrived from Lisbon. He was thus prepared to fall upon his adversary, when the impossibility of subsisting longer in an exhausted country should at length compel him to retreat.

When giving a summary of the history of France, we spoke of the renewal of hostilities between Buonaparte and Great Britain in 1803, as well as of the part which the latter took in the continental

wars of 1805, 1807, and 1809. The efforts which she had made to support these expenses added a frightful increase to her national debt; but the constantly increasing progress of her commerce furnished her with the means of meeting this enormous expenditure. In vain had Buonaparte expected to ruin the industry of England by the continental system. In the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies which she conquered, she found new channels to supply the place of those which were shut against her on the continent of Europe. The empire of the sea still remained in the possession of the British; and, in 1807, they annihilated the marine of Denmark, the only kingdom which then retained any maritime power. But of this circumstance we shall speak hereafter.

The year 1806 is remarkable for the abolition of the slave trade in the English colonies. Since 1785, the Blacks had found zealous advocates in the British parliament, amongst whom Fox, Wilberforce, and Pitt, were the most distinguished. But the British government, too sagacious to enter precipitately into a measure which might endanger the fortune of the planters, and even the tranquillity of the colonies, wished first to consult experience on the subject, and to leave the proprietors time to prepare themselves for a different order of things. For twenty years they had refused to adopt the bill which Mr. Wilberforce regularly laid before the parliament, to demand restrictive laws against the trade. It was not until Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville entered into the ministry, that this question occupied their serious deliberations. An act of parliament, ratified by the king (May 16, 1806), forbade the exportation of slaves from the English colonies, and conveying them into foreign colonies. A bill of the 6th February, 1807, which was ratified by the king on the 17th March following, enacted, that the slave trade should actually cease from the date of May 1st ensuing; providing, however, that vessels already departed on the trade should be allowed to import slaves into the West Indies until the 1st of January, 1808.

Of all the countries which were brought under the yoke of Napoleon, the most unfortunate without dispute was Holland. Her commerce, the only resource of her numerous inhabitants, was annihilated by the continental system; her finances were in such a state of disorder, that, in spite of all their economy, the annual deficit was regularly about 20,000,000 florins; her inhabitants were harassed as much by the soldiers of Buonaparte as by his revenue officers; and as if nature, in concert with political oppression, had conspired her ruin, her soil was laid waste, and her industry destroyed, by periodical inundations, fires, and other calamities. Such is the picture which that wretched country presented up to the moment when Buonaparte extinguished the feeble remains of independence which it enjoyed. After various alterations, that republic obtained a constitution similar to that which had existed in France since 1804. M. Schimmelpennink was placed at the head of the government (April, 1805), under the title of Grand Pensionary, and vested with such powers as the last stadtholders had never exercised, even after the revolution of 1788. We have already observed how this power, together with the royal title, were rendered hereditary in favour of Louis Buonaparte;

and how the Dutch monarchy vanished at the fiat of Napoleon.

Switzerland, with the exception of some partial commotions which are scarcely worthy of remark, had remained tranquil under the system of government which Buonaparte had prescribed in the act of mediation (February 19, 1803). The continental system, and the prohibition laid on the greater part of Swiss commodities in France, paralyzed their industry and their commerce; and caused many of the inhabitants to emigrate, who for the most part directed their course towards North America. A treaty which General Ney had signed at Friburg (September 27), regulated the connexions between France and the Helvetic Confederation, in a manner more advantageous for that country than in the time of the Directory. Buonaparte was satisfied with a defensive alliance; but the Swiss agreed to import from the mines of France their stock of salt, which they had till then been in the habit of receiving partly from Bavaria. This stock amounted to 200,000 quintals per annum; and the revenue which France derived from furnishing this article was sufficient to support more than 20,000 troops. At the same time a military capitulation was signed, by which Buonaparte took into his service 16,000 Swiss volunteers. It must appear astonishing, that in this nation of warriors, who were seeking a refuge from misery in the deserts of America, a sufficient number could not be found to make up the complement of 16,000 men. The incomplete state of the Swiss regiments was a subject of perpetual complaint with Buonaparte.

The number of the Italian states had been perpetually diminishing; and about the time of which we now speak, that peninsula was entirely subjected to the influence of Buonaparte, and divided nominally between France, Naples, and the kingdom of Italy; excepting the small republic of St. Marino, which preserved its independence in the midst of the general convulsion. The Italian republic, which since the year 1805 had borne the title of the kingdom of Italy, was oppressed by the enormous load of contributions which were exacted for the support of the French troops, as well as by payments for the civil list of the king and his viceroy. That country submitted with great impatience to the law of the military conscription, which was contrary to the feelings and customs of the inhabitants. It obtained considerable aggrandisements after the peace of Presburg, by the reunion of the Venetian provinces in 1807, and by that of the four provinces of the Ecclesiastical States; but these accessions made no addition to its happiness. Eugene Beauharnais, dignified with the title of Prince of Venice, was proclaimed heir to the throne of Italy, failing the male descendants of Buonaparte.

The kingdom of Naples was overthrown about the beginning of 1806. Ferdinand IV. had retired to Sicily, and Joseph Buonaparte was put in his place; but he did not occupy that unstable throne longer than two years, when he exchanged it for another still more insecure. But before surrendering the kingdom of Naples to Joachim Murat, who was appointed his successor (June 28, 1808), he wished to immortalize his name by giving a new constitution to that kingdom, which was guaranteed by Buonaparte. The attempts

which Murat made to conquer Sicily proved abortive.

Germany had experienced two complete revolutions in course of the nine years of which we have given a short summary. The constitution of the Germanic Empire was changed in several essential respects by the Recess, or Resolutions of the Deputation of Ratisbon. Of all the ecclesiastical princes that belonged to the Germanic body, three only were retained, viz., the Elector, Arch-Chancellor, who took the place of the ancient Elector of Mayence; the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights; and the Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The territories of the rest, as well as the revenues of all ecclesiastical endowments, mediate or immediate, were employed either to indemnify the hereditary princes who had lost the whole or a part of their estates on the left bank of the Rhine, or to aggrandize those whom the policy of Buonaparte chose to favour. In place of the two ecclesiastical electors who were suppressed, four lay electors were appointed, one of whom only was a Catholic, that of Salzburg, who had formerly been the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and three were Protestants, those of Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Cassel.

The House of Orange obtained the bishopric of Fulda and other territories; Brisgau and Ortenau were ceded to the Duke of Modena, who left them at his death to his son-in-law the Archduke Ferdinand. The relation between the two religions was still more unequal in the College of Princes, where the Protestants had acquired so great a superiority that the head of the Empire refused to ratify that article of the Recess. The college of free cities was reduced to six, viz., Augsburg, Lubec, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg. The immediate nobility were retained; but those of them who were entitled to indemnity were disappointed, as nothing remained to be distributed. In place of the existing duties payable on the Rhine, a rate of navigation was established, the proceeds of which were to be divided between France and Germany; a part of the endowment of the arch-chancellor was founded on that revenue.

The execution of the Recess of the Deputation gave rise to several conventions among the states of the Empire, as well as to a great variety of claims. So many difficulties had arisen on this occasion, especially from the refusal of the emperor to sanction the Recess, without certain modifications, that the Empire was abolished before this new fundamental law could be carried into practice in all its bearings. The peace of Presburg had created two new kings in the centre of Germany, namely, the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, who assumed the regal dignity. These two princes, with the Elector of Baden, were declared sovereigns, and obtained territorial additions at the expense of Austria, the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the city of Augsburg. The King of Bavaria annexed that free city to his estates. The Elector of Salzburg exchanged all that the Recess of the Imperial Deputation had given him, for the principality of Wurtemberg, which was taken from the King of Bavaria, to which the electoral title was transferred. The grand mastership of the Teutonic knights was secularized in favour of a prince of the House of Austria. The heir of

the Duke of Modena lost Brisgau and Ortenau, which fell to the Elector of Baden.

The annihilation of the German Empire, the germ of which is to be found in that treaty, was effected by the Confederation of the Rhine, which the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Arch-Chancellor, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Cleves and Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Princes of Hohenzollern, Salm, Isenburg, Lichtenstein, and Aremberg, and Count Leyen, concluded with Buonaparte (July 6, 1806), who was named *Protector of the League*, as they announced in their declarations to the diet. The act by which the Emperor Francis II. abdicated the crown of Germany (August 6) completed the dissolution of the Germanic body. The princes who had joined that confederation usurped the *sovereignty*, instead of the mere *superiority* which they had formerly enjoyed under the authority of the Empire. By overthrowing the barriers which the laws and institutions of the country, the most ancient customs, and the synallagmatic conventions, had opposed to the encroachments of absolute power, they set a fatal example of trampling under foot the well-acquired rights of their people. They carried their injustice still farther. They usurped dominion over the princes, provinces, and cities, their associates and coequals, who were unfortunately placed in their neighbourhood, and who had not been apprised in time that they might repair to Paris, in order to co-operate in that transaction, or counteract the intrigues by which it was accomplished.

The Elector Arch-Chancellor then assumed the dignity of Prince Primate; the Elector of Baden, the Dukes of Berg and Cleves, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, took the title of Grand Dukes; to which the act of the 12th of July attached the prerogatives of the royal dignity. The head of the House of Nassau took the dignity of Duke, and Count Leyen that of Prince. A federal diet, divided into two chambers, was to deliberate on the general interests of the union; but that assembly never met. Of the six free cities which the Recess of the Deputation had preserved, the King of Bavaria had Augsburg adjudged to him by the peace of Presburg; he afterwards obtained Nuremberg by an act of the confederation. Frankfort fell to the share of the prince primate; so that there remained only three of the Hansatic towns.

Several other princes entered successively into the Confederation of the Rhine; but none of these accessions were voluntary. They all took place in consequence of the war with Prussia, which broke out in October, 1806. These princes, taken according to the order of accession, were the following:—The Elector of Wurzburg, the old Elector of Salzburg, who took the grand ducal title, the King of Saxony, the Dukes of Saxony, the Houses of Anhalt and Schwartzburg, the Prince of Waldeck, the Houses of Lippe and Reuss, the King of Westphalia, the House of Mecklenburg, and the Duke of Oldenburg. Thus all Germany, with a few exceptions, entered in succession into that confederation.

Several other changes occurred in the Rhenish Confederation, especially after the peace of Schenbrunn. The grand duchy of Berg received considerable accessions. The kingdom of Westphalia was augmented in 1810, by the re-union of the

states of the King of England in Germany, with the exception of the duchy of Lunenburg, as has been already mentioned. Within a short time after he had disposed of the territory of Hanover, Buonaparte erected the grand duchy of Frankfort, by adding the district of Fulda, and the greater part of the county of Hanau, to the possessions of the prince primate; with the deduction of the principality of Ratisbon, on condition that after the death of the prince primate, who had assumed the title of the Grand Duke of Frankfort, these territories should pass to Eugene Beauharnais and his male descendants; and failing these, they should revert to the crown of France. The grand duke ceded to Napoleon the principality of Ratisbon and his moiety of the navigation-dues on the Rhine.

The Elector of Bavaria had lost by the peace of Luneville that part of the palatinate situated on the left bank of the Rhine, with the duchy of Deux-ponts. The Recess of 1803 deprived him of the rest of the palatinate; but that act amply compensated him, by making over to him the bishoprics of Bamberg, Wurzburg, Freisingen, Passau, and Augsburg, with several abbeys and free cities. By the peace of Presburg, Buonaparte took Wurzburg from him; but he gave him in lieu of it a considerable part of the spoils of Austria, especially the county of Tyrol, which contained more than 700,000 inhabitants. To recompense that monarch for the zeal which he had displayed in 1809, Buonaparte put him in possession of the principalities of Baireuth and Ratisbon, the duchy of Salzburg, with Berchtolsgraden, and the part of Lower Austria which the emperor had renounced by the peace of Schenbrunn. In return, the King of Bavaria ceded back a part of the Tyrol, containing about 305,000 souls, which was annexed either to the kingdom of Italy or the Illyrian provinces.

By the peace of Luneville, the Austrian monarchy had lost in point of extent and population; but she had gained an addition of 6,000,000 of francs to her revenue. The government had to struggle incessantly against the ruinous state of the exchequer, and the over circulation of paper money. Neither loans nor economy could recover them. After the French republic was changed into an Empire (August 4, 1804), Francis II. took the title of Emperor of Austria, under the name of Francis I. The embarrassed state of his finances was still more increased by the disastrous war of 1803. The peace of Presburg cost the emperor the states that formerly belonged to the Venetians, the Tyrol, and all the possessions of his house in Suabia. He acquired nothing by that treaty, except the duchy of Salzburg and Berchtolsgraden. His losses amounted to more than 1,000 square miles of territory, and nearly 3,000,000 of subjects. Besides Salzburg and Berchtolsgraden, the *ci-devant* Grand Duke of Tuscany lost also Passau and Eichstett; but he obtained the principality of Wurzburg. The heir of the House of Este was deprived of Brisgau and Ortenau.

At the commencement of the year 1807, Austria had made warlike preparations, which indicated that, but for the precipitancy with which the peace of Tilsit had been concluded, she would have made a powerful diversion on the rear of the French army. It was not till the convention of Fontaine-

bleau that she obtained the restitution of Braunau, which had remained in the possession of the French, and which she purchased by new territorial losses on the side of Italy; from that moment the Archduke Charles made great exertions for reorganizing the army, introducing a new order and a better discipline, forming bodies of militia, and repairing fortresses. He continued to inspire the nation with an enthusiasm which it had never before displayed. Many wealthy individuals made large pecuniary sacrifices for the service of their country.

The peace of Schoenbrunn, which terminated the war of 1809, brought Austria down to the rank of the third continental power. That monarchy comprehended a surface of 9471 square miles, and a population of 21,000,000; but her commerce was annihilated by the loss of Trieste and Fiume, which separated her from the sea. The immense quantity of paper money in the ceded provinces flowed back into the interior of the kingdom, and reduced the currency of these bills to one-fifth of their nominal value.

Prussia, by the Recess of the Deputation of 1803, gained 426,000 subjects, and more than 4,000,000 of francs to her revenue; and the provinces which she acquired, established, to a certain extent, the continuity of her Westphalian possessions with the centre of the kingdom. A convention with the elector of Bavaria respecting an exchange of territory, made considerable additions to the principalities in Franconia. The king, from that time, occupied himself in applying the remedy of a wise administration to repair the calamities which wars and levies had inflicted on the country. In vain had they tried every means of persuasion to make him join the third coalition; and it was only the violation of his territory by the French troops, that at last prevailed with him to take that step. We have already spoken of the convention at Potsdam, by which he engaged eventually to become a party to that confederacy, and of the attempt which he made to restore peace by means of negotiation. We have already mentioned how he became involuntarily, and by the turn which his minister gave to the affair with which he was intrusted, the ally of him whom he wished to engage in war. Prussia obtained, by the treaty of Vienna, the precarious possession of the Electorate of Hanover, in lieu of which she ceded Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchatel. The superficial extent of the whole monarchy amounted then to 5,746 square miles, with a population of 10,658,000 souls.

The occupation of Hanover drew Prussia into a war with England; but the perfidy of Buonaparte soon compelled her to declare war against France. He had offered the Electorate of Hanover to the King of England, and opposed Prussia in the project of associating Saxony, Hesse, and the Hanseatic towns, in the confederation which Frederic wished to oppose to that of the Rhine. The convention of Vienna thus became the occasion of inflicting new calamities on Prussia. Frederic William renounced the territory of Hanover, by the peace which he concluded with George III. at Memel (January 28, 1807); but the treaty of Tilsit cost the latter the half of his German estates, viz. an extent of 2,657 square miles, and a population of 4,670,000 souls. This sacrifice was not sufficient to appease the resentment of Buonaparte. By mis-

interpreting the equivocal terms of the convention of Koningsberg, he restored to the king only a part of his provinces on the east of the Vistula, which were desolated by the war, and reduced almost to a desert. After sixteen months of peace, he could not obtain repossession of his other provinces, until he engaged to pay 120,000,000 of francs, to leave three fortresses in the hands of Buonaparte by way of pledge, and to promise never to keep more than 40,000 men in the field.

Prussia was in a state of the greatest destitution at the time when Frederic William turned his attention to the administration of the country. The army had devoured the substance of the inhabitants; the population had suffered great diminution; while sickness and a complication of miseries were continually cutting them off in considerable numbers. The king submitted to the most painful privations, to fulfil the obligations he had contracted towards France, and thereby to obtain the final evacuation of the kingdom, as well as to leave those provinces which had suffered more severely than others by the sojourn of the French army. He did everything in his power to revive agriculture and industry among his subjects, and restore the resources of the army; and thus prepare the way for recovering the rank which the Prussian monarchy had formerly held.

Independently of the hardships which Buonaparte inflicted on Prussia, by protracting the stay of his army, and by the contributions which he imposed on her, this country was made the victim of a rapacity which is, perhaps, unprecedented in history. By a convention which the King of Saxony, as Duke of Warsaw, concluded with Buonaparte (May 10, 1808), while occupied at Bayonne in overturning the Spanish monarchy, the latter ceded to him, for a sum of 20,000,000 of francs, not only the pecuniary claims of the King of Prussia over his Polish subjects (for these he had abandoned by the peace of Tilsit), but also those of certain public establishments in Prussia, such as the Bank, the Society for Maritime Commerce, the Endowment of Widows, hospitals, pious foundations, universities, and schools; and, what may seem incredible, those of private individuals in Prussia over Polish subjects. These pecuniary claims were so much the more considerable, as the capitalists of the ancient provinces, since the introduction of the system of mortgage into Prussia, had advanced large sums to Polish proprietors for the improvement of their patri-monies. The sums thus taken from those who had furnished them, and transferred to the King of Saxony, were estimated at first at 43,000,000 and a half of francs, and 4,000,000 of interest; but the financial authorities of the duchy of Warsaw discovered that they amounted to 68,000,000. In vain did Frederic William offer to repurchase this pretended right of the King of Saxony, by reimbursing the 20,000,000 of francs which the latter had been obliged, it was said, to give to Buonaparte. The revolution of 1814 rectified this piece of injustice, as it did many others.

During this period the north of Europe was agitated by three different wars, that of England against Denmark, which occasioned a rupture between the cabinets of St. Petersburg and London; that of Russia against Sweden, in which Denmark was involved; and lastly, the war between Russia

and the Porte, in which England took an active part.

The expedition of the English against the Isle of Zealand in 1807 was an event which was censured at the time with great severity; and which cannot altogether be justified, since it is the nature of all preventive war to destroy the very arguments and evidences of its necessity. Nevertheless, if, on the one hand, we consider what was requisite to support the interests of Buonaparte after the peace of Tilsit, or, more properly speaking, to carry into execution the system he had organized; and if, on the other, we examine into his conduct a short time after, towards Spain and Portugal, it is impossible not to excuse England. The peace of Tilsit had excluded British commerce from all the southern ports of the Baltic, and it was but a small affair that Sweden, and especially Denmark, who had a communication with the continent by way of Jutland, should open their ports to her. Several appearances indicated that it was the intention of Buonaparte to seize Denmark also after the peace of Tilsit; and the British minister declared that he was in possession of proofs of a plan to that effect.

The British government accordingly fitted out an expedition for the purpose of preventing his designs, with an activity and a celerity such as they had never displayed in sending aid to their allies; and that difference in their conduct tended not a little to create an unfavourable opinion as to the enterprise which they undertook against Denmark in 1807. An English fleet, having an army on board, to which a Hanoverian legion of 7,000 men, then in the Isle of Rugen, was afterwards added, sailed from England about the end of July or beginning of August. It was divided into two squadrons, one of which, under Commodore Keats, took up their station in the Great Belt, which till then had been thought inaccessible to ships of war, and thus cut off the Isle of Zealand from the mainland, where the prince royal with the Danish army then was. The second division, under the command of Admiral Gambier, with troops on board commanded by Lord Cathcart, arrived off Copenhagen. Mr. Jackson was sent to Kiel to demand from the prince royal the surrender of the Danish fleet, which they alleged it was the intention of Buonaparte to seize.

After a fruitless negotiation, Copenhagen was invested by the army of Lord Cathcart on the land side, bombarded for three days (September 2, 3, 4), and a great part of the city destroyed. At length General Peymann, the commander-in-chief of the Danish forces, demanded an armistice to treat for a capitulation. Sir Arthur Wellesley, the same officer who soon after so distinguished himself in Portugal, signed the capitulation on the part of Great Britain. The citadel was given up to the English. The Danes surrendered their fleet, with all the naval stores in their arsenals and dock-yards. The English stipulated for a delay of six weeks to prepare for departure, after which they promised to surrender the citadel, and evacuate the Isle of Zealand.

In this manner the Danish marine, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five sloops of war, fell into the hands of the English. During the six weeks stipulated for, the court of London offered Denmark

the alternative either of returning to a state of neutrality, or of forming an alliance with England. The prince regent having refused both of these, England declared war against him (November 4); but she did not violate the capitulation of Copenhagen, as the evacuation of that city and the island of Zealand took place at the term specified. This event added Denmark to the French system. Her minister concluded a treaty of alliance at Fontainebleau, the tenor of which has not been made public; but if we may judge by the events which followed, it was agreed that the Danish islands should be occupied by French troops destined to act against Sweden. It was in the month of March 1808, that 32,000 French, Dutch, and Spanish troops (the last brought from the kingdom of Etruria), under the command of Marshal Bernadotte, arrived in Zealand, Funen, and the other islands of the Baltic; but the defection of the Spanish troops, and the war with Austria, prevented the projected invasion of Sweden. The English took possession of the colonies of Denmark, and ruined the commerce of her subjects. Frederic VI., who had succeeded his father Christian VII. (March 13, 1808), after having been at the head of the government as regent since 1784, strictly executed the continental system; especially after the commencement of the year 1810, when the two Counts Bernstorff had retired from the ministry. He even went so far as to arrest all the English subjects found in Denmark.

The expedition of the English against Copenhagen induced the Emperor Alexander to declare war against them (November 7). That monarch entered decidedly into the continental system, and demanded of the King of Sweden, that, agreeably to the conventions as to the armed neutrality of the North, he should enforce the principle by which the Baltic was declared a shut sea. The King of Sweden replied, that the principles established by the conventions of 1780 and 1800 had been abandoned by that of June 17, 1801; that circumstances were entirely changed since Denmark, on whose co-operations he had formerly reckoned, had lost her fleet; and since, independently of the Sound, the English had effected another entrance into the Baltic, through the Great Belt; these objections, however, did not prevent him from incurring a ruinous war.

A Russian army entered Finland (February 21, 1808). General Buxhowden, who had the command, announced to the inhabitants of that province that the Emperor Alexander had thought it necessary to occupy that country, in order to have a pledge that the King of Sweden would accept the proposals of peace which France had made to him. Although the Swedish troops in Finland were but few in number, and defended it bravely, they were compelled to yield to the superior force of the Russians, and to retire into East Bothnia. Sueaborg, the bulwark of Finland, and deemed impregnable, surrendered (April 6) after a siege of a few days by Vice-Admiral Kronstadt. A manifesto of the Emperor Alexander (March 28) had already declared the grand duchy of Finland to be incorporated with his Empire. This unexpected attack excited the most lively indignation in Gustavus IV., who so far forgot himself as to cause M. d'Allopeus, the Russian minister at his court, to be arrested. Denmark having also

declared war against him (February 29), a Swedish army of 20,000 men, under the command of General Armfeldt, undertook the conquest of Norway. But this expedition was repulsed with loss; and the Danes even made incursions into Sweden.

Field-Marshal Count Klingspor being placed at the head of the Swedish army, then at Uleaburg, began to act on the offensive in the north of Finland; while a second army, under the command of General Vegesack, disembarked at Abo (June 8). The war was carried on with variable success, but with equal bravery on both sides. At the end of the campaign, the Russians were again masters of Finland. A body of 10,000 English troops, commanded by the same General Moore who, a few months after, fell at Corunna in Spain, had arrived in the roads at Gottenburg (May 17); but as the Swedish king could not come to an agreement as to the employment of these auxiliaries, nor even as to the command, he refused to permit the troops to disembark. He even ordered General Moore, who had repaired to Stockholm, to be arrested. But having soon found means to escape, Moore returned to England with his troops. Mr. Thornton, the British envoy, who had remonstrated against this arbitrary conduct of the king, was recalled.*

Admiral Chanikoff, with a Russian fleet of twenty-four ships of war, made an attempt to burn the Swedish fleet, commanded by Admiral Nauckhoff, in Virgin Bay (August 18); but the arrival of an English fleet under Sir James Saumarez in Baltic Port, where Nauckhoff was, with a reinforcement of some English ships under the command of Admiral Hood, kept them in blockade for nearly two months. In Finland an armistice had been concluded (September 1829), on the footing of the *Uti Possidetis*; but the Emperor Alexander refused to ratify it. Another was then concluded at Olkioki (November 19); by which the Swedish army engaged to evacuate Uleaburg, and to retire behind the Kemi. Towards the end of the year, the English cabinet advised the King of Sweden to make peace, which he obstinately refused, and even demanded additional supplies to continue the war with vigour. The British cabinet having declined to grant them unconditionally, Gustavus was on the point of coming to an open rupture with that court. But his indignation having abated, he agreed, soon after, to conclude a new convention at Stockholm (March 1, 1809), when Great Britain engaged to pay in advance £300,000 sterling by quarterly instalments.

Meantime a revolution was fermenting in Sweden, which was to change the aspect of affairs. The haughtiness of the king, and his firmness, which he carried even to obstinacy, had created him many enemies. The people were oppressed in a most extraordinary manner by burdens and imposts, which Gustavus increased arbitrarily, and without regard to constitutional forms. The severity with which he punished the troops, not only when they had committed faults, but even when they were unsuccessful, had alienated the minds of the soldiers from him, and especially the guards. A conspiracy was formed, at the head of which was Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre, and Colonel Skioldebrand, and which was joined by

the army of the West, or of Norway, and the troops that were stationed in the islands of Aland. Adlersparre and the army of the West marched on Stockholm. They had arrived at Orebro, when Field-Marshal Klingspor, who had been disgraced, advised the king to avert the storm by changing his conduct. On his refusal, General Adlercreutz arrested him in the name of the people (March 13). The Duke of Sudermania, the king's uncle, was proclaimed regent. Gustavus was conveyed to Drottningholm, and thence to Gripsholm, where he signed a deed of abdication, which he afterwards declared on various occasions to have been voluntary. The revolution was terminated without commotion and without bloodshed.

The regent immediately assembled the Diet at Stockholm. Not content with accepting the abdication of Gustavus, such as he had given it, they excluded all his descendants from the throne of Sweden. They offered the crown to the regent, who declared his willingness to accept it when they had revised the constitution. This revision, by which the royal authority was limited without reducing it to a state of humiliation and dependence, having been adopted by the Diet, the Duke of Sudermania was proclaimed king (June 5, 1809), under the title of Charles XIII., according to the common but erroneous method of reckoning the kings of Sweden. As the new monarch had no family, they elected as his successor to the throne, Prince Christian Augustus of Holstein-Augustenburg, who commanded the Danish army in Norway, and who had procured the esteem even of his enemies. Gustavus and his family were permitted to leave the kingdom; and towards the end of the year a new fundamental law was published, regulating the order of succession to the throne.

At Stockholm the people flattered themselves that the dethronement of Gustavus would speedily bring peace to Sweden; but it was not so. Alexander I. refused to treat with a government so insecure as a regency, and hostilities accordingly continued. General Knorring, who had passed the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice with 25,000 Russians, took possession of the islands of Aland (March 17), when the Swedish troops stationed there retired to the continent of Sweden. Knorring granted the Swedes a cessation of hostilities, to allow them time to make overtures of peace. Apprized of this arrangement, Count Barclay de Tolly, who had crossed the Gulf with another body of Russians on the side of Vasa, and taken possession of Umea, evacuated West Bothnia, and returned to Finland. A third body of Russians, under the command of Schouvaloff, penetrated into West Bothnia by the route of Tornea, and compelled the Swedish army of the north, which was commanded by Gripenberg, to lay down their arms at Scivis (March 25). This sanguinary affair occurred entirely through ignorance; because in that country, lying under the 66th degree of north latitude, they were not aware of the armistice granted by Knorring. On the expiry of the truce, hostilities recommenced in the month of May, and the Russians took possession of the part of West Bothnia lying to the north of Umea.

The peace between Russia and Sweden was signed at Frederichsham (September 17). The latter power adhered to the continental system,

* Sketch of the Reign of Gustavus IV., Part II.

reserving to herself the importation of salt and such colonial produce as she could not do without. She surrendered Finland with the whole of East Bothnia, and a part of West Bothnia lying to the eastward of the river Tornea. The cession of these provinces, which formed the granary of Sweden, and contained a population of 900,000 souls, was an irreparable loss to that kingdom, which had only 2,344,000 inhabitants left. The peace of Frederichsham was speedily followed by that of Jonkoping with Denmark (December 10), and that at Paris with France (January 6, 1810). By the first, everything was re-established on its ancient footing between these two states. But by the peace of Paris, Sweden renounced the importation of colonial produce, and only reserved the privilege of importing salt as an article of absolute necessity. It was on this condition alone that she could obtain repossession of Pomerania.

The Prince Royal of Sweden having died suddenly, a diet assembled at Orebro, and elected John Baptiste Julius Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, his successor to the throne (May 28). The election was unanimous; but out of more than 1,000 of the nobility who had a right to appear at the Diet, only 140 were present. Bernadotte accepted an offer so honourable. On his arrival at Elsinore, he professed, as his ancestors had done before him in France, his adherence to the Confession of Augsburg, which was then the established religion in Sweden. King Charles XIII. having adopted him as his son, he was proclaimed at Stockholm (November 5), eventual successor to the throne, under the name of Charles John. Twelve days afterwards, Sweden declared war against Great Britain.

In Russia, the Emperor Alexander, since his accession to the throne, had occupied himself incessantly in improving every branch of the administration. The restrictive regulations which had been published under the last reign were abrogated; by gradual concessions, the peasantry were prepared for a liberty which they had not yet enjoyed. The number of universities, and what is still more essential to civilisation, the number of schools, was augmented. The senate, the ministry, and the civil authorities were re-organized, and new improvements adopted, tending to abolish arbitrary power, to accelerate the despatch of business, and to promote the distribution of fair and impartial justice to all classes of society. Canals were dug, new avenues were opened for industry, and commerce flourished, especially the trade of the Black Sea. The only point in which the government failed, was in its attempts to restore the finances; but the four wars of the preceding seven years in which Russia had been engaged, rendered these attempts unavailing.

We have already related the origin, events, and termination of two of these wars, viz., that of 1806, which ended with the peace of Tilsit, and procured Russia the province of Bialystock; and that of Sweden, which annexed the province of Finland to the Russian Empire. The war against England continued after the peace of Frederichsham, but without furnishing any events of great importance. The two other wars were those against Persia and the Porte. At the beginning of his reign, Alexander had annexed Georgia to his Empire, which had till then been the prey of continual

disturbances. This accession drew him into a war with Persia, which did not terminate till 1813. The principal events of that war were the defeat of the Persians at Etschmiazin, by Prince Zizianoff (June 20, 1804); the conquest of the province of Shirvan by the same prince (January 1806); the taking of Derbent by the Russians (July 3); and the defeat of the Persians by Paulucci, at Alkholwalaki (September 1, 1810).

Before speaking of the war between Russia and the Porte, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect of the Ottoman Empire. The condition of that Empire, badly organized and worse governed, was such, that everything then presaged its approaching dissolution; or in other words, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. Everywhere the authority of the Grand Seignor was disregarded. Paswan Oglou, the Pacha of Widdin, was in open revolt. Ali Pacha of Janina was obedient only when it suited his convenience. The Servians had taken up arms under their leader Czerni George, and threatened to possess themselves of Sabacz and Belgrade. Djeddar, the Pacha of Syria, without delaring himself an enemy to the Porte, enjoyed an absolute independence. The sect of the Wahabites was in possession of Arabia. Egypt was distracted by civil wars. Selim III., who had reigned there since 1789, convinced that the Porte could never re-establish its authority except by better organizing the army, had endeavoured to model it on the European system. This attempt afterwards cost him his throne.

Such was the situation of the Ottoman Empire, when Buonaparte, in order to prevent Alexander from sending supplies to Prussia, resolved to embroil him in a quarrel with the Porte. General Sebastiani, the French envoy at Constantinople, contrived to obtain so great an influence over the divan, that for some time it was entirely under his direction. Subjects of dissension were not wanting between Russia and the Porte; and these were of such a nature, as to furnish each party with plausible reasons for complaining of the infraction of treaties. The French minister was not slow to fan the spark of discord. He even induced the divan to refuse to renew their treaty of alliance with England, which was then on the point of expiring. The Emperor Alexander, foreseeing that there would be no redress to his complaints, gave orders to General Michelson to enter Moldavia and Wallachia. The Porte then declared war against Russia (December 30); but deviating for the first time from a barbarous custom, she allowed M. d'Italinski, the Russian minister, to depart unmolested.

A few days after, Mr. Arbuthnot, the English minister, quitted Constantinople, after having repeatedly demanded the renewal of the alliance, and the expulsion of M. Sebastiani. Within a few weeks, an English fleet of nine ships of the line, three frigates, and several fire-ships, commanded by Vice-Admiral Duckworth, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, and appeared before Constantinople. Duckworth demanded of the divan, that the forts of the Dardanelles and the Turkish fleet should be surrendered to him; that the Porte should cede Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, and break off alliance with Buonaparte. But instead of profiting by the sudden panic which his appearance had created, he allowed the Turks

time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Encouraged and instructed by Sebastiani, they made their preparations with such energy and success, that in the course of eight days the English vice-admiral found that he could do nothing better than weigh anchor and repossess the Dardanelles. On his arrival at Malta, he took on board 5,000 troops, under the command of General Frazer, and conveyed them to Egypt. The English took possession of Alexandria (March 20); but in the course of six months, they found themselves obliged to surrender that city by capitulation to the governor of Egypt.

The campaign of 1807 was not productive of any very decisive result, as General Michelson had received orders to detach 80,000 men to oppose the French in Poland. Czerni George, the leader of the revolted Servians, took Belgrade, Sabacz, and Nissa, penetrated into Bulgaria, where he was reinforced by some Russian troops, and gained divers signal advantages. General Michelson himself was victorious near Guidesov (March 17), without, however, being able to get possession of that place. The war was conducted with more success on the frontiers of the two Empires in Asia. The Seraskier of Erzerum was entirely defeated by General Gudovitch (June 18); and that victory was an event so much the more fortunate, as it prevented the Persians from making a bold diversion in favour of the Turks. The most important event in the campaign was the naval battle of Lemnos, where the Russian fleet, under the command of Vice-Admiral Siniavin, defeated the Capitan Paeha, who had sailed from the Dardanelles after the retreat of Sir John Duckworth.

When the Ottoman navy sustained this defeat, Selim III. had ceased to reign. That prince had rendered himself odious to the troops, by the introduction of the European discipline and dress, known by the name of *Nizami gedid*, and by his connexion with the French emperor. One circumstance, regarded as a fundamental law, and according to which a sultan who had reigned seven years without having any children was regarded as unworthy of the throne, served as a pretext for the military to have him deposed. Selim, finding it impossible to quell or allay the revolt, abdicated voluntarily (May 29), and placed his cousin, Mustapha IV., on the throne. In the amnesty which that prince published, he recognised the right of the Janissaries to withdraw their allegiance from the grand seignor who should depart from the established customs, and that of appointing his successor.

The Emperor Alexander had promised, by the peace of Tilsit, to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, on condition, however, that the Turks should not occupy these two provinces till after the conclusion of a definitive peace. The French General Guilleminot was sent to the Turkish camp to negotiate an armistice on these terms, which in effect was signed at Slobozia (August 24). The evacuation of the two provinces stipulated by that arrangement never took place, the Emperor of Russia refusing to ratify the treaty, as it contained certain articles which he judged incompatible with his dignity; so that matters remained on their former footing. That circumstance was one of the pretexts which Buonaparte alleged for continuing to occupy Prussia.

In the midst of these political quibblings, the time arrived when a new system of things took place. The cabinets of St. Petersburg and Paris were making mutual advances; and it is probable that the fate of the Porte, and especially of the provinces beyond the Danube, was one of the subjects which were discussed during the interview at Erfurt. France lost her influence at Constantinople, when they saw her enter into an alliance with Russia; and from that time England directed the politics of the divan.

Mustapha IV. had in the mean time been hurled from the throne. Mustapha, styled *Bairactar* or the *Standardbearer*, the Paeha of Rudschuk, a man of extraordinary courage, and one of the most zealous abettors of the changes introduced by Selim, which he regarded as the sole means of preserving the state, had marched with 35,000 men to Constantinople, with the view of reforming or seizing the government, and announced to Mustapha IV. (July 28, 1808), that he must resign, and make way for the ancient and legitimate sultan. Mustapha thought to save his crown by putting Selim to death; but Bairactar proclaimed Mahmud, the younger brother of Mustapha, who was then shut up in the seraglio. Bairactar, invested with absolute power, re-established the corps of the *Seimens*, or disciplined troops, on the footing of the Europeans, and took vigorous measures for putting the empire in a condition to resist the Russians. These patriotic efforts cost him his life. After the departure of a part of the *Seimens* for the army, the Janissaries and the inhabitants of Constantinople revolted. At the head of a body of newly organized troops, Mustapha defended himself with courage; but seeing the moment approach when he must yield to the superior number of his assailants, he put to death the old sultan and his mother, whose intrigues had instigated the insurrection. He retired to a fortress or strong place, where he had deposited a quantity of gunpowder. The Janissaries having pursued him thither, he set fire to the magazine, and blew himself and his persecutors into the air. The young Sultan Mahmud had the courage to declare that he would retain the European discipline and dress; but after being attacked in his palace, and learning that the city was filled with carnage and conflagration, he yielded to necessity, and restored the privileges of the Janissaries. It is probable they would not have spared his life, but for the circumstance that he was the last scion of the race of Osman.

The ministers of the divan, whom General Sebastiani had gained over to the interests of France, finding themselves entirely discarded by the last revolution, Mr. Adair, the new English minister at Constantinople, concluded a treaty of peace (January 5, 1809), by which the Porte confirmed to England the commercial advantages which the treaty of 1675 had granted them, as well as the navigation of the Black Sea, which Mr. Spencer Smith had obtained (August 3, 1799).

Immediately after the return of the Emperor Alexander from Erfurt, an order was given to open negotiations with the Turks. The conference took place at Jassy; but it was immediately broken off, after the Russian plenipotentiaries had demanded, as preliminary conditions, the cession of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the expulsion of the British minister from Constantinople. Hostilities then

recommended. The Russians were commanded by Prince Prozoroffski, and after his death by Prince Bagration. Having passed the Danube, they took possession of Ismael, and fought a sanguinary battle at Tartaritz, near Siliustria (September 26), which compelled them to raise the siege of that place. The grand vizier, without taking advantage of his good fortune, retired to winter quarters.

The campaign of 1810 was more decisive. General Kamenskoi, the second of that name, had taken the chief command of the Russian army; his brother of the same name, and General Markoff, opened the campaign by the taking of Bazardjik (June 4); the capture of Siliustria (June 11) by the commander-in-chief and Count Langeron, opened the way to Shumla, where the grand vizier, Yussuff Pacha, occupied a strong position, while General Sabaniëff defeated a body of Turkish troops near Rasgard (June 14), the remains of which were obliged to surrender. The grand vizier then demanded an armistice for negotiating a peace. The reply was, that it would be concluded immediately on his recognising the Danube as the limit of the two empires, and promising to pay a sum of 20,000,000 of piastres; the Russians remaining in possession of Bessarabia until it was paid. The grand vizier, at the instigation of the British minister, rejected these conditions. Yussuff Pacha still occupied his camp near Shumla, the rear of which was protected by the Hemus. Kamenskoi, the elder, attacked him in his entrench-

ments, but was repulsed with loss (June 23); he left his brother at Kargali Dere, about five leagues from Shumla, at the head of a corps of observation, while he attempted himself to take Rudschuk by main force, but was again repulsed. The younger brother then found himself obliged, by the approach of a superior force, to abandon his position at Kargali Dere (August 15). Yussuff, being determined to save Rudschuk, detached Mouchtar Pacha with a body of 40,000 troops, who took up a formidable position at the place where the Jantra runs into the Danube. Kamenskoi, leaving to Count Langeron the care of the siege of Rudschuk, and ordering Sass to invest Guirdesov, which is situated on the other side of the Danube opposite Rudschuk, immediately directed his march against Mouchtar, and attacked him in his entrenchments at Batine. After a terrible carnage, the Russians took possession of the Turkish camp by main force (September 7), when Mouchtar escaped with a small detachment. Within a few days after, Count St. Priest took Sczistov, with the whole Turkish fleet. Rudschuk and Guirdesov surrendered on the same day (September 27), and Nicopoli and Widdin in a short time after; so that by the end of the campaign the Russians were masters of the whole right bank of the Danube. The grand vizier had continued all this time in his strong camp at Shumla. The Servians, assisted by a body of Russians, had taken possession of the last fortresses in their country which the Turks had still maintained, such as Cladova, Oreava, and Praova.

PERIOD IX., *concluded.*

THE DECLINE AND DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE OF BUONAPARTE. A.D. 1810—1815.

WE have already traced the power of Buonaparte to its greatest height; we shall now witness its downfall. Nevertheless, an event happened in 1811 which might have given stability to his authority, had it been legitimate; and that was the birth of a son (March 20), to whom he gave the title of *King of Rome*.

The differences that had arisen between Buonaparte and the head of the church, became this year a subject of public discussion. The will of a despot, whom no power could resist, was made to recoil more than once before the inflexible firmness of an old man, disarmed and in captivity. Ever since Buonaparte had deprived the church of her patrimony, and had been laid under the ban of excommunication, Pius VII., faithful to his principles, had refused confirmation to every bishop nominated by a man who was excluded from the Catholic communion. Buonaparte thought it might be possible to make a shift without the confirmation of the pope. With this view, he assembled a national council at Paris (June 17, 1811), composed of French and Italian bishops, and in which Cardinal Fesch, the Archbishop of Lyons, presided. He soon found, however, that despotic authority was of little avail against reli-

gious opinions. The prelates, on whose compliance he had calculated with too much confidence, declared that the council had no power to grant that confirmation which was refused by the Pope; but the arrest of three of the most refractory prelates, who were imprisoned at Vincennes (July 12), having given rise to a negotiation, the rest adopted a modified scheme which the government had communicated to them; on condition, however, that it should be submitted for the approbation of the Pope. But his holiness, who had still remained at Savona, refused to treat with the council, which he declared null and void, as having been convened without his authority. The project of Buonaparte thus completely failed; the council was dismissed, and twenty of the sees of France and Italy were left without bishops.

Before proceeding to detail the grand events which overturned the dominion of Buonaparte, it will be necessary to advert to what took place in Spain and Portugal in 1811 and 1812. Sickness, and the want of provisions, had at length compelled Massena to effect his retreat from Santarem (March 1), during which he sustained considerable loss by the pursuit of Lord Wellington. Thus, for the third time, was Portugal released from the in-

vasion of the French army. It would be impossible, within the narrow limits to which we are here confined, to detail the various marches and counter-marches of the generals, or the operations in which they were engaged. We can only point out the principal actions in a detached and cursory manner.

Marshal Soult retook Badajoz (March 10), while Lord Wellington still retained his position at Torres Vedras, which he had quitted with reluctance to go in pursuit of Massena. As the possession of Badajoz was of importance for the English, Lord Wellington determined to besiege it; but Marshal Marmont, who had replaced Massena in the command of the army of the North, and Marshal Soult, who had formed a junction with him, obliged him to discontinue the siege. He retired to Portugal, where he remained on the defensive during the rest of the campaign. The advantages of the campaign of 1811 belonged to General Suchet. After a destructive siege, he took Tortosa by capitulation (January 1), and Tarragona by main force (June 28). He made himself master of Montserrat in the same manner (August 19). By a signal victory which he gained over General Blake (October 25) at Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum, he prepared the way for the conquest of Valencia, which surrendered by capitulation (January 9, 1812).

At the commencement of 1812, the French forces in Spain amounted to 150,000 men. The allies consisted of 52,000 English troops, 24,000 Portuguese, and 100,000 Spaniards, including 20,000 guerrillas. Lord Wellington reduced Ciudad Rodrigo (January 19), and then retired once more into Portugal, where he kept on the defensive for nearly five months. He then attacked Salamanca, took that city (June 28), and defeated Marmont in the famous battle of Arcopiles, near Salamanca (July 21), where Clausel saved the French army from a complete rout. Joseph Buonaparte quitted Madrid. Soult gave orders to raise the siege of Cadiz, which had continued for two years. He evacuated Andalusia, and joined King Joseph in Murcia. Wellington, now master of Burgos, was desirous to get possession also of the citadel of that place, the acquisition of which was necessary for his safety. But Souham, who had succeeded Marmont, and Soult having approached on both sides to save the town, the British general retired again to Portugal, and Joseph Buonaparte returned to Madrid (November 1).

At this time the North of Europe had been the theatre of great events. For some time, the friendship between the courts of St. Petersburg and St. Cloud had been growing cool. The last usurpations of Buonaparte, during the course of 1810, brought about a complete rupture. The extension of the French Empire towards the Baltic was becoming a subject of suspicion and anxiety to Alexander. The manner in which Buonaparte had taken possession of the duchy of Oldenburg, the patrimony of his family, was an outrage against his person. The first symptom of discontent which he exhibited was by abandoning the continental system, although indirectly, by an Ukase (December 13, 1810), which permitted the importation of colonial produce, while it interdicted that of France, wine only excepted. Under pretext of organizing a force for the maintenance of these

regulations, he raised an army of 90,000 men. A rupture with Buonaparte appeared then unavoidable.

In Sweden also there arose new subjects of quarrel. Buonaparte complained, that in that country the continental system had not been put in execution with sufficient rigour. He demanded, that Charles XIII. should put 2,000 sailors into his pay; that he should introduce the tariff of Trianon, and admit French revenue-officers at Gottenburg. In short, Sweden, Denmark, and the duchy of Warsaw, were to form a confederation, under the protection of France. During these discussions, Marshal Davoust, who commanded in the north of Germany, took possession of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen (January 27, 1812). Buonaparte offered, however, to surrender that province to Sweden, and to compel Alexander to restore Finland to her, if Charles XIII. would agree to furnish 30,000 troops against Russia.

Sweden, on the contrary, was on terms of conciliation with that power. By an alliance, which was signed at St. Petersburg (April 5), Alexander promised to procure her Norway. A body of between 25,000 and 30,000 Swedes, and between 15,000 and 20,000 Russians, were then to make a diversion against France on the coasts of Germany. This design was afterwards changed, in a conference which the emperor had at Abo (August 30), where it was arranged that the Russian troops, destined to act in Norway, should be transported to Riga for the defence of Russia; and that they should not, till a later period, undertake the conquest of Norway. Charles XIII. was also reconciled to England, while he had always pretended to be ignorant of the declaration of war of November 17, 1810. A treaty of peace was signed at Orebro (July 12), where they agreed, though in general terms, on a defensive alliance.

Buonaparte, seeing the moment approach when a rupture with Russia would take place, hesitated for some time as to the part he should take with regard to Prussia, in the very centre of which he still possessed three fortresses. He determined at last to preserve that state, and to make an ally of it, on which the principal burden of the war should fall. Four conventions were concluded at Paris, on the same day (February 24), between these two powers. By the principal treaty, an alliance purely defensive was established; but, according to certain secret articles, that alliance was declared offensive; on such terms, however, that Prussia was not to furnish any contingent beyond the Pyrenees in Italy, or against the Turks. By the first convention, which was likewise to be kept secret, the alliance was expressly directed against Russia; and the King of Prussia promised to furnish a body of 20,000 auxiliary troops. Glogau, Stettin, and Custrin, were to be still occupied by the French. The two other conventions related to the sums still due by Prussia, and the supplies which she had to furnish.

A few days after, there was also signed at Paris a defensive alliance against Russia. The reciprocal supplies to be furnished by the contracting parties were 30,000 men; and the court of Vienna was given to hope, that she might again be restored to the possession of the Illyrian provinces. From that moment, Buonaparte began to make the most active preparations. By a decree

of the senate, the whole male population of France, between the ages of twenty and sixty years, was divided into three *Bans* or bodies, summoned by proclamation; the first of these contained 100,000 men, to be placed at the disposal of the government. The princes of the confederation were to furnish their contingent as follows:—Bavaria 30,000 troops, Westphalia and Saxony each 20,000, Wurtemberg 14,000, and the kingdom of Italy 40,000. Negotiations were at that time in progress between Buonaparte and Alexander, apparently with a view of adjusting their mutual complaints. But matters had recently taken a turn, which left little reason to hope that they would come to any satisfactory result. These conferences were continued at Dresden, whither Buonaparte had gone, and where he broke faith with the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and a great number of the princes of the Rhenish Confederation. This was the last moment of Buonaparte's greatness. He waited the return of Count Narbonne, whom he had sent to Wilna with his last proposals to the Emperor Alexander. Immediately after the arrival of the Count, war was declared (June 12, 1812).

The army of Buonaparte amounted to 587,000 men, of which 73,000 were cavalry. It was separated into three grand divisions; the main army was composed of the divisions of Davoust, Oudinot, and Ney. It contained also the troops of Wurtemberg, at the head of whom was the prince royal. The second army, commanded by Eugene Beauharnais, consisted of the divisions of Junot and St. Cyr; the Bavarians, under the command of Deroy and Wrede, made a part of it. The third army, commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, consisted of the Poles under Prince Poniatowski, the Saxons under Regnier, and the Westphalians under Vandamme. The Austrian auxiliaries, at the head of whom was Prince Schwartzenberg, formed the extreme right wing. The corps of Marshal Macdonald and the Prussians were placed on the extreme left. To oppose this immense mass, Alexander had only 260,000 men, divided into two armies, which were called the first and second armies of the West. The former, under the command of Count Barclay de Tolly, extended as far as Grodno, and communicated on the north side with Count d'Essen, Governor of Riga; and on the south, with the second army of the West, at the head of which was Prince Bagration. But independently of these forces, there were bodies of reserve and armies of observation formed with all expedition, and ultimately joined with the main armies.

Of the great number of battles fought during this memorable campaign, we must content ourselves with selecting the more important, without entering into a detail of the various movements of either party. The inferiority of numbers which Alexander had to oppose to Buonaparte seemed to render a defensive plan advisable, according to which, by destroying all the means of subsistence in the districts which they abandoned, they might allure the enemy into countries desolated and destitute of every resource. Buonaparte allowed himself to be duped by feint retreats; his scheme was to place himself between the two Russian armies, and, after having destroyed both, to penetrate into the interior of the Empire, where he reckoned on

finding immense riches, and to dictate the terms of peace, as he had twice done at Vienna.

The passage of the Niemen, by the French army, was the commencement of hostilities (June 22); the Russians immediately began their system of retreat. Buonaparte, at first, succeeded in penetrating between the two armies; but after several battles fought by Prince Bagration, more especially that at Mohiloff (July 23), the two armies effected a junction at Smolensko. Jerome Buonaparte and Vandamme, to whom Buonaparte attributed that check, were ordered to quit the French army, while he himself advanced as far as Witepsk.

Buonaparte engaged Barclay de Tolly, and fought a bloody battle with him at Smolensko (August 17). He took possession of that city by force, after it had been set on fire by the inhabitants. He found no provisions in it, and scarcely a shelter to cover his sick and wounded. On the news of the progress which the French were making, a general enthusiasm seized the Russian nation. Alexander had encouraged and excited this patriotic spirit by repairing to Moscow. The nobles armed their peasantry, and prepared to fight with desperation to the last. The two armies of the West were combined into one, of which Prince Kutusoff took the command. He engaged Buonaparte, and fought the famous battle of Moskwa, about twenty-five leagues from Moscow (September 7). Although 65,000 men, including Russians, French, and allies, were left dead on the field of battle, that action was by no means decisive; but Kutusoff, whose army was reduced to 70,000 men, while Buonaparte, out of 150,000, had still 120,000 left, resolved to continue his retreat, and to leave Moscow at the mercy of the enemy. The French entered that place seven days after the battle (September 14). They found that ancient capital entirely abandoned, but still containing immense wealth, which the inhabitants had not been able to carry with them. Within two days, a conflagration, which broke out in 500 places at once, reduced that immense city to a heap of ashes. The precautions of the incendiaries had been so well taken, that all the efforts of the French to arrest the progress of the flames proved ineffectual; and, out of 9158 houses, they could only save 2041. Thus perished irrevocably the means of subsistence, which had for a moment revived the courage of the invaders.

In a short time famine began to make its appearance in the army of Buonaparte. Dissembling the real state of his affairs, he twice offered peace. Alexander refused to treat at a time when the war had so recently commenced; and told the Russian generals, that he was resolved to continue his retreat. Napoleon also commenced his retreat after six weeks' occupation of Moscow. Mortier, who commanded the rear-guard, had orders to set fire to the Kremlin, the palace of the ancient czars of Russia. Buonaparte directed his march towards Smolensko, through a country reduced to an entire desert. He was incessantly harassed by the Russians, whose troops, marching at a convenient distance, attacked both his flanks. On arriving at Smolensko (November 9), after having lost 40,000 men, the army was assailed by the rigours of winter, which added to their other misfortunes. Kutusoff having advanced before them, and taking post at Krasnoi, they were obliged to force a passage with the loss

of 13,000 men, and 70 pieces of canon. Two days after, 11,000 men of Ney's division laid down their arms; 35,000 men, and twenty-five cannons without horses, were all that remained to the conqueror of Moscow.

This exhausted and dispirited army had fifty leagues to march, before they could reach the Beresina, where other dangers awaited them. The passage of that river was occupied by the army of Chichagoff, amounting to 50,000 men, who had arrived from Moldavia. Another Russian army, under Count Wittgenstein, was marching from the north to join the former; but Marshal Victor's body of reserve, which had arrived from Prussia, intercepted them for a while, without having been able to prevent their final junction. Victor, Oudinot, and Dombrowski, brought a reinforcement to Buonaparte of 35,000 men, exhausted with cold and famine. The passage of the Beresina was forced with admirable bravery (November 27, 28); but it cost France, or the allies, the lives or the liberty of more than 30,000 men.

At this point, the main body of the Russians ceased to pursue the unfortunate wreck of Buonaparte's army; nevertheless, as far as Wilna, they were continually harassed by the Cossacs. There was besides a frightful deficiency of provisions and clothing, so that upwards of 25,000 men fell a sacrifice to these privations in their route to Wilna. This was the first city or town that fell in their way; all the others had been completely destroyed; the miserable remnant who reached that place (December 9) were at length supplied with provisions; but the Cossacs did not leave them long in the enjoyment of repose. On the following day they were obliged to commence their retreat to Kowno, from which they directed their march towards the Vistula. Independently of the corps of Macdonald, who had the Prussians under his command, and of the auxiliary body of Austrians and Saxons, none of which took any part in that route, only 18,800 French and Italians, and about 23,000 Poles and Gernans, found their way back from Russia.

Buonaparte himself had taken his departure privately on the 5th December, leaving the command of the army to Joachim Murat. With such despatch had he consulted his safety, that on the 18th of the same month he arrived at Paris.

Prince Schwartzberg, being joined by General Reynier who commanded the Saxons, had fought several engagements with the army of Chichagoff, none of which had proved decisive; and after the affair of the Beresina he had retired towards Warsaw and Pultusk. Several most sanguinary engagements, although not more decisive than the former, had taken place between Count Wittgenstein and the left wing of the French army; especially towards the commencement of the campaign, when Marshals Oudinot and St. Cyr had joined Macdonald. On these occasions the Prussians had rendered very important services; but the moment General Yorke, who commanded these auxiliaries, had been informed of the retreat of Buonaparte, he thought himself authorized, not from any political motives, which he would never have avowed, but from the destitute condition in which he had been left, to conclude a capitulation with the Russians, by which he withdrew his whole forces from the French army (December 29).

That event was of little importance in itself, although it produced a very great sensation in Prussia, and served as a pretext for Buonaparte to demand new levies, without being obliged to acknowledge the whole extent of the losses he had sustained. One of his ministers, Regault d'Angely, had even the effrontery to speak, in his official report, of the *Glorious Retreat of Moscow!* Moreover, a decree of the senate, issued at the commencement of the following year (January 11), placed a new conscription of 350,000 men at the disposal of the government. In order to raise the necessary funds for this new armament, Buonaparte seized the revenues of all the communes in France; their properties were sold to promote his schemes; and he promised to make them ample reimbursement, by assigning to them annuities on the civil list.

Nothing annoyed Buonaparte so much as the incessant resistance and opposition of Pope Pius VII. In the hope of gaining a more easy victory, by bringing that respectable old man nearer his person, he had ordered him to be conveyed to the Palace of Fontainebleau, about the middle of the year 1812. After his return from Moscow, he repaired thither himself, and succeeded in extorting the Pope's consent to a new concordat; on condition, however, that the stipulations should be kept secret, until they were examined by a consistory of cardinals. But Buonaparte took an early opportunity of publishing this new concordat, as a fundamental law of the state—a circumstance which induced Pius VII. to disavow it, and to declare it null and of none effect.

Meantime a new and formidable league was preparing against Buonaparte. After the campaign of 1812, the King of Prussia had demanded, agreeably to the convention of February 24, that Buonaparte should reimburse him for the 93,000,000 which he had advanced in furnishing supplies to the French army, beyond the sum which he owed as his contingent for the war. The refusal of Buonaparte to pay that debt served as a pretext for Frederic William to shake off an alliance so contrary to the true interests of his kingdom. An appeal which he made to the nation excited a general enthusiasm; and as every thing had been for five years preparing in secret, in the twinkling of an eye, the Prussian army, which had been reduced to 42,000 men, was raised to 128,000. This defection of Prussia furnished Buonaparte with a plea for demanding new levies. A decree of the senate (April 3, 1813) ordered him 180,000 additional troops.

The treaty which was signed at Kalisch and Breslau (February 27, 28) laid the foundation of an intimate alliance between Russia and the King of Prussia. Alexander promised to furnish 150,000 men, and Prussia 80,000, exclusive of the troops in garrisons and fortresses. Alexander moreover engaged never to lay down arms until Prussia should be restored to her statistical, financial, and geographical position, conformably to the state of that monarchy, such as it had been before the war of 1806. Within a few days after, these two monarchs had an interview at Breslau, where a more intimate friendship was contracted, which subsisted between them for a long time.

Prince Kutusoff issued a proclamation, dated from Kalisch (March 23, 1813), which announced

to the Germans that the confederation of the Rhine must henceforth be regarded as dissolved. The House of Mecklenburg, without waiting for that annunciation, had already set the first example of abandoning that infamous league. The allies had flattered themselves that the King of Saxony would make common cause with them; but that monarch declared that he would remain faithful to his system. This obstinate perseverance of a respectable prince, whose country abounded with resources, did much injury to the common cause. At a later date, it cost the King of Saxony the half of his estates, without taking into account the duchy of Warsaw, which could never be regarded but as a precarious possession.

The King of Sweden had engaged with Alexander to make a diversion on the rear of Buonaparte, on condition that he would secure him the possession of Norway, or at least the province of that kingdom called the Bishopric of Drontheim. Great Britain was desirous that that arrangement should be made with the consent of the King of Denmark, who was offered a compensation on the side of Holstein, as well as the whole of Swedish Pomerania. Frederic VI. having given an absolute refusal, a treaty between Great Britain and Sweden was concluded at Stockholm (March 3, 1813), by which the latter engaged to employ a body of 30,000 troops on the continent in active service against France. It was agreed that this army should act in concert with the Russian troops, placed, in consequence of other arrangements, under the command of the Prince Royal of Sweden. Great Britain promised to employ every necessary means of procuring Sweden the possession of Norway, without having recourse to force; unless the King of Denmark should refuse to accede to the alliance of the North. She promised to furnish supplies to Sweden, and ceded to her the island of Guadaloupe. After this alliance with England, Sweden entered likewise into a league offensive and defensive with Prussia, by a treaty which was signed at Stockholm (April 22). Frederic William promised to despatch 27,000 troops to join the army which the prince royal commanded in Germany.

Joachim Murat, to whom Buonaparte had intrusted the command of the few troops which he had brought back from Moscow, abandoned his commission, and retired to Naples. Eugene Beauharnais then assumed the command, and arrived with 16,000 men on the Elbe (March 10); but after being joined by the French troops from Pomerania, the Bavarians, the Saxons, and a corps which General Grenier had formed, his army by the end of the month amounted to 87,000 men; extending along the left bank of the river from Dresden to Hamburg. In a short time, the whole disposable force of Buonaparte in Germany was again augmented to 308,000 men.

The Prussian army consisted of 128,000 troops, including garrisons and bodies of reserve; but the three battalions of Blucher, Yorke, and Bulow, who had taken the field, did not amount to more than 51,000 combatants. The main army of the Russians, which, since the death of Kutusoff, had been commanded by Count Wittgenstein, amounted to 38,000 men; although the whole of the Russian forces on the Vistula and the Oder, and between the Oder and the Elbe, amounted to 166,000 men.

The first action, which took place in Germany, was the battle of Luneburg (April 2), where the Russian general Dorenberg obliged general Morand's division, on their route from Pomerania, to lay down their arms.

On the 5th of April, Buonaparte took the command of his army in person; and on the 2nd of May, with 115,000 men, he engaged 169,000 Prussians and Russians, under the command of Wittgenstein. The advantage in that action was on the side of the French. The loss on both sides was equal. The Prussians took 1,000 prisoners, with ten pieces of cannon, without themselves losing one. The scene of this battle, so glorious for the Prussians, was in the neighbourhood of Gross-Gerschen, to which the vanity of Buonaparte has given the name of Lutzen, in commemoration of the famous Gustavus Adolphus. In his bulletins he represented that battle, which was by no means decisive, as a complete victory, because the allies did not renew the combat, and next day commenced their retreat to the right bank of the Rhine, to advance nearer to their reinforcements.

They took up a position at Bautzen. Their numbers there amounted to 96,000 men, who engaged 148,000 French, under the command of Buonaparte (May 21, 1813). The allies had determined not to expose themselves to a defeat, but to terminate every battle the moment they saw it could not turn to their advantage. Within five days after that engagement, to which the French gave the name of the battle of Wurthen, Blucher gained a decided advantage at Haynau over the division of General Maison, and captured the whole of their artillery. An armistice was then concluded between the two parties at Poischwitz.

This measure was at the request of Buonaparte, as it was necessary for him to await the arrival of his reinforcements; especially since he found himself menaced on the north by an invasion of the Swedes. It is probable he would not have taken this step had he penetrated the views of Austria; but Count Metternich had dexterously contrived to conceal these from him, in the several interviews which he had with him at Dresden, so that the sagacity of that great commander was completely at fault. The allies had no wish for an armistice, which could only make them lose time, as their armaments were in a state of readiness; but they consented to it at the request of Austria, who had need of some delay to complete her preparations, although she was at first actuated by a different motive. She had still hopes to avoid the war, by inducing Buonaparte to accept those moderate conditions of peace to which the allies had given their consent by the treaty of June 27, of which we shall have occasion to speak immediately. At the time when the armistice was signed, Count Metternich, who had apprized Buonaparte of these conditions, had already certain information that the two monarchs were not deceived in predicting that they would be refused. All hopes of peace had now vanished; but there still remained another motive, which made the court of Vienna anxious for further delay.

By a convention signed at Dresden (June 30), Buonaparte accepted the mediation of Austria for a peace, either general or continental; and the armistice, which was to expire on the 20th July,

was prolonged to the 10th of August. At the request of Francis I., a sort of congress was opened at Prague. Buonaparte had no wish for peace, as he never supposed that Austria would declare against him. The allies had no wish for it, as they knew well the disposition of that power; while Austria, the only cabinet which had pacific views, had given up all hope of ever bringing Buonaparte to any reasonable terms of accommodation. Such were the auspices under which the congress of Prague was opened. They were discussing the form in which the negotiations were to proceed, when the 10th of August arrived. The ministers of Russia and Prussia then declared that the term of the armistice had expired, and consequently that their diplomatic powers were at an end.

Within two days after, Austria declared war against Buonaparte; and the three monarchs, who were met at Prague, resolved to accompany the main army, which was under the command of Prince Schwartzberg, during the whole campaign.

It will not be improper here to give a summary of the treaties which constituted the sixth coalition, and procured the accession of Austria, so decisive for the cause of the allies. 1. The treaty of Reichenbach (June 14), between Great Britain and Prussia. The former bound herself to pay to the latter power, within six months, £666,666 sterling, for the maintenance of 80,000 troops; and came under the same engagement with regard to the augmentation of Prussia, that Russia had entered into by the treaty of Kalisch. The King of Prussia promised to cede to the Electorate of Hanover a certain portion of territory, including the principality of Hildesheim, and containing a population of between 300,000 and 400,000 souls. 2. The treaty of Reichenbach between Great Britain and Russia (June 15), by which the former promised to pay to the other, before the expiry of the year, £1,333,334 sterling, for the maintenance of 160,000 men. 3. The treaty of Reichenbach, between Austria, Prussia, and Russia (June 27); the first engaged to declare war against Buonaparte, if at the conclusion of the armistice he had not accepted the conditions of peace which they offered him. The following are the proposals to which we have already alluded. Austria, on her own behalf, demanded only the restitution of the Illyrian provinces, and the territory which she had ceded to the duchy of Warsaw. Such were the pledges of her sincere desire for restoring peace to Europe. Prussia was content to obtain the restitution of her part of the same duchy, and that of Dantzic, and the evacuation of the fortresses occupied by the French; thus abandoning all her possessions on the left bank of the Elbe. Moreover, they allowed the kingdom of Westphalia still to remain, and they deprived Buonaparte only of his last usurpations in the north of Germany. By another article of the treaty, it was stipulated, that if these conditions were rejected, and war once begun, they should never make peace but on condition that Austria and Prussia were to be again placed on the footing in which they had been in 1805; that the Confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved; the independence of Holland and Italy secured; and the House of Bourbon restored to the throne of Spain. 4. The treaty of Peterswaldau between Great Britain and Russia (July

6), by which the former undertook to support a German legion of 10,000 men for the service of Russia. 5. A definitive alliance signed at Toplitz (September 9), between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by which these powers were to assist each other with 60,000 men. It was agreed to reconstruct the Austrian monarchy upon the plan approaching as near as possible to that of 1805, to dissolve the Confederation of the Rhine and the kingdom of Westphalia; and to restore the House of Brunswick-Luneburg. 6. The treaty of alliance signed at Toplitz between Austria and Great Britain.

Buonaparte, on his side, likewise acquired an ally at this important crisis. The Danes had already entered into Hamburg with the French, when Marshal Davoust compelled General Tettenborn to evacuate that city (May 30), which he had got possession of in the month of March. An English fleet having appeared off Copenhagen (May 31), and demanded the cession of Norway in favour of Sweden, the King of Denmark concluded a treaty with Buonaparte at Copenhagen, by which the former engaged to declare war against Sweden, Russia, and Prussia, and the latter against Sweden. Immediately after, an army of 12,000 Danes, under the command of Frederic Prince of Hesse, was joined to that of Davoust.

The plan of the campaign for the allies had been settled in the conference held at Trachenberg by the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Prince Royal of Sweden, and the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Great Britain. The forces of the coalition amounted to 264,000 Austrians, 249,000 Russians, 277,000 Prussians, and 24,000 Swedes; but not more than 700,000 men were engaged in the campaign; of which 192,000 were occupied with the sieges of Dantzic, Zamosc, Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin. These 700,000 men were divided as follows:—

The Army of Bohemia, composed of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, under the command of Prince Schwartzberg, amounted to 237,700 men, with an enormous park of artillery.

The Army of the North, composed of Prussians, Russians, and Swedes, under the command of the Prince Royal of Sweden, amounting to 154,000 men, with 387 pieces of cannon.

The Army of Silesia, composed of Prussians and Russians, under the command of Blucher, 95,000 strong, with 356 pieces of cannon.

The Austrian Army of Bavaria, commanded by Prince Reuss, amounting 42,700 men, with 42 pieces of cannon.

The Austrian Army in Italy, under Hiller, 50,000 strong, with 120 pieces of cannon.

The Austrian Army of Reserve, stationed between Vienna and Presburg, under the command of Duke Ferdinand of Wurtemberg, 60,000 strong.

The Russian Army of Reserve in Poland, under the command of Bennigsen, 57,000 strong, with 198 pieces of cannon.

To these forces Buonaparte opposed an army of 462,000 men, including 80,000 who occupied thirteen fortresses; besides the army of Bavaria, which watched the movements of the Prince of Reuss, and 40,000 men which Eugene Beauharnais had in Italy.

Hostilities recommenced immediately after the termination of the armistice; Silesia, Saxony, and

sometimes the frontiers, became the theatre of war. The Prince Royal of Sweden covered Berlin, which was threatened by Marshal Oudinot. The battle of Gross-Beeren (August 23), which was gained by the Prussian General Bulow, saved the capital. In Silesia, Blucher, pressed hard by Buonaparte, had retired as far as Jauer; but the latter, having intelligence of the march of the allies on Dresden, retraced his steps with a part of his army, while Blucher attacked Marshal Macdonald at the river Katsbach, and gained a signal victory (August 26), in which he took 10,000 prisoners, and 103 pieces of cannon. General Puthod, who commanded a detachment of 8,000 men, was obliged to surrender at Plagwitz to Count Langeron (August 29). The army of Bohemia attacked Dresden a few hours after Buonaparte had arrived with his reinforcements. The battle was bloody, and lasted two days (August 26, 27). Thirteen thousand Austrians being cut off on the left wing, were obliged to lay down their arms; the allies retired in good order, leaving 6,000 men killed and wounded on the field of battle, and 26 pieces of cannon in the hands of the French, who had lost 18,000 men by that victory. General Moreau, who had come on the invitation of the Prince Royal of Sweden to take a part in the struggle against France, was mortally wounded.

Before the battle, Vandamme had been detached with 30,000 men to cut off the retreat of the allies. He encountered Count Ostermann Tolstoy, who was at the head of 8,000 Austrians, and repulsed him as far as the valley of Culm. The King of Prussia, who was at Toplitz, apprized the Russian general, that unless he made haste to arrest the march of Vandamme, the latter would succeed in cutting off the Emperor Alexander from his army. The Russians fought the whole day (August 29), with the most heroic determination; Count Ostermann having had his left arm carried off by a shot, the command was taken by Marshal Milloradowich. At length they were reinforced by several Austrian and Russian corps, which the King of Prussia had sent to their assistance, and which enabled them to maintain their position. During the night, Barclay de Tolly had arrived with new reinforcements, and next day (August 30), the famous battle of Culm was fought, which was decided by the arrival of General Kleist on the heights of Nollendorf, lying behind the position of Vandamme. The latter finding himself thus intercepted, a part of his cavalry forced their passage, by cutting their way through a regiment of recruits. Vandamme then surrendered himself prisoner, with 10,000 men and 31 pieces of cannon.

The grand object of Buonaparte was to get possession of Berlin. Ney, at the head of 80,000 men, was charged with the execution of this enterprise. But he sustained a complete rout at Denewitz (September 6), by the Prince Royal of Sweden; and another by Bulow at Tauenzien. The French there lost 20,000 made prisoners, with 80 pieces of cannon and all their baggage. The plan of the allies to withdraw Buonaparte from Dresden, and allure him into the plains of Saxony, where they could unite all their forces against him, succeeded entirely to their wish. He quitted Dresden (October 7), at the head of 125,000 men, with the hope of defeating the enemy in separate armies. But the latter had manœuvred so skillfully, that the

armies of Bohemia, the North, Silesia, and the Russian army of reserve, were ready to effect a junction on a given signal. The plains of Leipsic decided the fate of Buonaparte. His army there amounted to 171,000 combatants. The allies would have had 301,000, namely, 78,000 Austrians, 69,500 Prussians, 136,000 Russians, and 18,000 Swedes, if they had been able to form a union at the commencement of the battle.

Several different engagements had preceded this great battle. On the 16th October, the army of Bohemia alone fought three several actions at Wachau, Connewitz, and Lindenau. None of these were productive of any decisive result; but Blucher had encountered Marshal Marmont on the same day, and defeated him at Mockern. On the following day, there were some engagements, but without any decisive result; they were fought by the three armies of Sweden, Blucher, and Bennigsen, who were on their march to the field of battle at Leipsic. Buonaparte then began to be aware of the danger of his position. For the first time he foresaw the possibility of a defeat, and sent General Bertrand to Weissenfels to secure the bridge over the Saal. On the 18th, at day-break, he made proposals of an armistice and peace, through the Austrian General Meerfeld, who had fallen into his hands; but both the one and the other were disregarded. This was the first day of the battle of Leipsic; the French army resisted with great heroism, and it was not till after the arrival of Blucher and the army of Sweden, that they were compelled to abandon part of their position, and to retire to the very gates of Leipsic. Several bodies of Saxons and Wurtembergers passed over on that day to the ranks of the allies. During the night, the French army effected their retreat by Leipsic to Weissenfels. Macdonald and Poniatowski had orders to defend the city. It was attacked by the allies next day. The French made a vigorous resistance. At ten o'clock in the morning, Buonaparte escaped among the fugitives, the cannon, and the equipage which encumbered the gate of Altranstadt. The Elster, which runs by the city, had only one bridge, which they caused to be blown up as soon as Buonaparte had passed. Thus Macdonald and Poniatowski found themselves fairly enclosed with their divisions. The latter was drowned in attempting to swim across the Elster. Macdonald was made prisoner, as well as the King of Saxony, who had remained at Leipsic. Buonaparte, on these two days, lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 70,000 men, and 300 pieces of cannon. The allies also purchased the victory dearly.

Buonaparte directed his flight with all haste towards Mayence, closely pursued by the Cossacs, who made a great many prisoners, besides a rich booty in cannon and baggage. When he arrived at Hanau, he found his passage intercepted by an enemy which he did not expect. Since the month of August, a negotiation had been set on foot with the King of Bavaria, for inducing him to abandon the cause of Buonaparte. To this measure he at length agreed, by a convention, which was signed at Ried (October 8), which secured to Bavaria the possession of absolute and independent sovereignty, and complete indemnity for the restitutions which she was, in that case, to make to Austria.

Immediately after the signing the convention at Ried, the Bavarian General Wrede, at the head of a body of between 45,000 and 50,000 Austrians and Bavarians, began his march by Neuburg, Anspach, and Wurtzburg; and after taking this latter city, proceeded to Hansau, of which he took possession (October 24) with 36,000 or 40,000 men. He encountered the French, who in their retreat had arrived at Gelnhausen; there a battle took place, which lasted for several successive days. Buonaparte lost 25,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; but, with the 35,000 that were left, he forced a passage and retired to the left bank of the Rhine. Marshal St. Cyr, whom Buonaparte had left at Dresden, saw himself obliged to capitulate with 27,000 men. Dantzic surrendered with 20,000 men, and Torgau with 10,000.

In the month of May, Eugene Beauharnais had taken the command of the army of Italy, which occupied the Illyrian provinces. But he was obliged to return beyond the Adige, before General Hiller, who, having made himself master of the Tyrol, was threatening to cut off his retreat. This campaign, nevertheless, did honour to the French general.

After the battle of Leipsic, the Prince Royal of Sweden marched against Davoust and the Danes, the former of whom was blocked up in Hamburg, and the Danes had retired into Sleswick. An armistice was granted them, from which however Gluckstadt and Fredericstort were excepted, as they had capitulated during the cessation of hostilities. Frederic VI. concluded a peace at Kiel in all haste (January 14, 1814); and Denmark entered into the alliance against Buonaparte. We shall have occasion to speak afterwards of the mutual cessations that were made by this treaty. On the same day Denmark signed a peace with Great Britain. She promised to furnish 10,000 men to take the field against Buonaparte, and Great Britain engaged to pay them £33,333 per month. Peace was at the same time established between Denmark and Russia, by the treaty of Hanover (February 8); and between Denmark and Prussia by that of Berlin (August 25).

Meantime Buonaparte had recalled Marshal Soult from Spain with a part of his troops. Lord Wellington, the Generalissimo of the Spanish armies, defeated Jourdan at Vittoria (June 21, 1813), where 15,000 French were left on the field of battle, and 3,000 made prisoners. Jourdan lost the whole of his artillery. Joseph Buonaparte then finally abandoned the throne of Spain. The activity of Marshal Suchet defeated an expedition by sea, undertaken by Sir John Murray against Tarragona. Lord Wellington took St. Sebastian and Pampeluna (August 31), and compelled the French army to pass the Bidassoa, and to retire on Bayonne. Soult again took the command, and by means of reinforcements increased the army to 40,000 men.

In Germany, the Confederation of the Rhine and the kingdom of Westphalia had both been dissolved. The Electors of Hanover and Hesse, the Dukes of Brunswick and Oldenburg, were restored to the possession of their patrimonies, and joined the alliance. The King of Wirtemberg and the Elector of Baden made their peace with the allies, by means of special treaties. All the princes of the Rhenish Confederation entered into the

Grand League, except the King of Saxony, the Grand Duke of Frankfort, and the Princes of Isenburg and Leyen, who were excluded from it, and their territories treated as conquered provinces.

On his return to Paris, Buonaparte announced his intention of continuing the war, and caused the senate to grant him a new conscription of 300,000 men. Nevertheless he appeared willing to bring to a conclusion the negotiations which the allies on the continent had set on foot. They had departed, however, from the terms agreed on at Toplitz, according to which the Rhine was to form the frontier of France, and the kingdom of Holland was to be given to a brother of Buonaparte; but the chicanery of Napoleon, and the warlike preparations which he had ordered, gave England an opportunity of changing the sentiments of these monarchs, and they determined to adopt the scheme which Mr. Pitt had contrived in 1805.

The decree of the senate, of November 18, 1813, completed the immense number of 1,260,000 men; all of whom, independently of the existing army, had been sacrificed to the restless ambition of Buonaparte. The forces with which the allies invaded France were divided into three armies.

The *Army of Bohemia*, commanded by Prince Schwartzenberg, and composed of 261,000 men, Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and Germans, was destined to enter France by way of Switzerland.

The *Army of Silesia*, under the command of Blucher, consisting of 137,000 men, Prussians, Russians, and Germans, were to pass the Rhine near Mayence.

The *Army of the North*, composed of 174,000 Prussians, Russians, Germans, Swedes, Dutch, and English, were to occupy Holland and the Netherlands. They were to be commanded by the Prince Royal of Sweden, and, in his absence, by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

Independently of these three armies, the allies had an army of reserve of 235,000 men, and the Austrians had an army of 80,000 men in Italy. About the end of December, 1813, and the beginning of the year 1814, the two first armies entered France. We can only advert to the principal events of that short campaign. After some actions of minor importance, Blucher attacked Buonaparte at Rothiere with a superior force, and in spite of the vigorous resistance which he met with, he gained a complete victory (February 1). Thirteen days afterwards, Buonaparte returned him the compliment at Etoges or Vauchamp. Being enclosed by Grouchy, Blucher had to cut his way at the point of the bayonet, and lost 6,000 men.

The allies, after having received various checks, combined their two armies at Troyes (February 21); but Prince Schwartzenberg, not wishing to give battle in that position, began to retreat. Blucher then separated from him to continue on the defensive, after being reinforced, however, by the divisions of Bulow and Winzingerode, which had arrived from Belgium; their junction took place at Soissons (March 3). Blucher took up a position behind the Aisne. Buonaparte having passed that river, defeated two bodies of Russians, under Woronzoff and Saken, at Craone (March 7), and attacked Blucher at Laon (March 10). He was there totally defeated; and that victory induced Schwartz-

zenberg to abandon the defensive, and march on Paris. He engaged Buonaparte at Arcis-sur-Aube, where the battle, although bloody, was not decisive. They were in expectation of seeing the engagement renewed next day, when Buonaparte suddenly resolved to march to St. Dizier, to cut off the allies from their communication with the Rhine, as well as to draw reinforcements from the garrisons of Lorraine and Alsace, and thus transfer the theatre of war to Germany.

But before bringing the sketch of this campaign to a close, it will be necessary to take notice of the Congress of Châtillon, which was opened on the 5th of February, and which was a continuation of the negotiations that had taken place in the end of 1813. The allies consented to allow Buonaparte to retain the crown of France, but the limits of that kingdom were to be reduced to what they had been in 1792. Buonaparte at first seemed willing to treat on these terms, but his real object was to gain time. Whenever his troops had gained any advantage he immediately heightened his tone; and in the course of six weeks the allies broke off the conference. During the sitting of the Congress of Châtillon, Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia, signed the famous Quadruple Alliance at Chaumont (March 1), which forms the basis of the public rights of Europe at the present time. Each of the allies engaged to maintain an army of 150,000 men constantly in the field against the common enemy. Great Britain promised to furnish to the three other powers a subsidy of £5,000,000 sterling for the year 1814; in such a way, however, that she was only to pay them proportionally until the end of the month in which the peace should be concluded, adding to these two months for the return of the Austrian and Prussian troops, and four for those of the Russians. The main object of this alliance was the re-establishment of an equilibrium of power, based upon the following arrangements:—Germany to be composed of sovereign princes united by a federal bond:—The Confederation of Switzerland to be restored to its ancient limits and its former independence:—Italy to be divided into Independent States, lying between the Austrian possessions in that peninsula and France:—Holland to be a free and Independent State, under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange, with an increase of territory.

Blucher had made himself master of Chalons and Châteaueu Thierry, when the allies learned, by an intercepted letter, what were the plans of Buonaparte. In order to persuade him that they had taken the alarm at his march, and were resolved to follow him, they sent Count Winzingerode after him at the head of a body of 8,000 cavalry, which he might easily mistake for the vanguard of the allies. By this manoeuvre he was deceived, and continued his route eastwards while the allies directed their march on Paris. Schwartzberg attacked and beat the two divisions of Marmont and Mortier, at Soude St. Croix (March 25), while the army of Silesia compelled Puthod and Amev to surrender near Lafère Champenoise. This double encounter cost the French 5,000 killed, 10,000 prisoners, and eighty pieces of cannon. Marmont and Mortier retreated to Paris, but they were defeated at Montmartre and Belleville (March 30). The heights, which on that side overlook Paris, were taken by the allies, who purchased that vic-

tory by the loss of 9,000 men. A capitulation for Paris was signed the same night.

The entrance of the allies into the capital of France took place next day. The wishes of the people were so loudly and unequivocally expressed, that the Emperor Alexander did not hesitate to declare, in his own name, and in the names of his allies, that they could treat no more with Napoleon, or with any of his family. He invited the senate to establish a provisional government,—a measure which was necessary, as the Count D'Artois, who was appointed the king's lieutenant-general, had not yet arrived. He likewise invited that body to prepare a constitution, that is to say, to submit their counsel and advice to the king, as to the modifications to be made in the government; for the French constitution, which is based on the Salic law, has been in existence for centuries. It is engraven on the hearts of the French nation: and, should circumstances require certain modifications in its forms, these cannot emanate but from the free will of the king. The Emperor Alexander made that proposal to the senate, as being the only order of the state then in existence; but that monarch did not know that the senate was the last authority to which the public opinion would have granted any influence, as to the settlement of the condition of France. The voice of the people was expressed through a purer channel; by the General Council of the Department of the Seine, and by the Municipal Council of Paris, who demanded the return of Louis XVIII., their legitimate sovereign (April 1). In pronouncing the deposition of Buonaparte next day, the senate exercised a right which did not belong to them. As the creatures and accomplices of Buonaparte, that body ought to have been banished and annihilated with him.

It was on the seventh day of his march that the *Emperor of the French* discovered his error. He then returned in all haste towards Fontainebleau. After several unsuccessful attempts, either to regain his power or to transmit it to his son, he was obliged to sign his abdication (April 10). Next day Austria, Prussia, and Russia, drew up a convention with his delegates, Ney, Macdonald, and Calincourt, by which they secured him the possession of the Island of Elba, with full sovereignty; and the States of Parma for his wife and son. Great Britain acceded to that arrangement, to which the King of France yet remained a stranger. Buonaparte soon after embarked at St. Raphean, to repair to his place of exile.

The narrow space to which we must confine our observations, obliges us to pass in silence over the military events which took place in Holland and Belgium, and on the side of Lyons. But we must say a word or two on the war in the Pyrenees and in Italy. Anticipating the resolutions of the allied sovereigns, Lord Wellington, with whom the Duke D'Angouleme then was, invited the French, by a proclamation dated January 27th, to replace Louis on the throne. Within a month after, he defeated the army of Soult at Orthes (February 27), and compelled that General to retire to Tarbes. To satisfy the wishes of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, Marshal Beresford conducted the Duke D'Angouleme to that place, which was the first city in France that proclaimed Louis XVIII. (March 13). The allies had already entered Paris,

and Buonaparte had abdicated his crown, when Lord Wellington, who was ignorant of these events, fought the last battle of this campaign with Soult at Toulouse (April 10). In that sanguinary but fruitless engagement, the French were defeated.

In Italy, an event not a little extraordinary had happened. Joachim Murat had turned his back on his benefactor, who had raised him from the dust to encircle his brow with a diadem. From the commencement of the year 1813, he had endeavoured to have his title acknowledged by the House of Austria. After the battle of Leipsic, he abandoned the continental system, from a wish to please England, and throw open the ports of his kingdom to all sorts of merchandise. He entered into a negotiation with the courts of London and Vienna, with a view to be admitted into the grand alliance; at the same time, he set on foot an army of 34,000 men, who entered Rome, and directed their march towards Ancona. Austria concluded an alliance with him (January 11, 1814), which guaranteed to him the possession of the kingdom of Naples, with the reservation of an indemnity for the King of Sicily. Immediately after, Murat announced the change in his political conduct. He blockaded the citadel of Ancona, took possession of Florence, where his sister-in-law, the grand duchess, escaped to save her life, and pushed on as far as Modena. Lord Bentinck, who commanded the British forces in Sicily, then concluded an armistice with Murat. Eugene Beauharnais, who had supposed that the Neapolitan army would come to his succour, was at length undeceived, and obliged to retreat on the Mincio; but he fought a battle with Field-Marshal Bellegarde, who commanded the Austrians in the room of Hiller (February 8). Fouché, who was at Lucca as commissary-general of Buonaparte, concluded a convention with the Neapolitans, in virtue of which Tuscany was restored to them. The viceroy, seeing himself pressed on the one hand by the Austrians, and on the other by the Neapolitans, and having received intelligence of the entrance of the allies into Paris, negotiated an armistice, which was signed at Schiarino Rizzino (April 16). A few days after, his friends made an attempt to have him proclaimed King of Italy by the people of Milan. But the hatred which the Italians had for the French prevailed over their attachment to the viceroy, who wisely adopted the resolution of surrendering all the places in the kingdom of Italy to the Austrian troops, and retired with his family to Germany.

The senate of France had, with all expedition, completed and published a pretended constitution (April 6), in which two things especially shocked the opinion of the public, viz., the care which the authors of that production had taken to secure the continuance of their own authority with the revenues thereto attached, and the violation of the first principle of monarchy of which they had been guilty, by arrogating to themselves the right of conferring the crown of France on him to whom it belonged by birth-right, and who, far from renouncing it, had taken care to secure his rights by formal protestations. Within six days after, the Count D'Artois, the king's lieutenant-general, arrived in Paris, and concluded a convention with the allies (April 23), as a prelude to a general peace. They engaged to evacuate the territory of

France, and they settled the terms on which the places possessed by the French troops, not within their own territories, were to be delivered up. The King of France had landed at Calais (April 25), and was slowly approaching his capital. A declaration, which he published at St. Ouen (May 2), annulled the constitution of the senate, and promised the nation a charter, the principles of which were announced in that same declaration. Next day Louis XVIII. made his solemn entry into Paris.

The first care of Louis was to conclude peace with the allies. A military convention was first signed (May 28), regulating different points regarding the maintenance and march of the troops, hospitals, magazines, &c.; and immediately treaties of peace were concluded with the four grand powers (May 30), to which the others acceded. France was to return to her ancient limits of January 1, 1792, with an augmentation of territory on the north side. She likewise retained Avignon and the county of Venaisin. Louis XVIII. adhered to the principles of the alliance of Chaumont, as to the political system to be established in Europe. England retained Malta, but surrendered up the French colonies, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France, with their dependencies. Guiana, which had been taken from Portugal, was restored. Certain secret articles pointed out the manner in which the allied powers were to dispose of the territories surrendered by France; and annulled the endowments and donations made by Buonaparte in these territories. Certain special articles were added with regard to Prussia, which annulled the peace of Tilsit and all its consequences.

In the month of June, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and Prince Metternich, repaired to London, where they concluded a new quadruple alliance, by which the four contracting powers engaged to keep on foot an army of 75,000 men each, until the restoration of order in Europe. The sovereigns agreed also, during their stay in London, that Belgium should be united to Holland, with which it was to form one and the same state.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, Louis XVIII. published the charter or constitution which he granted to the nation. This was not a constitution in the sense which had been attached to that word since the year 1789; that is to say, a body of laws or regulations, fully and finally settling the prerogative of the king, and the powers of the different authorities, as well as the rights and privileges of the citizens. It was a declaration by which the king, in conformity with the principles which had prevailed for a century, modified the royal power in certain respects, and promised never to exercise it in future except according to the established forms. Thus the royal authority, which Louis XVIII. derived from his ancestors, and which was founded on the ancient order of succession, remained inviolate and entire in all its branches, which have undergone no modification. Neither had that charter aught in common with those metaphysical conventions, which rebellious subjects have sometimes compelled their captive or intimidated sovereigns to subscribe. It was an emanation of the royal authority; a free spontaneous act. The legitimacy of its origin, which is

verified by the very date it bears, guaranteed its duration and its inviolability.

The peace of Paris gave rise to a multitude of treaties between the different powers of Europe. Of these we can only notice a small number, which we shall do when we come to speak of the history of these countries. Meantime, we must confine our remarks to general affairs, and more particularly to those in which France is concerned.

An article in the treaty of Paris, of May 30th, had stipulated that within the space of two months the plenipotentiaries of all the powers who had taken part in the late events, France included, should meet in a general congress at Vienna, to concert the necessary arrangements for completing the conditions and regulations of the treaty. The reconstruction of Germany into a body politic; the replacing of Prussia and Austria on a footing analogous to the power which they had enjoyed in 1806 and 1805; the fate of Poland; the establishment of an independent state between France and Germany; the neutrality of Switzerland; the organization of Italy, which had been completely subverted by Buonaparte; the regulating of the indemnities which might be claimed by the different states who had taken a part in the war; and the settling of the territorial exchanges to which these claims might give rise, were the important objects about which the plenipotentiaries were necessarily to be employed. To these England added one subject which might appear foreign to the business of that congress, viz., the question as to the abolition of negro slavery; another was the most unexpected event of Napoleon's return, which compelled the sovereigns of Europe again to take arms, and to conquer France a second time.

Owing to different causes, the opening of the congress did not take place till towards the end of the year. We may mention, with regard to the form of the congress, that although it was composed of the plenipotentiaries of all the allies, great and small, they never held any general session. The affairs of Germany were kept distinct from those of the rest of Europe; the latter, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of the five great powers, namely, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia; and the other of the plenipotentiaries of the remaining eight powers; Spain, Portugal, and Sweden being added to the first five. The questions relating to Germany were discussed at first by Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wurtemberg; although, afterwards, all the sovereigns of Germany were called into these deliberations. There were certain affairs which were prepared and discussed by special commissions.

The subject which occasioned the greatest difficulty, and which was even on the point of disturbing the unanimity of the cabinets, was the reconstruction of the Prussian monarchy. Prussia was to be restored to all that she had possessed in 1805, except the principalities of Franconia, which were in the possession of Bavaria; the district of Bialystock, which was annexed to Russia; and the grand duchy of Posnania, which Alexander had declared his intention of comprehending in the kingdom of Poland, which he proposed to restore. Frederic William promised to cede to Hanover a territory inhabited by between 300,000 and 400,000 souls. For these losses he claimed an indemnity;

and as Saxony was the only kingdom which could offer him compensation, Great Britain, Russia, and Austria had consented to an acquisition which seemed to be justified by the conduct of the King of Saxony, who in 1807 had shared the spoils of Prussia, and in 1813 had made common cause with Buonaparte. The Emperor Alexander thus put Prussia in possession of Saxony, which her troops had till then occupied. The manner, however, in which public opinion in England had expressed itself against the designs of Prussia, and the insinuations of the French minister at Vienna, induced Austria and the cabinet of London to oppose the execution of this plan, not only by interesting themselves for the preservation of Saxony, but by disputing the claims advanced by Prussia, and refusing to allow the duchy of Warsaw to fall entirely into the hands of Russia. The Emperor Alexander, who concurred entirely with Prussia, supported it with all his efforts. Being apprised, however, that Austria, France, and Great Britain had just concluded an alliance or agreement which appeared to have some reference to the fate of Saxony, and wishing to remove every ground of misunderstanding, he offered to augment the portion of Prussia on the side of Poland, and advised her to be content with the moiety of Saxony which was offered her, and to accept the provinces beyond the Rhine, which were also destined for her.

The five powers having come to an agreement on these points (February 12), Frederic Augustus was invited to come to the neighbourhood of Vienna. Ever since the battle of Leipsic, that prince had remained in a kind of captivity at Frederiesfeldt near Berlin. He accepted the invitation and repaired to Vienna, but he refused to consent to the cessions which they demanded of him. His obstinacy induced the five great powers to go to greater excess; they ordained that, until the king should have come to a determination, Prussia should remain in possession of the whole of Saxony. Frederic Augustus was obliged to yield to the course of events, and ratified a treaty which was signed at Vienna (May 18). That part of his kingdom which was ceded to Prussia was named the duchy of Saxony.

The organization of Germany into a confederacy, to be composed of sovereign states, was, next to the settlement of Prussia, the object which occasioned the greatest embarrassment. But as France and Russia took no direct part in it, and as for that reason it can scarcely be said to belong to the class of general affairs, we shall pass it over in silence. The same must be done with regard to all the negotiations concerning Switzerland and Italy, of which we shall speak elsewhere.

Great Britain had introduced the question as to negro slavery, of which, in the name of humanity and religion, she demanded the entire abolition, by a decree of all Europe. Denmark had prohibited that traffic long before England. Neither Austria, Russia, Prussia, nor Sweden, had any motive for favouring it; but it was not the case with Portugal, Spain, and France, who referred, with reason, to the example of England herself, for resisting the introduction of any sudden change which would be pernicious to the state of their colonies, and might ruin the fortune of their subjects. These powers readily agreed to combine with England for the abolition of the trade; but

they wished that it should be left to each of them to fix the term on which they could do so to the most advantage. This question was made the subject of discussion in the conferences between the eight powers at Vienna. Lord Castlereagh demanded, in the name of the British government, that all the powers should announce their adhesion to the general principle of the abolition of the slave trade, and their wish to carry that measure into effect with the shortest possible delay. This proposition was unanimously adopted; but the other proposal which he made, to inquire into the possibility of an immediate abolition, or at least, into the period when each of the powers might be able to fix its ultimate abolition; and a third, by which he wished to obtain an immediate partial abolition of that traffic, met with the most decided resistance on the part of the three states who had foreign colonies. As the four other powers had no right to interfere in the internal legislation of these states, the declaration which the congress published (February 8) proclaimed the principle recognised by them all, viz., that the determination of the period when the trade was to cease generally should be left to the negotiations of the contracting powers.

Europe was in the enjoyment of apparent tranquillity, when Buonaparte quitted Elba, landed with 1,000 adventurers on the shores of France (March 1), invited his former friends to join him, and deceiving the inhabitants by pretending to be supported by Austria, marched towards Paris, which he entered within twenty days after his landing. The king and the royal family were again obliged to retire to Lille. When Louis arrived in that city, he signed an ordonnance for disbanding the army; but the greater part of the troops had already sworn allegiance to the usurper. Finding himself insecure at Lille, the king retired to Ghent (March 30). Buonaparte published a new constitution (April 22), under the title of *The Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire*. One of the articles which it contained, pronounced the perpetual banishment of the Bourbons. In order to flatter the partisans of the sovereign people, this act was submitted for their acceptance, and Buonaparte summoned an assembly of extraordinary deputies, to meet in the Champ de Mai. He likewise summoned a chamber of the representatives, or legislative body. The meeting of the Champ de Mai was held; and two days after, a chamber of peers, created by Buonaparte, and a chamber of the representatives of the nation, opened their sessions.

So soon as the news of the landing of Buonaparte in France was received at Vienna, the eight contracting powers published a declaration, importing, that as Buonaparte had thus broken the convention which had placed him in the island of Elba, he had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended, and had thus forfeited all relations, civil and social. The allied sovereigns refused to receive the letters by which he announced to them that he had again taken possession of the throne of France. Being of opinion that the time was come for executing the engagements they had contracted at Chaumont, the four powers who had participated in that treaty renewed their engagements by new treaties of alliance (March 23). They promised to combine all

their forces for maintaining the treaty of Paris of May 30th, 1814, and to act on foot, each of them, an army of 180,000 men. By an additional convention, Great Britain undertook to pay to the three others subsidies to the amount of £5,000,000 sterling *per annum*. All the princes of the Germanic Confederation,—Portugal, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Denmark, acceded to this alliance; and Great Britain granted subsidies to them all, proportioned to the forces which they might send into the field. Of all the powers having plenipotentiaries at Vienna, Spain and Sweden only declined entering into this alliance. The King of Spain refused his accession, as being contrary to his dignity; he would have had no objections to have become a principal party, and he co-operated as such in the war. As for Sweden, she was too much occupied with the conquest of Norway to take any part in the deliverance of France.

There was still another monarch who had not joined the alliance of Vienna, and that was Joachim Murat. The King of France had refused to acknowledge him as King of Naples, and Lord Castlereagh had declared at Vienna that Great Britain could not treat with Murat, as he had not fulfilled his engagements; and, therefore, that it depended on the congress to decide as to the fate of the kingdom of Naples. These declarations induced Murat to take arms; nevertheless, he continued to dissemble, until he learned that Buonaparte had arrived at Lyons. Then it was that he threw off the mask. He marched at the head of his army towards the Po, and issued a proclamation (March 30), by which he proclaimed liberty to all the inhabitants of Italy. The Austrian army in that peninsula immediately put themselves in motion to oppose him. Being defeated at Tolentino by General Bianchi (May 2), he retreated first to Naples, and, after a short stay there, he took refuge in France. The government of Ferdinand IV. was again restored.

Meantime, as the partisans of Buonaparte, and the revolutionists everywhere, were at great pains to propagate and cherish doubts as to the determination of the allied sovereigns to follow up the act of the 13th of March, which had been adopted at a time when it was hoped that France would have no more need of foreign aid; the allied sovereigns deemed it necessary to make known the expression of their principles by a solemn act; to which they gave the form of a *process verbal*, or edict, signed by the plenipotentiaries of the eight powers. The publication of that act was equivalent to a declaration of war against Buonaparte. It opened the eyes of those credulous followers on whom the usurper had till then imposed the belief that Austria and Russia were on friendly terms with him.

All the negotiations of the Congress of Vienna being terminated by the signing of the Act of the Germanic Confederation, which took place on June 8th, the plenipotentiaries of the eight contracting powers next day signed the *Act of Congress*, which was a recapitulation or abstract of all their preceding regulations, either by particular treaties or by declarations and edicts (or protocols, as they are sometimes called at Vienna), relative to Poland, the territorial arrangements in Germany, the Germanic Confederation, the kingdom of the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal,

the navigation of rivers, the rank of diplomatic agents, and the form of accessions and ratifications of the act itself. Thus did the most august assembly which had ever taken place terminate its labours.

An army of 1,365,000 men was preparing to invade France, but the struggle against Buonaparte was decided by about 200,000; and not more than 500,000 foreigners set foot on the soil of France. The allies had formed four armies, viz.

The Army of the Netherlands, commanded by Lord Wellington, consisting of 71,000 English, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, with the troops of the Netherlands and Nassau.

The Army of the Lower Rhine, consisting of 140,000 Prussians, under the command of Blucher.

The Army of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Schwartzberg, and consisting of 130,000 Austrian and 124,000 German troops.

The Army of the Middle Rhine, 168,000 strong, under the command of Barclay de Tolly. They were to be stationed between the two preceding armies, but they were unable to arrive in time at the scene of action, and the campaign was decided by the first two armies alone.

The forces of Buonaparte amounted to 213,000 men, exclusive of 147,000 of the national guard to be employed in garrison. He had divided them into eight armies. That of the north, which he commanded himself, consisted of 108,000 men.

Buonaparte opened the campaign on the 15th June, by detaching a second corps across the Sambre, to attack the Prussian General Zieten, who was obliged to yield to the superior strength of the enemy, and retire towards Fleurus. Next day the Duke of Brunswick, who had left Brussels at the head of 12,000 men to support the Prussians, was killed at Quatre Bras, although Marshal Ney, who commanded the French, sustained a considerable loss; on the same day Marshal Blucher was defeated at Ligny, but he retired in the greatest order to Brie. Buonaparte from that moment resolved to attack Wellington, who gave him battle at Waterloo, or Mont St. Jean. The combat was continued, with various success, from morning till four o'clock, when the Prussians, consisting of General Bulow's division, and commanded by Blucher in person, approached the field of battle, and fell suddenly on the right wing of the French, while Buonaparte supposed that the whole Prussian army was engaged with Grouchy, whom he had sent against them with a detachment of 40,000 men. On the first appearance of the Prussians, Buonaparte supposed that it was General Grouchy, who, after having defeated the Prussians, was marching to the support of his right wing. The fact is, that General Thielmans having been attacked by Grouchy near Wavre, Blucher had sent him word to defend himself in the best way he could, and did not allow himself to be diverted from his original plan of falling upon the right wing of Buonaparte. When Buonaparte at length discovered his error, he lost all resolution. His army were panic struck, and fled in all directions. He was himself nearly taken prisoner, having escaped with great difficulty. The Germans have given this battle the name of *Belle Alliance*, from the house where Blucher and Wellington met after the action. Of 120,000 French, 60,000 were either taken or killed in the two days of the 16th

and 18th June 1815; 64,000 English, and 50,000 Prussians were engaged in the battle. The English lost 14,000 men on the 18th, and the Prussians 33,000 in the two engagements of the 16th and 18th.

Buonaparte made his escape to Paris, but the Chamber of Representatives, composed of the partisans of the revolution of 1789, and of republicans who had no wish to promote the interest of Buonaparte, except as an instrument for the execution of their own plans, determined to take advantage of the contempt into which he had fallen to get rid of his presence. They required him to give in his demission (June 22), and he abdicated in favour of his son. The Chambers appointed a government commission, at the head of which they placed Fouché, who sent deputies to Heidelberg, where the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns then were, with a commission to treat with them on the basis of the national independence, and the inviolability of the soil of France. But as there was no mention made in these propositions about the restoration of the king, the allies refused to treat until Buonaparte should first be delivered up to them.

Buonaparte had demanded of Wellington and Blucher passports for quitting France; and on being refused, the government commission conveyed him to Rochefort, where he was to embark on board a frigate and go to America. But Captain Maitland, who was cruising off that port with an English vessel, prevented him from leaving the place unless he would surrender to the English, on which condition he promised to guarantee his life. The danger becoming every day more pressing, he at length saw himself compelled to submit. The Bellerophon, with Buonaparte on board, arrived in Torbay (July 24), but the English government would not permit the general to set foot on land. By a convention signed by the allies at Paris (August 2), England took upon herself the charge of keeping guard over him at St. Helena. He was accordingly transported to that island, where he remained till his death, which happened May 5th 1821.

After the battle of the 18th June, Wellington and Blucher marched immediately to Paris, as did also the army of Schwartzberg by way of Nancy. Davoust had joined the fugitives; and as Grouchy had had the good fortune to save his division, they were enabled to form a new army of 60,000 men, which made some attempts to defend Paris. Several engagements took place at Sevres and Issy; after which Marshal Davoust announced to the two field-marsals that Paris was on the point of surrendering. A capitulation was signed at St. Cloud (July 3), and the French army retired behind the Loire.

The allies occupied Paris on the 7th July, and Louis XVIII. entered on the following day. Within two days after the allied sovereigns arrived. An ordinance of 24th July declared twenty-nine individuals, named in 1814, unworthy of their country, as having sat in the chamber of Buonaparte, and sworn the banishment of the Bourbons. Nineteen persons accused of having betrayed the king before the 23rd March, were remitted to the tribunals; thirty-eight other individuals were ordered to quit Paris. These latter were in general relapsed regicides, that is, persons who, after having

obtained pardon in 1814, had, in 1815, signed the banishment of the Bourbons; for the king never broke his word of honour given to the primary regicides, to leave them to the remonstrances of their own conscience. Some months after (January 12, 1816), the ordonnance of July 24th was changed into a law; with this modification, that the relapsed regicides were to be exiled from the soil of France. Of the individuals arraigned before the tribunals, two only were executed, Marshal Ney and Colonel Labedoyère; a third (Lavalette) was saved by the courage of his wife. The clemency of the king threw a veil over all other crimes.

The army of the Loire submitted to the king; but the war continued, nevertheless, for some time on the frontiers of France, as it was a part of the plan of the allies to occupy all the fortresses; and the greater part of the commandants refused to receive them. The allies were at length convinced, that, in order to secure the tranquillity of France, it was necessary to take more vigorous measures than they had done in 1814; but it was not until the month of September that their plan was sufficiently matured to enable them to open negotiations with France. They had many difficulties to encounter; and the treaty between France and the allies was not signed until the 20th November. According to that treaty, France made several territorial cessions to the Netherlands, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, and the king of Sardinia.

It was agreed, that France should pay to the allies a pecuniary indemnity of 700,000,000 of francs; and that 150,000 of the allied troops should occupy certain places in France for five years; and that they should be paid and maintained by France. By an additional article, they engaged reciprocally to concert measures for obtaining the entire and final abolition of the slave trade.

The same day, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, concluded an alliance for the following purposes:—1. The inaintenance of the treaties and conventions which had just been concluded: And, 2. The perpetual exclusion of Napoleon Buonaparte and his family from the sovereignty of France; the maintenance of tranquillity in that country; and the suppression of revolutionary principles, so that they might never again distract France, or threaten the repose of Europe. For this twofold object, the allies agreed to furnish their contingents as determined by the alliance of Chaumont; finally, they agreed to have another personal conference in the course of the year 1818.

Prior to this quadruple alliance, which, by securing the maintenance of the Bourbon dynasty on the throne of France, forms one of the bases of the new political system of Europe, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, signed at Paris (September 26), an Act, known by the name of the *Holy Alliance*, which forms the second basis of the same system. The allied sovereigns thereby declared their firm determination to take no other rule for their conduct than the precepts of the Christian religion. They promised to continue in the indissoluble bonds of brotherly union, and to be ready on all occasions, and in all places, to succour and assist each other—to consider themselves but as members of the same

Christian nation, and as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the same family; and finally, to receive into the same alliance all other powers who were willing to profess the same principles which had dictated that act. All the Christian powers in Europe acceded to the treaties and conventions of the 20th November 1815, except Sweden, who had taken no share in the war. They all entered into the Holy Alliance, except the King of Great Britain, who, while he fully sanctioned the principles set forth in that Act, was prevented from signing it, because, according to the constitutional custom of England, the sovereign signs nothing without the countersigning of a responsible minister.

Here it will be necessary briefly to point out the more important events which happened since 1811 in the other European states, and the changes which were produced in others by the congress of Vienna.

Portugal seemed destined to be nothing more in future than a dependency of Brazil, in a political point of view, as she already was of England with respect to agriculture, industry, and commerce. The latter power attached so great an importance to the abolition of the slave trade, that, by a treaty signed during the conferences at Vienna, she had purchased the effective co-operation of Portugal in this measure, by giving up all the advantages which she had reserved to herself by the treaty of Rio Janeiro of February 19, 1810, which she consented to annul; nevertheless, Portugal only prohibited her subjects conditionally from carrying on the slave trade in that part of Africa lying to the north of the equator.

In Spain, the extraordinary Cortes then assembled at Cadiz, after having published a decree, January 1, 1811, importing that they could make no treaty with France until the king enjoyed full liberty, and that he could not be regarded as at liberty until he had taken the constitutional oath, finished the work which they pretended had been intrusted to their hands. Their constitution, which was founded on the principle of the sovereignty of the people, intrusted the legislative power to a popular assembly, and the execution of the laws to a functionary without influence or authority, although decorated with the title of a king, was published on the 18th of March 1812. Contrary to all history, that production of revolutionary fanaticism was announced to the world as the genuine ancient constitution of Spain. The Cortes terminated their session on the 20th September 1813. The new or ordinary Cortes, convened in the constitutional form, at the rate of one deputy for every 70,000 inhabitants, without distinction of fortune or estate, transferred their sitting to Madrid towards the end of the year. It was this extraordinary meeting of the Cortes that concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance (July 28, 1813) with the Emperor of Russia at Weliki-Louki, where he had then his head-quarters. Alexander there acknowledged the Cortes and their constitution. That acknowledgment was extremely simple. Alexander could not treat except with the government then established. That government acted in the name of Ferdinand VII., and their actings were to be regarded as legitimate so long as that prince had not disavowed them. The Emperor of Russia had neither the will nor the power to lend

his sanction to an order of things which had not the approbation of a king in the full enjoyment of liberty. It was in this same sense that the King of Prussia entered into an alliance with the Spanish government, by a treaty which was signed at Basle (January 20, 1814).

After returning from the campaign of 1813, Buonaparte, considering Spain as lost, resolved to set Ferdinand VII. at liberty; but in the hope of turning that tardy act of justice to his advantage by making that prince his friend, he represented Spain as overrun with Jacobinism, which was labouring to overturn the throne, and to substitute a republic in its place; and he accused England as having favoured that project. Ferdinand VII. demanded that a deputation of the regency should be admitted to a personal interview with him, who might inform him as to the real state of matters. Buonaparte, who executed with despatch whatever he had once resolved, found this mode of proceeding too slow. He empowered M. de la Forêt, whom he had sent to Valençay, to conclude a treaty with his captive, by which the latter was acknowledged king of Spain; and promised, on his part, to cause the English troops to evacuate the whole of that kingdom.

Ferdinand VII. sent his minister, the Duke of San Carlos, to Madrid, for the ostensible purpose of communicating that treaty to the regency, but in reality to take cognizance of the state of affairs. The regency refused to acknowledge the treaty of Valençay, because the king was not at liberty. Buonaparte being apprized of this difficulty, immediately released Ferdinand (March 7, 1814). He set out on his return to his dominions, but performed his journey slowly, that he might have leisure to obtain personal information as to the spirit which reigned among the Spaniards. He was soon convinced, that the people, attached to their religion, and to the family of their lawful prince, were very indifferent about the constitution of the Cortes, and that that assembly enjoyed very little influence or authority. Sixty members of the Cortes had even protested against an act which, by degrading the royal dignity, was preparing the way for establishing a democracy. On his arrival at Valencia, Ferdinand abrogated the constitution of 1812, and directed his course towards Madrid, which he entered on the 17th May. The people every where expressed their attachment to a prince, whose arrival they hailed as the return of justice and order; though it is foreign to our purpose to narrate why that hope has not been realized.

Great Britain was the power which acted the most conspicuous part during the era of which we have given the preceding historical sketch. The fortitude and perseverance with which she had prosecuted her system of policy, after the breaking of the peace of Amiens, was crowned with the most complete success; and the plan conceived by Mr. Pitt, but which that great statesman had despaired ever to see carried into execution, became the corner-stone of the future policy of Europe. Great Britain was the mainspring of the alliance, which in 1813 undertook the deliverance of Europe. She made the most extraordinary efforts in raising armies, and granting supplies for maintaining the troops of the continental nations.

A mental calamity, with which George III. had been afflicted towards the end of the year 1810,

obliged the Parliament to establish a regency. That important charge belonged of right to the heir apparent; but as the ministry were apprehensive that the Prince of Wales might in some respects change the system of the existing government, the parliament passed an act (December 31), which restricted the authority of the regent to one year. The Prince Regent submitted to these modifications. He exercised the regency at first with a limited power; but after the year 1812, when the prospects of his majesty's recovery were considerably diminished, he continued to exercise the royal authority until his father's death, which happened January 29, 1820, when the prince then assumed the title of George IV. The regent found the kingdom at war with Russia and Sweden; but it was only in appearance, and without effective hostilities. Lord Castlereagh, who, since the year 1812, had been at the head of foreign affairs, listened with eagerness to the first advances which these two powers made towards an accommodation. Peace was signed at Orebro (July 12), first with Sweden, and a few days after with Russia. The former, in indirect terms, abandoned the principles of the armed neutrality of the North. We shall have occasion hereafter to revert to the stipulations of the treaty signed with Russia.

Another and a more remote enemy had at that time made their appearance. Since the year 1803, there had existed a misunderstanding between Great Britain and the United States of America, whose lucrative commerce with France was fettered by the principles maintained in England as to the freedom of navigation. The Americans, on their side, published several acts against the commerce of the English, such as that of 18th April, 1806, which prohibited the importation of English merchandise. From an apprehension that the continental system might involve the republic in a war either with France or with England, the congress passed a law, known by the name of the *Non-intercourse Act* (April 26, 1808), which prohibited the Americans from all trade with foreign ports, and forbade foreigners to carry on trade between one port of the United States and another. In the following year, they proceeded farther. An act of Congress (March 1) interdicted all commerce after the date of May 20, 1809, between the Americans and Great Britain, France, and her dependencies.

The negociations which were set on foot with England, instead of bringing them to a better understanding, only set them more at variance. A new act of Congress (March, 1, 1810) forbade any French or English vessel to enter the ports of the United States. Within two months after, the Congress published another act, which removed the embargo of April 26, 1808, but left in force the act of March 1; declaring, that if France or Great Britain would modify their decrees as to the commerce of neutral states before the month of March, 1811, and that if, when one of these powers had set an example of such modification, the other did not do the same within the space of three months, the original *Non-intercourse Act* would be again put in force against that power.

In a short time there arose other subjects of complaint on the part of the Americans. They disputed with the English the right of impressing seamen born in the British isles, wherever they

found them; a right which they exercised in virtue of a fundamental law which does not allow any individual, born the subject of one country, the liberty of depriving himself of that quality, or denaturalizing himself, by becoming a resident in another country. Already several acts of violence had been committed, when the President of the United States declared war against England, June 18, 1812. That declaration took place at the very time when the chief motive for the war had ceased to exist; for Great Britain, imitating the example which Buonaparte had set her, revoked at the same time the obnoxious orders of which the Americans complained.

That war, so unseasonably undertaken by the American government, did them little honour. The American shipping annoyed and injured the commerce of the English; and the Americans fought with great bravery both by sea and land, particularly in Canada. But as they had no fleet, they could neither protect their coasts nor their capital, which was taken by assault. Vice-Admiral Cochrane and General Ross entered the Potomac, and destroyed Washington, the seat of the congress and the government. From the commencement of 1813, the Emperor Alexander had interposed his mediation for putting an end to this war, which diverted the efforts of the English for effecting the deliverance of the Continent. The peace which was signed at Ghent (December 24, 1814), restored friendship and amity between the two parties, without coming to any decision as to the two principal complaints which had induced the English to take up arms.

The financial system of Great Britain underwent an essential alteration, by the adoption of a plan presented by Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introducing certain modifications relative to the accumulation of the sinking fund. The expenditure of the government in 1815 amounted to £77,337,475 sterling, of which Ireland cost £8,651,335 sterling. The interest of the national debt amounted to £36,607,128 sterling, of which £13,182,510 were applied to the sinking fund. Great Britain paid to the states of the continent, in 1813, £11,400,000 sterling, under the name of subsidies; 24,107 ships, and 105,030 seamen, were employed in commerce. In 1814, these numbers were augmented one-seventh more. At this latter period, their navy consisted of 1044 ships of war, 100,000 sailors, and 32,600 marines; the land forces amounted to 302,490 men, including 63,000 militia.

Holland, and the other powers which had anciently formed the republic of the United Provinces, after having been for two years united to France, resumed once more their national independence. After the battle of Leipsic, when the corps of Generals Bulow and Winzingerode approached that country, the partisans of the Prince of Orange at the Hague, with M. de Hogendorp at their head, mounted the ancient cockade, established a provisional government (Nov. 17, 1813), and invited the heir of the last Stadtholder to return and place himself at the head of the government. The French troops, finding themselves too weak to defend the country at once against the allies and against the inhabitants, quietly took their departure. The Prince of Orange having arrived at Amsterdam (December 1), was proclaimed Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries; but he

accepted that dignity, on the condition that his power should be limited by a constitution; a plan of which he caused to be drawn up, which was adopted and sworn to in an assembly of the representatives.

During the sojourn of the allied sovereigns in England, it was agreed, that in order to oppose a barrier to France on the side of the North, Holland and Belgium should be united under the same government. A treaty, concluded at the same time in London (August 13, 1814), restored to the Dutch all their ancient colonies, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, Essequibo, Berbice, and Demerara. According to the regulations of the treaty of Vienna, the bishopric of Lucca and the duchy of Luxemburg were ceded to the sovereign prince, on condition that he should make a part of the Germanic Confederation. It was at this time that he received the title of King of the Netherlands. By the second treaty of Paris, this new kingdom obtained a slight increase of territory, and a sum of 60,000,000 francs, for constructing a line of fortresses. The superficial extent of that kingdom, with the duchy of Luxemburg, amounted to 1164 square miles, with a population of 5,460,000 souls; besides the population of its colonies, amounting to 1,726,030 inhabitants.

As it had been found impossible to complete the number of troops which Switzerland was to furnish to Buonaparte, according to the convention of September 27, 1803, a new capitulation was concluded in 1812, which reduced them to 12,000 men. When the allies approached the Rhine, about the end of 1813, Switzerland vainly flattered herself, that they would grant her the privilege of neutrality. The allied troops had to traverse the territory of the confederacy, in order to enter France. The public opinion then declared itself, by annulling the Act of *Mediation* which united Switzerland to France; but this opinion was not unanimous as to the future constitution of the country. Of the thirteen ancient cantons, eight concluded a confederation, on the principle which granted an equality of rights to every component part of the union; and to this the new cantons gave in their adherence. Berne, Friburg, and Underwalden, refused to take a part in it. The Grisons re-established their ancient form of government. The intervention of foreign powers quashed the civil war with which that country was threatened; and after many difficulties, a new confederation of the nineteen cantons was signed at Zurich (September 8, 1814). There still remained, however, several litigated points to be decided, which were settled by the congress of Vienna, who declared that the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland should be acknowledged by all the other powers; and that the Valais, in the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neuchâtel, should make a part of the confederation, as three additional cantons. The Swiss states having acceded to this declaration (May 27, 1815), it was renewed, confirmed, and sanctioned by the allied powers, in a second declaration signed at Paris (November 20).

In consequence of a convention concluded at Turin with Prince Borghese, governor-general of the French provinces beyond the Alps, Field-Marshal Bellegarde had taken possession of Pied-

mont in the name of the King of Sardinia. Soon after, Victor Emanuel took the reins of government into his own hands. By the first peace of Paris, he recovered Nice, and about two-thirds of Savoy. A secret article of that treaty secured him the possession of the State of Genoa, which was confirmed by the treaty of Vienna; but he ceded to the canton of Geneva certain districts in Savoy. The second peace of Paris restored him that part of the province which had been given to France in 1814. The Sardinian monarchy thus comprehended an extent of 1500 square miles, with 3,700,000 inhabitants.

The convention of Fontainebleau had disposed of the duchies of Placentia, Parma, and Guastalla, in favour of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and her son Napoleon. This disposition was keenly opposed at Vienna by the House of Bourbon, who espoused the interest of the young King of Etruria, the lawful heir to these estates. Nevertheless the congress of Vienna adjudged the States of Parma to the archduchess, without making mention of her son, or deciding the question as to their reversibility; a point which was not determined till the treaty of Paris of June 10, 1817, between Austria and Spain. After the death of the archduchess, the states of Parma are to pass to the Queen-Dowager of Etruria and her son. They contain about 102 square miles, and 380,000 inhabitants.

The Archduke Francis, the heir of Hercules III., the last Duke of Modena of the House of Esté, was restored to the duchy of Modena and its appurtenances, about the beginning of 1814. The whole comprehends a surface of 96 square miles, with 388,000 inhabitants.

According to an article of the treaty of Vienna, Lucca, under the title of a duchy, was given up, not to the young King of Etruria, the lawful heir of the states of Parma, but to his mother, Queen-Maria-Louisa, and her descendants in the male line. Besides, the emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were bound to pay her a supplementary annuity of 500,000 francs until the death of the Archduchess Maria-Louisa, when the Duchess of Lucca, or her heirs, are to have the states of Parma; and the duchy of Lucca is to devolve to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on condition of ceding to the Duke of Modena certain districts contiguous to his estates. The duchy of Lucca is the most populous country in Europe. It contains about 137,500 inhabitants within 19½ square miles.

The grand duchy of Tuscany, which Murat's troops had occupied about the beginning of the year 1814, was restored to its lawful sovereign, the Archduke Ferdinand III. (May 1), who then gave up the principality of Wurtzburg to the king of Bavaria. By the treaty of Vienna, that prince obtained the state of Presidii, part of the island of Elba, and the imperial fiefs included in these states; containing 395 square miles, with a population of 1,178,000 souls. The property of Piombino was restored to the family of Buoncompagni, whom Buonaparte had dispossessed. The Grand Duke is to succeed to the duchy of Lucca; but he must then give up his territories in Bohemia to his brother the emperor, which are very considerable, and destined for the young Duke of Reichstadt, son of the Archduchess Maria-Louisa.

Buonaparte having found it impossible to overcome the perseverance of Pius VII., had set him at liberty about the beginning of the year 1814. The Sovereign Pontiff returned to his estates amidst the general acclamations of the people, and restored every thing to the footing in which they had been before the usurpation of the French. Nobody was molested on the score of his political conduct. The Order of the Jesuits, suppressed in 1772, was restored by a bull, as a necessary barrier to oppose the doctrines of the revolution. The congress of Vienna restored to the Sovereign Pontiff the Marches and Legatines, with the exception of a portion of territory situated to the north of the Po, which was annexed to the kingdom of Venetian Lombardy. The ecclesiastical states at present contain a surface of 500 square miles, and a population of 2,000,000.

The extravagant conduct of Joachim Murat promoted the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of Naples. This was effected by the expedition which Austria had despatched in 1815 against Murat in consequence of the alliance offensive and defensive which that court had concluded at Vienna with Ferdinand IV. (April 29, 1815), who made his entry into Naples on the 17th June. A short time after, Murat, at the head of a small band of adventurers, thought of imitating the example of his brother-in-law. He landed at Pizzo, in Calabria (October 9), where he hoped to be welcomed by his former adherents; but the peasantry combined against him; he was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and shot (October 10). The kingdom of the Two Sicilies has an extent of 1,780,000 miles, and 6,600,000 inhabitants.

After Ferdinand IV. had retired into Sicily, that island was put under the protection of the English, who had there an army of 15,000 men, with a considerable fleet. General Lord Bentinck, who commanded the English troops, used all his influence to introduce the British constitution into that island. The Queen, who was at the head of the opposite party, was obliged to leave her family. From that moment the English remained masters of Palermo. But after the first peace of Paris, Ferdinand IV. resumed the reins of government; and, before embarking for Naples, he annulled the constitution of 1812.

Corfu, the only one of the Ionian islands which was not yet in the power of the English, was given up to them by the convention of Paris (April 23, 1814). The fate of these islands was decided by a treaty concluded at the same place between Austria and Great Britain, Prussia and Russia. They were combined into a free and independent state (November 5), under the name of the United States of the Ionian Islands, and placed under the immediate and exclusive protection of Great Britain.

By the events of the years 1813 and 1814, the House of Austria gained possession of all that belonged to her in Italy, either before or in consequence of the peace of Campo Formio. A small portion of Ferrara, to the north of the Po, was ceded to her, as were the Valteline, Bormio, Chiavenna, and the ancient republic of Ragusa. The emperor constituted all these possessions into a separate and particular state, under the title of the Kingdom of Venetian Lombardy. Independently of these, Austria recovered the Illyrian pro-

vines, of which she also formed a distinct kingdom. By a treaty signed at Vienna with Russia, she likewise gained possession of the part of eastern Galicia which she had ceded to Alexander in 1809, and the exclusive property of Wieliczka, which was then divided between her and the duchy of Warsaw. The Austrian monarchy, in its present state, contains a surface of 12,000 square miles, and a population of 29,000,000.

It was a more difficult matter to re-organize the monarchy of Prussia. We have mentioned the negotiations, in consequence of which she acquired about a half of the kingdom of Saxony. The Congress of Vienna restored to her not only a part of ancient Prussia, now called the Grand Duchy of Posenania, and all the other possessions which she had lost by the convention of Vienna (December 15, 1805), and the peace of Tilsit (with the exception of Bialystock, Anspach, Baireuth, Westfriesland, and Hildesheim), but also a considerable territory on the left bank of the Rhine, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Duchy of Westphalia, Swedish Pomerania, and the sovereignty of several other principalities and counties. These territorial arrangements were not concluded till 1819. The Prussian monarchy contains a surface of 5,028 square miles, and a population of nearly 11,000,000.

The sovereign princes and free cities of Germany were united by an Act, signed at Vienna, under the name of the Germanic Confederation. All the members of the confederacy enjoy full sovereignty, and all take part in the deliberations of the diet in matters relating to the general interests of the union. The thirty-nine members, however, in ordinary cases, have only seventeen votes; eleven of the states having each a vote, while six collective votes belong to the other twenty-eight. Nevertheless, in constitutional questions, the thirty-nine members have in all seventy votes; each state having at least one, and several of them two, three, and four votes. The members have the right of concluding every kind of alliance, provided these are not directed against the safety of the union or of its constituent members. The equality of civil and religious rights was secured to all who professed the Christian religion.

Various states, forming the Germanic confederation, underwent certain changes in their territorial possessions; but the negotiations by which they were definitively settled did not take place till 1819. The kingdom of Bavaria received indemnity for the various restitutions which had been made to the court of Vienna. Its superficial extent amounts to 1,505 square miles, and 3,300,000 inhabitants. The grand duchy of Hesse obtained considerable augmentations on the left bank of the Rhine, and has a surface of 214 square miles, and 630,000 inhabitants. The Grand Duke of Oldenburg, the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, and the House of Orange-Nassau, obtained territorial indemnities on the Rhine. The Elector of Hesse obtained the grand duchy of Fulda; his dominions consisted of 200 square miles, and 540,000 inhabitants. The King of Hanover lost Lauenburg, and obtained Hildesheim and Westfriesland. That kingdom contains 750 square miles, and 1,300,000 inhabitants. The grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar, with its additional districts, contains sixty-six square miles, and 193,000 inhabitants.

Such is the composition of the German confederation, an association which was formed, as we have mentioned, by the act of June 8, 1815. In 1820, it was declared a fundamental law of the union; but these events, which are posterior to the time of which we treat, do not fall within our history.

As Russia and Austria were not likely to come to an agreement as to the possession of the city of Cracow, the former demanding it as an appurtenance of the ci-devant duchy of Warsaw, while the latter claimed it as having been deprived of it by the peace of Schonbrunn; it was agreed by the treaty of Vienna (May 13, 1815), that that city, with the territory which had been assigned it, should form an independent and neutral republic, under the protection of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Besides the city of Cracow, a district containing 8,000 or 9,000 inhabitants was dismembered from the duchy of Warsaw, which was conferred on Prussia, under the title of the Grand Duchy of Posenania. The remainder was united to the Empire of Russia as a distinct state, under the name of the kingdom of Poland, having its own constitution and a separate administration. That state contained 2,000 square miles, with a population of 2,500,000.

We have already observed, by what fatal mischance Denmark had been dragged into the war of Napoleon against the allies. The treaty of peace at Kiel (January 14, 1804), deprived her of Norway, in lieu of which she obtained the paltry compensation of Swedish Pomerania; and even that acquisition proved nugatory. According to arrangements agreed on at Vienna with Prussia, the King of Denmark accepted the duchy of Laueburg instead of Pomerania, which was abandoned to Prussia. The Danish monarchy thus lost one-third of its subjects, and was reduced to an extent of 2,420 square miles, and 1,700,000 inhabitants.

The Norwegians, who cherished a national hatred against the Swedes, refused to submit to their destiny. They chose for their king, Prince Christian Frederic, who was their governor-general and heir to the throne of Denmark (May 17, 1814), and they published a representative constitution at Eidsvold. The King and the Prince Royal of Sweden marched at the head of an army to reduce them to submission. After some hostile manœuvres, the Prince of Denmark resigned the sovereignty by a convention, which was signed at Moss (August 16). The National Assembly, convened at Christiana (October 20), decreed the reunion of Norway to the crown of Sweden, as an independent kingdom, under one monarchy, and with a representative constitution. They adopted the order of succession as established in Sweden in 1819. Charles XIII. was proclaimed King of Norway (November 4); and the relations between Sweden and Norway were sealed, by an act signed between the two kingdoms (July 31, 1815). By the treaty of Vienna, Sweden ceded to Prussia her part of Pomerania, and thus was separated from Germany, of which she had been a constituent member since the time of Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish monarchy contains an extent of 13,850 square miles, with 3,330,000 inhabitants.

Russia acted so conspicuous a part during the period of which we have spoken, that we can scarcely mention any event of general interest in

which she was not concerned. She was at war with Great Britain, Turkey, and Persia, when Buonaparte commenced hostilities against her in 1811. The Russians acted on the defensive against the Turks; Prince Kutuzoff, who had the command, having been obliged to send five divisions of his army into Poland, caused Silistria to be demolished, preserving only Rudschuk, on the right bank of the Danube. The indolent Jusuff Pacha, who had never stirred from his camp at Schuunla, was replaced by Aehmet Aga, an active and enterprising general, who sent for a reinforcement of 35,000 men, mostly composed of excellent cavalry, and supported by a formidable artillery, served by French officers. Aehmet marched against Kutuzoff, and their first encounter took place two leagues from Rudschuk (July 4). Eight thousand Russians, who were opposed to the vanguard of the Ottomans, under the command of Ali Pacha, were driven back to their entrenchments. Two days after, the grand vizier attacked the Russian entrenchments and dislodged the troops, who threw themselves into Rudschuk. It was chiefly the infantry of the Russians that suffered in that battle, owing to the superiority of the Turkish cavalry, who would have cut them to pieces but for a bold manœuvre of Count Langeron, who sallied from Rudschuk, at the head of the garrison, and protected the fugitives. The grand vizier advanced under the very cannon of the fortress. He attempted three times in one day to carry it by force, but was repulsed each time (July 9). During the following night the Russians quitted Rudschuk and passed the Danube. But the Turks having got intelligence, entered the town, and prevented them from carrying off all their artillery and ammunition.

The army of Kutuzoff, weakened by disease, was unable to prevent the grand vizier from taking possession of the islands of the Danube. A body of 15,000 troops, commanded by Ismael Bey, took up a post on the right bank, so that the grand vizier passed the river at the head of the main body of the forces (August 3). But the face of affairs soon changed. General Ouwaroff having brought a reinforcement of 50,000 men to Kutuzoff, the latter detached Markoff, with a considerable body, who passed to the right bank of the Danube, marched in all haste against the Turkish reserve before Rudschuk, seized their camp, and thus cut off the retreat of the grand vizier. The latter found means to enter Rudschuk in a small bark, leaving his army in Wallachia, under the command of Seraskier Tchaban-Oglou, who was blockaded at Slobosia by Kutuzoff; and, after being reduced to 25,000 men, they were obliged to capitulate and lay down their arms (December 8).

The grand vizier then demanded a suspension of arms, which was signed at Guirdesov. Negotiations were opened at Bucharest, but the Turks refused for a long time to make the smallest cession of territory. At length the mediation of England, Sweden, and Russia, overcame the obstinacy of the divan, and peace was signed (May 28, 1812). The Porte ceded to Russia about one-third of Moldavia, as far as the Pruth, the fortresses of Choczim and Bender, and the whole of Bessarabia, with Ismael and Kilija; an amnesty was granted to the Servians.

Although England had appeared at Bucharest as a mediating power, nevertheless her treaty of peace with Russia was not definitively signed, although actual hostilities had long ceased between the two powers. The treaty was at length concluded at Orebro (July 18), the stipulations of which are not all known. The peace with Persia was signed in the Russian camp, near the river Seiwa, under the mediation of England, and confirmed the following year at Teflis (September 15, 1814). Persia ceded to Russia, Daghistan, Shirvan, Derbent, and in general the whole western coast of the Caspian sea, renounced her pretensions on Georgia, Imirete, Guriel, and Mingrelia, and recognised the exclusive right of Russia to the navigation of the Caspian Sea.

At the Congress of Vienna, the Emperor of Russia had obtained the kingdom of Poland, as we have already noticed. Independently of that acquisition, the Russian Empire had an extent of 345,000 square miles, 80,000 of which are in Europe, the population of which amounts to 38,000,000. The population of the whole Empire is estimated at 46,000,000.

A concurrence of fortunate circumstances has saved the Ottoman Empire from that ruin with which it has more than once been threatened, and for which the total dissolution of social order in the provinces has a long time prepared the way. If it still survives these evils, its preservation is, perhaps, to be ascribed to that Holy Alliance which has sometimes been the object of terror to the Porte, as individuals addicted to revolution have persuaded her that that Christian league was directed against Mahometanism. It is this suspicion, the offspring of ignorance and weakness, which at a recent date had nearly precipitated her into imprudent measures. The Porte, enlightened as to her true interest by Austria, Great Britain, and her other allies, must now feel that she cannot prolong her existence, except by substituting the reign of justice, and the principles of humanity, for those of despotism and cruelty.

NOTES.

INTRODUCTION.

- 1 Diplomatics ought not to be confounded with *Diplomacy*, which means a knowledge of the interests of different states, and the policy of foreign courts, &c., by means of ambassadors, envoys, consuls, &c.
- 2 The first that undertook to teach this science in a university was the celebrated CONRING, a professor at Helmatadt. His programme or prospectus was published in 1660. GODFREY AGHENWALL, a professor at Gottingen, 1748, is regarded as the inventor of the name.
- 3 Before his time, Pope Leo X. had paid some attention to the reformation of the calendar. A letter which he wrote on the subject to Henry VIII. of England may be seen in Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. vi. p. 119.
- 4 From the year 1793 to the end of 1805, the French, by a decree of the National Convention of the 5th of October, adopted a method of computing by what they called the *Republican year*. It began at midnight of the autumnal equinox, viz. the 21st or 22nd of September. It was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, followed by five or six supplementary days. This innovation, however, ceased on the 31st of December, 1805.
- 5 It is to this circumstance that the term *ÆRA* owes its origin. It is not a classical word, but was first used by the Spaniards; and is merely the initials or first letters of *Anno Erat Regnante Augusto*. T.
- 6 This calculation, however, was incorrect, inasmuch as nineteen exact solar revolutions amount only to 6,939 days, fourteen hours, twenty-six minutes, fifteen seconds; while 235 true lunations, contained in the cycle of nineteen years, only give 6,939 days, sixteen hours, thirty-one minutes, forty-five seconds. The lunar cycle, consequently, exceeded the nineteen solar revolutions by two hours, five minutes, thirty seconds. This error was corrected at the reformation of the calendar, by Gregory XIII.

NOTES TO PERIOD I.

- 1 The name *Alemanni*, erroneously applied afterwards to all the German nations, was originally restricted to a particular tribe, which we here designate by the name of the *Alemanni*, to distinguish them from the modern Germans (*Allemands*).
- 2 The *Guttones* of Pliny, the *Gothones* or *Gotones* of Tacitus, and the *Gythones* of Ptolemy, whom these authors place in the northern part of ancient Germany, near the Vistula, were most probably one and the same nation with the Goths; and ought not to be confounded with the *Getae*, a people of ancient Dacia.
- 3 We find a Gothic bishop, named Theophilus, among the bishops who signed the acts of the first council of Nice. Ulfilas, a Gothic bishop, towards the middle of the fourth century, translated the Bible into the language of his nation, making use of the Greek and Roman characters. His *Four Gospels*, preserved in the Codex Argenteus, in the library at Upsal, is the most ancient specimen we have of the German language, of which the Gothic is one of the principal dialects. Vide *Fragments of Ulfilas*, published by M. Zahn. 1805.
- 4 The identity of the Franks with these German tribes may be shown from a passage of St. Jerome, as well as by the *Table Peutingeriene, ou Théodosienne*, so called because it is supposed to have been drawn up under the Emperor Theodosius, about the beginning of the fifth century; though M. Mannert, in his treatise *De Tab. Peuting. atute*, has proved that it is as old as the third century; and that the copy preserved in the library at Vienna, and published by M. de Scheyl, is but an incorrect copy, which he attributes to a monk of the thirteenth century. From this *Table* it appears that, in the third century, the name *Francia* was given to that part of Germany which is situate in the Lower Rhine in Westphalia; and that the Brueteri, the Chauci, Chanavi, Cherusci, Ampsivarii, &c. were the same as the Franks. The names of *Sulians* and *Ripuarians*, evidently taken from the situation of some of these tribes on the Rhine, the Yssel, or Saal, appear to have been given them by the Romans, and were afterwards retained by them.
- 5 Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. 31, c. 2. *Jornandes De Rebus Geticis*, cap. 35. This latter historian gives the following portrait of Attila, King of the Huns:—"His stature was short, his chest broad, his head rather large, his eyes small, his beard thin, his hair grey, his nose flat, his complexion dark and hideous, bearing evidence of his origin. He was a man of much cunning, who fought by stratagem, before he engaged in battles."
- 6 We may judge of the extent of the kingdom of the Burgundians by the signatures of twenty-five bishops, who were present at the Council of Epao, held by Sigismund, King of Burgundy, in 517. These bishops were the following: Besançon, Langres, Autun, Châlons, Lyon, Valence, Orange, Vaison, Carpentras, Cavaillon, Sisteron, Apt, Gap, Die, St. Paul-trois-Châteaux, Viviers, Vienne, Embrun, Grenoble, Geneva, Tarantaise, Avauche, Windzich, Martigny in the Bas-Valais, Taurinum in Provence. Vide Labbei, *Acta Concil.* vol. iv. p. 1573, 1581.
- 7 Many kings and chiefs of different nations marched under his command. *Jornandes* (cap. 38) observes—"As for the rest, a rabble of kings, if they may be so called, and leaders of

- divers nations, they waited like satellites the orders of Attila; and if he gave but a wink or a nod, every one attended with fear and trembling, and executed his commands without a murmur. Attila alone, like a king of kings, had the supreme charge and authority over them all."
- 8 The Salian Franks are distinct from the Ripuarian, who formed a separate kingdom, the capital of which was Cologne. There were also, about the end of the fifth century, particular kings of the Franks at Terouane, Marns, and Cambay, all of whom were subdued by Clovis, shortly before his death in 511.
- 9 Clovis took from the Alemanns a part of their territories, of which he formed a distinct province, known afterwards by the name of *France on the Rhine*. They retained, however, under their hereditary chiefs, Alsace, with the districts situated beyond the Rhine, and bounded on the north by the Oos, the Entz, the Necker, the Muhr, the Wernitz, and the Jagst. Vide Schœpflin, *Alsatia Illust.* vol. i. p. 630.
- 10 The Visigoths then retained no other possessions in Gaul than Septimania, or Languedoc. Their territories between the Rhone, the Alps, and the Mediterranean, passed to the Ostrogoths, as the reward for services which the latter had rendered them in their wars with the Franks.
- 11 Scheidingen, on the left bank of the Unstrut, about three leagues from Naumburg on the Saal, is supposed to have been the residence of the ancient kings of Thuringia. Venantius Fortunatus, the friend of Queen Radegonde, a princess of Thuringia, gives a poetical description of it in his Elegy "De Excidis Thuringia."
- 12 Belisarius was recalled from Italy by the Emperor Justinian, in 549. He afterwards incurred the displeasure of the court of Constantinople; but what modern writers have asserted, that he was blind, and reduced to beg his bread, is destitute of foundation.—Mascow, *Geschichte der Teutschen*.
- 13 Agathias, Lib. I, p. 17, asserts, that the Goths abandoned the nation of the Alemanns to the Franks, in order to interest the latter in their cause against the Greeks. The same was the case with that part of Gaul situate between the Alps, the Rhone, and the Mediterranean, which pertained to the Ostrogoths, and which they ceded to the Franks, on condition that they would never furnish supplies to the Greeks.
- 14 The name of the Bavarians does not occur in history before the middle of the sixth century, when Jornandes, *De Reb. Geticis*, and Venantius Fortunatus, in his poems, speak of them for the first time. Mannert, *Geschichte Bajoriens*, p. 108, reckons the Bavarians an association of several German tribes; the Heruls, Rugians, Turcilingians, and Scyrians, all originally emigrating from the shores of the Baltic. The new settlements which they formed in Upper Germany comprehended that part of ancient Rhetia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, which lies between the Danube, the Lech, and the Noce in Pannonia, and the Tyrol. They were governed by kings or chiefs, who, from the year 595, were dependants on the Frankish crown.
- 15 Clovis left the Alemanns, after their defeat, a considerable part of their territories under hereditary chiefs, who acknowledged the superiority of the Frankish kings. Such of the Alemanns as Theodoric, King of Italy, then received into a part of Rhetia and Noricum, continued dependants on the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, till the decay of that monarchy, near the middle of the sixth century, when they became subject to the dominion of the Franks.
- 16 Tacitus *De Moribus German.*, cap. 2. It was the prerogative of freemen to have the honour of bearing arms. Even bishops and ecclesiastics, when admitted into the national assemblies, and to the rights and privileges of freemen, never failed to claim this military dignity; and occupied, like others, their ranks in the army.
- 17 We find among the German nations, from the remotest times, the distinction into *nobles, freemen*, and *serfs*: a distinction which they still preserved, in their new settlements in the Roman Empire.
- 18 Called Ordeals. Besides the trial by *single combat*, there were others by *hot iron, boiling or cold water, the cross, &c.* Vide Ducange Gloss.
- 19 The Goths, Vandals, Suevi, and Alans, were already Christians, when they settled within the bounds of the Western Empire. They followed the doctrines of Arius, which they had imbibed in the East; and which the Suevi of Galicia abandoned for the orthodox creed, under their King Cariaric, about 551; and the Visigoths of Spain, under their King Recarede, in 489. The Lombards of Italy were, at first, Arians, but became Catholics, under their King Agilulphus, in 602. The Vandals and Ostrogoths, on the contrary, having persisted in Arianism; this perseverance may be numbered among the causes that hastened the destruction of their monarchy both in Italy and Africa. As to the Burgundians, they did not embrace Christianity till after their establishment in Gaul. Their example was soon followed by the Franks, who likewise protected the dissemination of the orthodox faith among the German nations, settled in their dominions beyond the Rhine. The Christian religion was introduced about the end of the sixth century among the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, by some Benedictine monks, whom Pope Gregory I. had sent there. Ethelbert, King of Kent, was the first of the Anglo-Saxon kings that embraced Christianity, by the persuasion, it is said, of his queen, Bertha, daughter of Charibert I., King of Paris.
- 20 The possessions of the Ostrogoths in Gaul, lying between the Rhine, the Alps, and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Franks about 536.
- 21 Eginhard, *Vita Carol. Mag.* cap. 11. It seems then an error in history, to designate these princes as a race of kings, who had all degenerated into a state of imbecility or idiocy. (Of this opinion was the Abbé Vertot, who endeavours to rescue these monarchs from this generally received imputation. Vide "Mém. de l'Académie," vol. iv. T.)
- 22 This same St. Boniface, in 744, induced the

- Archbishops of France to receive, after his example, the pallium from Pope Zacharias, acknowledging the jurisdiction and supremacy of the Roman see. This acknowledgment of the Romish supremacy had already taken place in England in 601 and 627, when the Archbishops of Canterbury and York received the pontifical pallium. Vide Bede, Hist. Eccles.
- 23 It is alleged that state politics had no small share in favouring this zeal. Not only did the emperors reckon, by abolishing images, to weaken the excessive power of the monks who domineered over the Byzantine court; but they regarded also the destruction of this heretical worship as the only means of arresting the persecutions which the Mahometans then exercised against the Christians in the East, whom they treated as idolaters, on account of their veneration for images.
- 24 The name *Exarchate* was then given to the province of Ravenna, because it, as well as the Pentapolis, was immediately subject to the exarch as governor-general; while the other parts of Grecian Italy were governed by delegates, who ruled in the name and authority of the exarch.
- 25 It was during his sojourn at Chiersi that Pope Stephen II. gave the decisions that we find in Sismondi, *Concil. Gall.* vol. II. 16. Anastasius (in Muratori, vol. iii. p. 168—186) mentions Chiersi as the place of this donation, which he also says was signed by Pepin and his two sons. This prospective grant is even attested by the letter which Stephen II. addressed to Pepin and his sons, immediately on his return to Rome, exhorting them to fulfil their engagements without delay.
- 26 The pope, in his letters to Pepin, calls this donation an augmentation of the Romish dominion; an extension of the Romish territory, &c. Cenni, vol. i. p. 85, 124. Besides the city and duchy of Rome, Anastasius mentions various former grants of territories to the Romish church. The same author informs us, that the original of Pepin's donation existed in his time in the archives of the Romish see, and he has recorded the places gifted to the church.
- 27 Different interpretations have been given to the word *Saracens*, which the Greeks, and after them the Latins, have applied to the Arabs. Some explain it by *robbers* or *brigands*, and others by *Orientalis*, or natives of the East. Casiri, *Bibl. Arab. Hist.* Vol. II., p. 19. Some pretend to derive this appellation from the Arabic word *Sarrag*, or its plural *Sarrogin*, which means, men on horseback, or cavaliers.
- 28 We may judge of the ferocity of the Arabs at this time, from a passage of Rasis, an Arabic author, in Casiri, (*Bibl. Arab. Hist.* Vol. II., p. 322). Muza, in a fit of jealousy, had caused Tarec to be bastinadoed at Toledo, and yet continued to employ him as general. The Caliph, to avenge Tarec, caused Muza to be bastinadoed in his turn, when he came to Damascus to lay at his royal feet the spoils of all Spain. His son, whom he had left governor of Spain, was killed by order of the Caliph. Such was the fate of the Arabic conquerors of Spain.
- 29 The *Abassides* took their name from *Abbas*, the paternal uncle of Mahomet, of whom they were descended. The *Omniades* were descended from *Ommiah*, a more distant relation of the prophet.
- 30 Don Pelago, the king whom the Spaniards regard as the founder of this new state, is a personage not less equivocal than the Pharamond of the Franks. Isidorus Pagensis, a Spanish author of that time, published by Sandoval in his collection in 1634, knew nothing of him. He extols, on the contrary, the exploits of Theodemir, whom the Visigoths, according to the Arabic authors quoted by Casiri, had chosen as their king after the unfortunate death of Roderic. The Chronicle of Alphonso III., and that of Albayda, which are commonly cited in favour of Don Pelago, are both as late as the beginning of the tenth century, and relate things so marvellous of this pretended founder of the kingdom of Leon, that it is impossible to give credit to them.
- 31 This dynasty, after the year 827, effected the conquest of the greater part of Sicily from the Greeks; but they were deprived of it, in 940, by the Fatimites, who were succeeded in the following century by the Zeirides in Africa. (Vide Period IV. under Spain).
- 32 The celebrated Gerbert, born in Auvergne, and afterwards Pope Silvester II., was among the first that repaired to Spain, about the middle of the tenth century, to study mathematics under the Arabs. Numbers afterwards imitated his example.
- 33 There is preserved in the library of the Escorial in Spain, 1581 Arabic MSS. which escaped the conflagration of 1671, and which have been amply described by Casiri in his *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.*

NOTES TO PERIOD II.

- 1 The immense intrenchments or fortifications of the Avars, called *Rhingos* by the Franks, were destroyed by Charlemagne, to the number of nine. A part of Pannonia and the territory of the Avars he left in possession of the native chiefs, and the Slavian princes, who acknowledged themselves his vassals and tributaries. The Slavi, the Moravians, and Bulgarians, seem to have then seized on a part of the territories of the Avars lying beyond the Danube and the Theyses. It was on account of this war that Charlemagne established the Eastern March (Austria) against the Avars, and that he conceived also the project of joining the Danube and the Rhine, by a canal drawn from the river Altmühl to Rednitz.
- 2 Charles took the oath in the Teutonic language, Louis in the Romance language; the forms of which have been preserved by the Abbé Nithard, a cousin of these princes. We may observe, that this is the most ancient monument of the Romance language; out of which has sprung the modern French.
- 3 This treaty, which has been preserved by the author of the *Annals of St. Bertin*, mentions all the countries and principal places assigned to each of the brothers. It forms a valuable document in the geography of the middle ages.

- 4 As an example of this, it is said that a nobleman of Suabia, named Etichon, brother to the Empress Judith, quarrelled with his own son, and refused to see him, because, in his estimation, he had debased himself by receiving as fiefs, from Louis the Gentle, a certain number of his own lands, situated in Upper Bavaria.
- 5 The Danes and the Swedes dispute with each other the honour of these pretended heroes, who signalized themselves in the Norman piracies. It is without doubt that all the tribes of ancient Scandinavia, in their turn, took part in these expeditions. According to the Monk of St. Gall, it was not till about the end of the war of Charlemagne with the Avars, *i. e.* 796, that the Normans began to infest the coasts of the Frankish empire. In order to stop their incursions, Charles constructed a fleet, and stationed in the harbours and mouths of rivers troops and guard-ships;—precautions which were neglected by his successors.
- 6 The beautiful palaces which Charles had constructed at Nimeguen and Aix-la-Chapelle, were burnt to the ground by the Normans in 881-2. At the same time, they plundered Liege, Maestricht, Tongres, Cologne, Bonn, Zulpich, Nuys, and Treves.
- 7 Nestor, a monk of Kiovia, and the first annalist of Russia, about the end of the eleventh century, says the Russians, whom he calls also *Waregues*, came from Scandinavia, or the country of the Normans. He assures us that it was from them that the state of Novogorod took the name of Russia. The author of the annals of St. Bertin, the first that mentions the Russians (*Rhos*), A.D. 839, assigns Sweden as their original country. Luitprand also, bishop of Cremona, in the court of Constantinople by Otho the Great, attests, in his history, that the Greeks gave the name of *Russians* to the people, who in the West were called Normans. The Finns, Laplanders, and Estonians, at this day, call the Swedes, *Roots*, *Ruotzi*, or *Rootslane*. It is likely that from them, being nearest neighbours of the Swedes, this name passed to the Slavonian tribes. Hence it would seem, that it is in Sweden we must look for Russia, prior to the times of Ruric; in the same way as ancient France is to be found in Westphalia and Hesse, before the days of Clodion, and the founding of the new monarchy of the Franks in Gaul.
- 8 The Orkney Isles, the Hebrides, the Shetlands, and the Isle of Man, passed, in course of time, from the dominion of the Norwegians to that of the Scottish kings, while the Faroe Isles remained constantly annexed to the kingdom of Norway.
- 9 Olaus II., King of Norway, had rendered the Icelanders tributaries, but they soon renewed their independence; and it was not till the time of Haco V. and Magnus VII., in 1261 and 1264, that they submitted to the dominion of Norway, when the republican government of the island was suppressed. Iceland, when a republic, furnished the first annalists of the North. The most distinguished of these is SNOORRE STURLERSON, who wrote a history of the kings of Norway about the beginning of the thirteenth century. This celebrated man died in 1241.
- 10 The Chazars, a Turkish tribe, ruled, at the time we now speak, over the northern part of the Crimea; as also the vast regions lying to the north of the Euxine and Caspian Seas. The Onogurs or Ugurs, supposed to be the same as Hungarians, were subject to them. These Chazars having embraced Christianity in the ninth century, adopted a sort of syncretism, which admitted all sorts indifferently. Hence the name of *Chazars* or *Ketzers* has been given, by the German divines, to every species of heretics. Their power vanished about the beginning of the eleventh century.
- 11 The *Patzinacites* or *Kanghians*, also a Turkish and wandering tribe, originally inhabited the borders of the Jaik and the Volga, between these two rivers. Expelled from these countries by the Uzes or Cumans, who combined with the Chazars against them, they attacked the Hungarians, whom they stripped of their possessions, lying between the Tanais, the Dnieper, and the Dniester (A.D. 884).
- 12 The Moravians were the first of the Slavonian tribes that embraced Christianity. The Greek Emperor Michael, at their own request, sent them, in 863, Cyril and Methodius, two learned Greeks of Thessalonica, who invented the Slavonian alphabet, and translated into their language the sacred books, which the Russians still use.
- 13 The Patzinacites possessed all the countries situated between the Aluta, the Dnieper, and the Donez, which, near its source, separated them from the Chazars. They gradually disappeared from history about the end of the eleventh century, when they were dispossessed or subdued by the Cumans.
- 14 Historians have commonly ascribed to this prince the division of England into counties, hundreds, and tithes, as also the institution of juries.
- 15 From the occupation of Greenland and Finland by the Normans, we may infer that North America was known to them several centuries before it was discovered by the English.

NOTES TO PERIOD III.

- 1 The Hungarians having made a new invasion under Otho the Great, advanced as far as Augsburg, to which they laid siege; but Otho, in a battle which he fought with them in the vicinity of that city (955), routed them with such slaughter that they never dared to return.
- 2 On this oath, which was taken in 963, the Emperors of Germany founded the title by which they claimed the right to confirm, or to nominate and depose the popes. Lawyers generally allege the famous decree of Leo VIII., published 964, as establishing the rights of the emperors over Rome and the popes. But the authenticity of this decree has been attacked by the ablest critics, and defended by others. It would appear that there is no necessity for this to justify these rights. Otho, after having conquered Italy and received the sub-

- mission of the Romans and the pope, could easily claim for himself and his successors the same rights of superiority which the Greek and Frank emperors had enjoyed before him.
- 3 He was duke of Lower Lorraine, and had obtained that dukedom from Otho II. in 977. He transmitted it to his son Otho, who was the last prince of the Carolingian line, and died in 1006.
 - 4 The principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua were governed by Lombard princes, who held of the German emperors. The dukedoms of Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, and part of Apulia and Calabria, were dependent on the Eastern emperors; while the Arabs, masters of the greater part of Sicily, possessed also Bari and Tarento in Apulia.
 - 5 From this treaty is derived the right of vassalage which the popes have exercised till the present time over the kingdom of Naples.
 - 6 The first invasion of the Normans in Sicily was in 1060. Palermo, the capital, fell under their power in 1072, and in 1090 they conquered the whole island.
 - 7 The first seeds of Christianity were planted in Denmark and Sweden by St. Ansgar, whom Louis the Gentle created, in 834, first archbishop of Hamburg, and metropolitan of all the North. But the progress of Christianity was extremely slow in those semi-barbarous countries. The first annalist of the North was an Icelander named Are Frode, who flourished about the beginning of the eleventh century. The most eminent historian of Denmark was a monk named Swend Aageson, who digested, about 1187, an abridgment of the history of that kingdom. He was followed by Saxo the grammarian, whose history of Denmark, written in beautiful Latin, is full of fables in the times preceding the twelfth century. Norway had for its first annalist a monk named Theodoric, who wrote about 1160. As to Sweden, it has no national historian anterior to the *Chronicles in Verse*, the first anonymous editor of which lived in the time of King Magnus Sneek, about the middle of the fourteenth century.
 - 8 Olaus sent, in 996 and 1000, missionaries into Iceland, who succeeded in making the whole country adopt Christianity. An Icelandic fugitive, named Eric le Roux, discovered Greenland, and formed the first settlements there, about the year 982. His son, Leif, embraced Christianity during his sojourn in Norway. With the aid of some ecclesiastics whom King Olaus gave him, he returned in 1000 to Greenland, and there converted his father and his fellow countrymen. The knowledge of the first Norwegian colonies of Greenland was lost about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The southern and western districts of it were again discovered about 1576; but it was not till 1721 that the Danes formed new settlements there.
 - 9 The Polabes inhabited the duchy of Lauenburg, the principality of Ratzenburg, and the province of Schwerin. The Wagrians were settled beyond the Bille in Wagria, in the principality of Eutin, and a part of Holstein.
 - 10 Henry, Duke of Saxony, Conrad, Duke of Zahringen, and Albert, Margrave of the North, headed an army of these crusaders against the Slavi in 1147.
 - 11 The right of hereditary succession in the eldest son of every ducal family was not introduced into Bohemia till 1055. This was the ancient usage in Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, and Hungary.
 - 12 No writer of this nation is known anterior to the thirteenth century. The most ancient is Vincent Kadlubeck, Bishop of Cracow, who died in 1223. He wrote *Historia Polona*, first published in 1612.
 - 13 This *crown*, singularly revered in Hungary, contains Greek ornaments and inscriptions, which give us to understand that it was manufactured at Constantinople. There is a probability that it was furnished by the Empress Theophania, mother of Otho III., to Pope Sylvester II., whom she had lately raised to the pontificate.
 - 14 The Greeks upbraided the Latins with fasting on Saturdays—permission to eat cheese, butter, and milk, during the first week of Lent—the celibacy of their priests—the repetition of the unction of baptism in confirmation—the corrupting of the Confession of Faith—the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist—permission to eat the blood of animals strangled—and the prohibition against the priests wearing their beards.
 - 15 The difference of rank and pre-eminence of these two patriarchs became one of the principal subjects of dispute between the two churches. There was a warm debate as to the title of *Ecumenical Patriarch*, or *universal bishop*, which the patriarchs of Constantinople had assumed since the time of the patriarch John II. in 518. The Roman pontiffs, Pelagius II. and Gregory I., haughtily condemned that title as proud and extravagant. They even went so far as to interdict all communion with the patriarchs of Constantinople; and Gregory I., wishing to give these patriarchs an example of Christian humility, in opposition to this lofty title of Universal Bishop, adopted that of *Servant of the servants of God*.
 - 16 The Bulgarians, newly converted to Christianity by Greek and Latin missionaries, had priests and bishops of both churches; and each pontiff claimed the sole jurisdiction over that province. This affair having been referred by the Bulgarians themselves to the judgment of the Greek emperor, he decided in favour of the see of Constantinople. In consequence of this decision, the Latin bishops and priests were expelled from Bulgaria, and replaced by the Greeks in 870.
 - 17 This terrible fire, reckoned among their state secrets, was exploded from tubes of copper, or thrown with cross-bows and machines for the purpose. Fireships were likewise filled with them, which they despatched among the enemies' ships to burn them. These could not be extinguished by water, or any other way than by the help of vinegar or sand.
 - 18 The name of *Tartar*, in the sense in which it is commonly taken, appears to be of Chinese origin. The Chinese pronounce it *Thu-tha*; and designate by this name all the nations that dwell to the north of the great wall.

- 19 The first that employed this military guard was the Caliph Montassem, who succeeded to the caliphate in 833, or 218 of the Hegira.
- 20 *Sultan* or *Solthan* is a common name in the Chaldean and Arabic languages, to designate a sovereign, ruler, king, or master.
- 21 Syria was conquered by the Seljukides, between 1074 and 1085. They were masters of Palestine since 1075, which they had conquered from the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt.
- 22 The most powerful of these Emirs dared not assume the title of Sultan, but were content with that of *Atabek*, which signifies, in the Turkish language, *Father of the prince*.

NOTES TO PERIOD IV.

- 1 He was the first of the Roman pontiffs that assumed the title of *Pope* (Papa), to the exclusion of the other bishops and prelates who had formerly made use of that denomination.
- 2 Pope Urban II., one of the immediate successors of Gregory VII., went so far as to recommend to all secular princes, that they should make slaves of such of the priests' wives as lived with their husbands after they had received holy orders. In Denmark and Sweden, the celibacy of the clergy was not introduced till near the middle of the thirteenth century.
- 3 Pope Nicholas I. and Adrian II., in the ninth century, and John IV. and Gregory V., about the end of the tenth, appealed to the False Decretals in their disputes with the Kings of France, on the subject of supremacy and legislative power over the whole church.
- 4 This House, which succeeded the Salic dynasty, occupied the throne of the Empire from the year 1138 to 1254.
- 5 Gregory VII., in 1080, confirmed the election of the Anti-Emperor Rodolph. Innocent III. claimed the right to arbitrate in the disputes between Philip of Swabia and Otho of Brunswick (1198), on the subject of their election. The contested election of Richard de Cornwall and Alphonso of Castile, to the throne of Spain, was submitted to the judgment of the pope.
- 6 The popes derived their claims to these estates from a donation of them, which the countess had made in 1077 to Pope Gregory VII., and which she renewed in 1102 to Pascal II.
- 7 The Order of St. Anthony was founded about 1095, and that of Chartreux was founded, in 1080—86, by Bruno of Cologne; and that of Grandmont, by Stephen de Thiers, a native of Auvergne.
- 8 The Arabs took possession of Palestine, under the Caliph Omar, A.D. 657. It fell into the hands of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, A.D. 968.
- 9-10 There is an amusing description of the crusaders in the Chronicle of Conradus Urspergensis, and the sensation which their first appearance made in Germany.
- 11 One of these first divisions was conducted by Peter the Hermit in person. A contemporary author gives the following description of that ghostly general: "His appearance was rude in the extreme, of a short stature, but of a most fervid zeal. His face was mcagre, his feet bare, and his dress of the meanest and most squalid sort. On his journey, and wherever he went, he used neither horse, mare, nor mule, but only a vehicle drawn by asses." Peter intrusted a part of his army to a French gentleman, named *Walter the Pennyless*, who marched before him. A numerous body, commanded by a German priest, followed him. Nearly the whole of them perished, to the amount of 200,000 men.
- 12 The Republic of Venice having refused, in spite of the thundering bulls launched against them, to surrender up the city of Ferrara, Pope Clement IV. published a crusade against them (1309), and thus compelled them to sue for peace.
- 13 There were properly no armorial bearings before the twelfth century. We do not meet with the *Fleurs-de-lis* on the crown or the robe of the French kings, until the time of Louis VII., A.D. 1164.
- 14 The crusades were the means of spreading leprosy in Europe, as also the plague, which, in 1347 and the following years, made dreadful havoc. From Italy it spread over all Europe, and occasioned a violent persecution against the Jews.
- 15 For these, see the accounts of Spain, Italy, and Portugal.
- 16 This is the common opinion as to the origin of the Hanseatic League, although Sartorius disputes it. The word *Hanse*, in Low German, means any association or corporation. We find this word used, for the first time, in a letter which Edward II. of England wrote in 1315 to the King of France, in favour of the Germanic merchants.
- 17 The Parliament of 1342 is generally cited as the first in which we find the division into two Houses.
- 18 Hence the names of *Pfahlburger* and *Ussburger*, i. e. burgess within the precincts, and without the city.
- 19 It should be observed, however, that the Roman Law, and especially the Theodosian Code, still remained in Italy to a certain extent, even in the midst of the darkness that covered Europe prior to the twelfth century.
- 20 In the *Truce of God*, challenges or duels were prohibited on Thursdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, under pain of excommunication. They were also forbidden between Septuagesima Sunday and Easter week, and between Advent Sunday and Epiphany.
- 21 Hugolinus, a famous lawyer under Frederic I., is generally regarded as the first that digested the Two Books of Fiefs, at the end of the *Corpus Juris*.
- 22 Several other universities were founded in the following century:—such as that of Prague, in 1347; Vienna, in 1365; Heidelberg, in 1386; Cologne, in 1389; Erfurt, in 1389, &c.
- 23 This Confederation of the Rhine was originally concluded between the cities of Mayence, Cologne, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, Berlin, for the protection of their commerce on the Rhine.
- 24 These grand officers were seven in number, although formerly other princes were admitted to these elections.

- 25 There appears some reason to doubt this statement of Dandolo, the historian of Venice.
- 26 After the downfall of the Roman Empire, in the fifth century, Corsica was conquered in turn by the Vandals, Greeks, Franks, and Arabs. The latter settled there in the ninth century, and were expelled in the eleventh. Sardinia experienced nearly the same revolution as Corsica. It fell successively into the hands of the Vandals, Greeks, Arabs, Genoese, and Pisans. Pope Boniface VIII. vested the King of Arragon, in Sardinia, in 1297, as his vassal and tributary, who expelled the Pisans in 1324—26.
- 27 The famous Castilian hero, Don Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, surnamed the *Cid*, had already seized the kingdom of Valencia, about the end of the eleventh century; but the Arabs took possession of it after his death, in 1099.
- 28 De Guignes fixes the entire destruction of the Almohades in the year 1291.
- 29 After the defeat of the Mahometans, Alfonso, having assembled the bishops, declared on his oath that Jesus Christ appeared to him on the evening before the battle, promised him certain victory, and ordered him to be proclaimed king on the field of battle, and to take for his arms the five wounds inflicted on his body, and the thirty pieces of silver for which he was sold to the Jews.
- 30 The first six of these were the ancient lay peers of the crown. They were established in the reigns of Louis VIII. and IX., as well as six ecclesiastical peers.
- 31 The States of Germany, in order to preserve the feudal system, passed a law, which forbade the princes to leave the grand fiefs of the Empire vacant more than a year.
- 32 By the definitive peace concluded at Paris, in 1230, between Louis IX. and Henry III., Normandy, Lorraine, Maine, Anjou, and Poitou, were ceded to France, who then surrendered to England, Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, &c., on condition of doing fealty and homage to the Kings of France, and to be held under the title of Duke of Aquitaine and Peer of France.
- 33 The first origin of the Inquisition may be dated from a commission of Inquisitors, in 1212, which Innocent III. established at Toulouse against the Albigenses. Gregory IX. intrusted the Inquisition to the Dominicans, who erected it into an ordinary tribunal, before which they cited not only those suspected of heresy, but all who were accused of sorcery, magic, witchcraft, Judaism, &c.
- 34 Dominico, sub-prior of the church of Osma, in Spain, conjointly with Diego d'Azebez, bishop of that church, undertook, in 1206, the mission against the heretics in Languedoc. Innocent VIII., in 1208, established a perpetual commission of preachers for that country, of which Dominico was declared chief. Hence the origin of the order of Preaching Friars.
- 35 The Irish were converted to Christianity in the fifth century. St. Patrick was their first apostle; he founded the archbishopric of Armagh, in 472. The supremacy of the pope was not acknowledged in that island till the Council of Drogheda, 1152, when the pope's pallium and the celibacy of the priests were introduced.
- 36 In Denmark, the throne was elective in the reigning family. It was equally so in Norway, where, by a strange custom, natural sons were admitted to the crown, and allowed the privilege of attesting their descent from the royal line by the ordeal of fire.
- 37 The power of the clergy in the North was considerably increased by the introduction of Metropolitans. The archbishopric of Lundun was erected in 1152, and that of Upsal in 1163.
- 38 The introduction of tithes met with great opposition in all the North; nor were they generally received till near the end of the thirteenth century. Canute IV. was put to death in Denmark, principally for having attempted to introduce tithes.
- 39 Except Sigurd I., King of Norway, who undertook a crusade to the Holy Land, in 1107, at the head of an army of 10,000 men, and a fleet of 60 sail.
- 40 Tacitus, and the writers of the middle ages, before the tenth century, seem to have included the Prussians, and the people inhabiting the coasts of the Baltic eastward of the Vistula, under the name of Esthoniens.
- 41 It is alleged this city took its name from Ottokar II., King of Bohemia, who headed an army of crusaders, and encouraged the building of it.
- 42 In the Mogul language, *Zin* or *Tgin*, signifies *Great*, and *Kis*, *very*; so that the word means *Most Great Khan* or *Emperor*. According to others, who quote the constant tradition of the Moguls, this new name was taken from the cry of an extraordinary and divine bird, which sat on a tree during the assembly in question, and uttered the word *Tschingis*. This name was adopted as a special and favourable augury from heaven, and applied to the new conqueror.
- 43 The Igours were dependent on this latter Empire, a Turkish people to the north-west of China. It is alleged that they cultivated the arts and sciences, and communicated letters and the alphabet to the other Turkish and Mogul tribes.
- 44 The former of these events took place in 1279, and the latter in 1243. The caliphs of Bagdad were annihilated by the Moguls, under the reign of Mangou Khan, a.d. 1258.
- 45 It is related, that the Emperor Frederic II., when summoned by the Great Khan to submit, and offered an office of high trust at his court, replied to this singular message by way of pleasantry, that he knew enough of fowling to qualify him for grand falconer.
- 46 The dynasty of the Moguls in Persia ended in 1410; that of the Zagatai fell into the hands of usurpers in the fourteenth century. This dynasty produced the famous Timour.
- 47 Batou Khan was in the habit of ascending the Wolga, with his whole tribe, from January till August, when he began to descend that river in his way to the south.
- 48 *Horde*, in the Chinese or Tartar language, means a tent or dwelling-place.
- 49 These tribes dwelt to the north of the Caspian Sea, between the Jaik, the Wolga, and the Tanais.
- 50 The Moguls of Kipsac, who ruled over Russia,

- are known rather by the name of Tartars than Moguls, as they adopted, by degrees, the language and manners of the Tartars among whom they lived.
- 51 An author who wrote in the twelfth century, remarks, that the Hungarians still lived in tents, in summer and autumn; that few houses in that kingdom were built of wood or of stone; that the grandees, when they went to court, brought their seats or chairs with them; and that the same thing was practised by those who went to visit their neighbours in winter.
 - 52 The invasion of Dalmatia became a source of troubles and wars between the Kings of Hungary and the republic of Venice; and it was not till the fifteenth century that the Venetians succeeded in getting possession of the maritime towns of Dalmatia.
 - 53 The Cumans established one of their colonies in a part of ancient Dacia, now Moldavia and Wallachia, which took from them the name of Cumania.
 - 54 Baldwin was succeeded by his brother Henry; and he by his brother-in-law, Pierre de Courtenay, grandson of Louis VI. of France. That prince left two sons, Robert and Baldwin, who both reigned at Constantinople, and were the last of the Latin emperors.
 - 55 They took the name of *Baharites*, which in Arabic signifies *maritimes*, or dwellers near the sea.

NOTES TO PERIOD V.

- 1 This jubilee, which, according to the Bull of Boniface VIII., was to be celebrated only once in a hundred years, was reduced to fifty by Clement VI., to thirty by Urban VI., and twenty-five by Paul II. and Sixtus IV.
- 2 Martin V., Nicholas V., and Calixtus II., gave to the Portuguese all the territories which they might discover, from the Canaries to the Indies. Adrian IV., who adjudged Ireland to Henry II. in 1155, had claimed that all islands in which Christianity was introduced should belong to St. Peter.
- 3 The kings of France maintained the exercise of that right, in spite of the efforts which the Court of Rome made to deprive them of it.
- 4 The king even sent to Italy the Chevalier William Nogaret with a body of troops, who surprised the Pope at Anagni, made him prisoner, and pillaged his treasures, as well as those of the cardinals in his suite.
- 5 If we can believe an Arabic author from Mecca, most of the thirteenth century, paper, of cotton most probably, was invented at Mecca by one Joseph Amru, about the year 706. According to others, the Arabs found an excellent paper manufactory at Samarcand, when they conquered that country in 704. The invention of paper among the Chinese is very ancient.
- 6 M. de Mehel mentions three pictures in the Gallery of Vienna, one of the year 1297, and the other two of 1357, as having been painted in oil colours on wood.
- 7 The first cards were painted and designed, which rendered them very dear. Great variety

- of cards are found among different nations. *Piquet* became the national game of the French, *taroc* of the Italians; the Spaniards invented *ombre* and *quadrille*, and the Germans *lansquenet*.
- 8 One of the oldest of these folios is that found in the library of Buxheim, near Menningen. It represents the image of St. Christopher illumed, with a legend, dated 1423. Printing by blocks of wood was practised in China since the year 950.
 - 9 Gutenberg, who still kept his art a secret, on the death of Drizehn, sent different persons into his house, and charged them to unscrew the press, and take it to pieces, that no one might discover how or in what he was employed.
 - 10 Schœpflin dates the invention of the font about the year 1452. The honour of it is commonly ascribed to Peter Schæffer, the companion of Faust.
 - 11 In a deed made by Gutenberg and his brother in 1459, he took a formal engagement to give to the library of the convent of St. Claire at Mayence, the books which he had already printed, or might print; which proves that Gutenberg had printed books long before 1459, and that he still intended to print.
 - 12 According to Casiri, there can be no doubt as to the existence of cannon among the Moors in the years 1342-44. The first undoubted proof of the employment of cannon in France is of the year 1345. The Genoese, it is alleged, employed mines for the first time at the siege of Seranessa, against the Florentines, in 1487; and the Spaniards against the French at the siege of the Castle of Oeuf in 1503.
 - 13 The first cannons were constructed of wood, iron, or lead. Gustavus Adolphus used cannons made of leather. They could not support nearly the quantity of powder of those in modern times.
 - 14 Guiot de Provins, who wrote a satirical poem called the Bible, about the end of the twelfth century, speaks most distinctly of the mariner's compass, which was used in his time in navigation.
 - 15 The herring fisheries on the coasts of Scania, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, proved a mine of wealth for the Hanseatic trade; so much the more gainful, as all Europe then observed Lent.
 - 16 William Tell is commonly regarded as the first founder of the Swiss liberty.
 - 17 The Grand Duke Michael Joroslawitz was executed by the Horde in 1318. Demetrius Michaelovitz met with the same fate in 1326. The Russian princes, on going to an audience with the khan, were obliged to walk between two fires to purify themselves and the presents which they brought. They were even compelled to do reverence to an image which was placed at the entrance of the khan's tent.
 - 18 The first mention which the annals of Nestor make of the Livonians, and their wars with the Russians, is about the year 1040.
 - 19 Various contracts were made before that sale was accomplished. The first was in 1341, and the price was 13,000 marks of silver. In 1346, the Margrave Louis sold his rights over

- Eathonia to the Teutonic Order for 6000 marks.
- 20 Livonia did not belong exclusively to the Teutonic Order at this time. The Archbishop of Riga was independent, and master of the city where he resided.
 - 21 Before Uladislaus, there were only some of the sovereigns of Poland invested with the royal dignity; and the tradition, which carries back the uninterrupted succession of the Polish kings to Bolislaus in the year 1000, is contrary to the evidence of history.
 - 22 The conversion of the Lithuanians to Christianity was resolved on in a general assembly of the nation held in 1387. It consisted simply of the ceremony of baptism. The Polish priests, who were employed on this mission, being ignorant of the Lithuanian language, King Jagello became himself a preacher. One custom which he practised succeeded better than all the force of reasoning or argument. The Lithuanians, till then, had used only clothes of skins or linen. The king caused woollen dresses, of which he had ordered a large quantity to be imported from Poland, to be distributed to all those who were baptized. Thousands of the Lithuanians then flocked to the administration of that rite. The Samogitians embraced Christianity about the thirteenth century.
 - 23 The Wallachians, as their language proves, are a mixture of the descendants of the Roman colonies of ancient Dacia with the Slavians and Goths. They adhered to the Greek Church in the ninth century.
 - 24 Philip Callinachus, the historian of Uladislaus, was descended of an illustrious family in Tuscany, and one of those fine geniuses whom Italy produced in the fifteenth century. Being persecuted at Rome, he retired to Poland, to Casimir IV., who entrusted him with the education of his children, and made him his secretary.
 - 25 The conquest of Indostan by Timour is fixed to the years 1398, 1399. His dearest trophies were huge towers, formed of the heads which he had cut from his enemies. He raised 120 of these after the taking of Bagdad in 1401.
 - 26 In the short space of six or seven hours, the Turks had cleared the city entirely of all its inhabitants.

NOTES TO PERIOD VI.

- 1 Las Casas is generally reproached for having advised the employing of African slaves in the Antilles, instead of the natives, while he was zealously supporting the liberty of the Americans; and that it was by his advice that Charles V., in 1517, authorised the Belgian merchants to import 14,000 Africans into these islands, which gave rise to the treaty on the slave trade.
- 2 The kings of Portugal had already obtained similar commissions for their discoveries in the East, from Pope Nicholas V., Calixtus III., and Sixtus IV.
- 3 The Philippine Isles, discovered by Magellan in 1521, were occupied by the Spaniards in 1564. After several fruitless attempts to find a

- north-east or north-west passage, the English doubled the Cape of Good Hope before the end of the sixteenth century.
- 5 Magellan, in his voyage, discovered a new route to India by the Straits, to which he gave his name. The Moluccas and the Philippines were then visited by him. He was killed in the Isle of Matan, one of the Philippines, April 27, 1521.
 - 6 Henry IV. conceived the project, and concerted with Elizabeth of England, for securing the equilibrium and the peace of the continent, by humbling Austria.
 - 7 The assassin was called Balthazar Gerardi. He is said to have bought the pistols with which he committed the deed with the money which the prince had given him a few days before.
 - 8 The first alliance of the Swiss with France was in 1453. It was renewed in 1474 and 1480. In virtue of this latter treaty, the Swiss engaged to furnish for that prince a body of 6000 auxiliaries, the first regular Swiss troops that had been received into the service of France, with consent of the confederation.
 - 9 That war was terminated in 1603, a little before the death of Elizabeth.

NOTES TO PERIOD VII.

- 1 The first of these medals represented the United Provinces under the figure of a woman trampling on Discord, with an inscription a little haughty, but by no means outrageous for France. The other medal was more piquant; it offered the crown of France to M. Van Bunningen, the ambassador of Holland, under the figure of Joshua, who commanded the sun to stand still.
- 2 This bull, the source of many theological disputes, was issued in 1713, in which Clement XI. condemned 101 propositions, extracted from the New Testament, as false, and infected with the errors of Jansenism.
- 3 In 1713. In this same year was concluded the famous treaty of Methuen, by which Portugal engaged to receive English woollen cloths, on condition that England would admit the wines of Portugal at one-third less duty than those of France.
- 4 The national liberty gained under Charles II. by the famous *Habeas Corpus* Act, passed in 1679.

NOTES TO PERIOD VIII.

- 1 Among the means which the regent employed for clearing off the debts of the State, which amounted to three millions, one was the famous scheme of Law, a Scotchman, and the establishment of a bank, which completely failed after having great success, and ruined a number of families.
- 2 Alberoni, a man of vast and enterprising genius, was at first only a simple priest in a village near Parma. He insinuated himself into the favour of the Duke of Vendôme, when he com-

- manded the French army in Italy. The duke took him to Spain, and recommended him to the Princess des Ursins, who was then all powerful at the court of Philip V. There he was elevated to the rank of cardinal and prime minister.
- 3 This famous adventurer was descended of a noble family in the province of Groningen. In 1715, he was appointed ambassador for Holland at the court of Madrid. There he insinuated himself into favour with Philip V., who sent him, in 1724, to the court of Vienna, to treat with the Emperor Charles VI. On his return, he was raised to the rank of duke and prime minister of Spain. Being disgraced for his imprudences, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Segovia, whence he made his escape in 1728, and, after wandering over several countries, he passed to Morocco, where it is alleged he became Mahometan, as he had turned Catholic at Madrid. Being obliged to quit that new retreat, he repaired to Tetuan, where he died.
 - 4 The trade which the English carried on in Spanish America, in virtue of the *Assiento*, having given opportunities for contraband, it was agreed by a subsequent convention, signed at Madrid in 1750, between these two courts, that England should entirely renounce that contract, in consideration of a sum of £100,000 sterling, which Spain promised to pay the English company engaged in that trade.
 - 5 On the death of Joseph I. in 1777, and the accession of his daughter Mary, the grandees of Portugal avenged themselves for the indignities which the Marquis de Pombal had subjected them to.
 - 6 The principal actions which took place between the French and the Hanoverians, with their allies, were those of Hastenbeck in 1757; Crevelt, 1758; Bergen and Minden, 1759; Clostercamp, 1760; Villinghausen, 1761; Grebenstein, 1762.
 - 7 The battles fought by the King of Prussia in that war were the following: that of Lowositz in 1756; Prague, Kolin, Jagerndorff, Rosbach, Breslau, and Lissa, 1757; Zorndorff and Hochkirchen, 1758; Zulichau and Kunnersdorff or Frankfort on the Oder, 1759; Liegnitz and Torgau, 1760; Fryburg, 1762. The king gained them all, except those marked in italics.
 - 8 New differences having arisen between Spain and Portugal in Brazil, which occasioned hostilities, a treaty of peace, concluded March 24, 1778, put an end to these differences, and finally regulated the limits between the two nations in America.
 - 9 This prince perished at the siege of Seringapatam, his capital, which the English took in 1799.
 - 10 It appears by the overtures which the Empress of Russia made to the King of Poland in 1771, and 1775, that she was averse to the partition of Poland, which, in effect, appeared to be in opposition to the true interests of Russia.
 - 11 The Austrian division was estimated at about 1300 square German miles, with 700,000 inhabitants.
 - 12 These countries were estimated at 4157 square miles, with 3,050,000 inhabitants.
 - 13 The portion of the King of Prussia comprised 1061 square miles, with 1,150,000 inhabitants. It contained 262 cities, and 8274 villages.
 - 14 It was in this revolution that Counts Struensee and Brandt were executed—the former being prime minister of Sweden. For the lives of these two persons, see *Converts from Infidelity*, vol. II., by the translator of this Work.
 - 15 The first act of the confederation is dated October 4, 1776. It then comprehended only eleven states. South Carolina and Maryland were not included till 1781.

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